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PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS

OF THE UNITED STATES



1948

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS

OF THE UNITED STATES

Harry S. Truman

Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President

JANUARY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1948

1948

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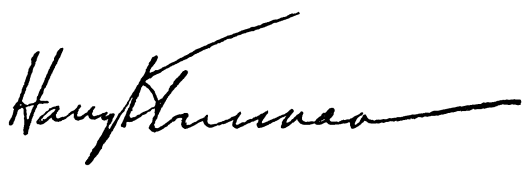
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FOREWORD

THE IMPORTANCE OF this series lies in the extraordinary character of the office of President of the United States.

A President's written and spoken words can command national and international attention if he has within him the power to attract and hold that attention. It is partly through the use of this power that leadership arises, events are molded, and administrations take their shape.

It is this power, quite as much as powers written into the Constitution, that gives to the papers of Presidents their peculiar and revealing importance.



PREFACE

IN THIS VOLUME are gathered most of the public messages and statements of the President of the United States that were released by the White House during 1948. Similar volumes are available covering 1945–1947, and the administrations of President Eisenhower and President Kennedy. Volumes covering the period January 1, 1949–January 20, 1953, and the period November 22, 1963–December 31, 1964, are under preparation.

This series was begun in 1957 in response to a recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission. An extensive compilation of the messages and papers of the Presidents, covering the period 1789 to 1897, was assembled by James D. Richardson and published under congressional authority between 1896 and 1899. Since that time various private compilations were issued, but there was no uniform, systematic publication comparable to the *Congressional Record* or the *United States Supreme Court Reports*. Many Presidential papers could be found only in mimeographed White House releases or as reported in the press. The National Historical Publications Commission therefore recommended the establishment of an official series in which Presidential writings and utterances of a public nature could be made promptly available.

The Commission's recommendation was incorporated in regulations of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register issued under section 6 of the Federal Register Act (44 U.S.C. 306). The Committee's regulations, establishing the series and providing for the coverage of prior years, are reprinted at page 998 as "Appendix D."

CONTENT AND ARRANGEMENT

The text of this book is based on Presidential materials issued during 1948 as White House releases and on transcripts of news conferences. A list of White House releases from which final selections were made is published at page 973 as "Appendix A."

The full text of President Truman's news conferences is here published for the first time, since direct quotation of the President's replies usually was not authorized. Addresses and speeches have been printed as actually delivered.

Proclamations, Executive orders, and similar documents required by law to be published in the *Federal Register* and *Code of Federal Regulations* are not repeated. Instead, they are listed by number and subject under the heading "Appendix B" at page 988.

The President is required by statute to transmit numerous reports to Congress. Those transmitted during the period covered by this volume are listed at page 996 as "Appendix C."

The items published in this volume are presented in chronological order, rather than being grouped in classes. Most needs for a classified arrangement are met by the subject index. For example, a reader interested in veto messages will find them listed in the index under the heading "veto messages."

The dates shown at the end of item headings are White House release dates. In instances where the date of the document differs from the release date that fact is shown in brackets immediately following the heading. Other editorial devices, such as text notes, footnotes, and cross references, have been held to a minimum.

Remarks or addresses were delivered in Washington, D.C., unless otherwise indicated. Similarly, statements, messages, and letters were issued from the White House in Washington unless otherwise indicated.

Original source materials, where available, have been used to protect against substantive errors in transcription. In maintaining the integrity of the text, valuable assistance was furnished by Dr. Philip C. Brooks and Philip D. Lagerquist of the Truman Library.

The planning and publication of this series is under the direction of David C. Eberhart of the Office of the Federal Register. The editor of the present volume was Warren R. Reid, assisted by Mildred B. Berry. Frank H. Mortimer of the Government Printing Office developed the typography and design.

WAYNE C. GROVER
Archivist of the United States

BERNARD L. BOUTIN
Administrator of General Services
June 1, 1964

26-679—64——2

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FRONTISPIECE—Picture of the President standing on the rear platform of a train at the beginning of his 1948 campaign tour, June 3, 1948.

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Harry S. Truman

1948

1 Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Carrying Out Provisions of the Resolution on Price Stabilization. *January* 3, 1948

I HAVE signed today an Executive order which delegates certain authority vested in me by S.J. Res. 167 which I signed on December 30.

Responsibility for consulting with representatives of industry, business, and agriculture in reaching voluntary agreements has been delegated to those departments and agencies whose functions are most closely related to the commodities concerned. The Secretary of the Interior will be responsible for agreements relating to priorities, allocations, and inventory control of coal, coke, petroleum and petroleum products, and natural and manufactured gas. The Secretary of Agriculture will be similarly concerned with agreements relating to agricultural commodities and with respect to speculative trading on commodity exchanges. Agreements involving allocation of transportation facilities and equipment are made the responsibility of the Director of the Office of Defense Transportation. Responsibility for all other agreements authorized by the resolution is assigned to the Secretary of Commerce. The order provides that prior to final approval all such agreements must be submitted to and approved by the Attorney General.

The Secretary of Commerce will continue his present responsibility for the administration of export controls, as will the Director of the Office of Defense Transportation for controls with respect to the use of transportation equipment and facilities by rail carriers. The Secretary of Agriculture, in carrying out the food and feed conservation program authorized by the resolution, will work in close collaboration with, and utilize the facilities of, the Cabinet Food Committee, which continues to be responsible for carrying on the consumers' food conservation program.

The order provides that each agency concerned shall establish such committees and other working groups as may be appropriate to consult with and obtain the advice of other agencies and, to this end, I have addressed the attached letter to the heads of the agencies concerned requesting that they establish a suitable interagency working committee to promote close working relations and to make recommendations with respect to common policies and procedures in the administration of the program.

NOTE: The text of the Executive order (EO 9919, 3 CFR, 1943–1948 Comp., p. 682) was released with the President's statement along with his letter to the heads of the agencies concerned.

For a statement by the President on S.J. Res. 167, see 1947 volume, this series, Item 242.

2 Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union. *January* 7, 1948

[As delivered in person before a joint session]

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and Members of the 80th Congress:

We are here today to consider the state of the Union.

On this occasion, above all others, the Congress and the President should concentrate their attention, not upon party but upon the country; not upon things which divide us but upon those which bind us together—the enduring principles of our American system, and our common aspirations for the future welfare and security of the people of the United States.

The United States has become great be-

cause we, as a people, have been able to work together for great objectives even while differing about details.

The elements of our strength are many. They include our democratic government, our economic system, our great natural resources. But these are only partial explanations.

The basic source of our strength is spiritual. For we are a people with a faith. We believe in the dignity of man. We believe that he was created in the image of the Father of us all.

We do not believe that men exist merely to strengthen the state or to be cogs in the economic machine. We do believe that governments are created to serve the people and that economic systems exist to minister to their wants. We have a profound devotion to the welfare and rights of the individual as a human being.

The faith of our people has particular meaning at this time in history because of the unsettled and changing state of the world.

The victims of war in many lands are striving to rebuild their lives, and are seeking assurance that the tragedy of war will not occur again. Throughout the world new ideas are challenging the old. Men of all nations are reexamining the beliefs by which they live. Great scientific and industrial changes have released new forces which will affect the future course of civilization.

The state of our Union reflects the changing nature of the modern world. On all sides there is heartening evidence of great energy—of capacity for economic development—and even more important, capacity for spiritual growth. But accompanying this great activity there are equally great questions, great anxieties, and great aspirations. They represent the concern of an enlightened people that conditions should be so arranged as to make life more worthwhile.

We must devote ourselves to finding answers to these anxieties and aspirations. We seek answers which will embody the moral and spiritual elements of tolerance, unselfishness, and brotherhood upon which true freedom and opportunity must rest.

As we examine the state of our Union today, we can benefit from viewing it on a basis of the accomplishments of the last decade and of our goals for the next. How far have we come during the last 10 years and how far can we go in the next 10?

It was 10 years ago that the determination of dictators to wage war upon mankind became apparent. The years that followed brought untold death and destruction.

We shared in the human suffering of the war, but we were fortunate enough to escape most of war's destruction. We were able through these 10 years to expand the productive strength of our farms and factories.

More important, however, is the fact that these years brought us new courage, new confidence in the ideals of our free democracy. Our deep belief in freedom and justice was reinforced in the crucible of war.

On the foundations of our greatly strengthened economy and our renewed confidence in democratic values, we can continue to move forward.

There are some who look with fear and distrust upon planning for the future. Yet our great national achievements have been attained by those with vision. Our Union was formed, our frontiers were pushed back, and our great industries were built by men who looked ahead.

I propose that we look ahead today toward those goals for the future which have the greatest bearing upon the foundations of our democracy and the happiness of our people.

I do so, confident in the thought that with clear objectives and with firm determination, we can, in the next 10 years, build upon the

accomplishments of the past decade to achieve a glorious future. Year by year, beginning now, we must make a substantial part of this progress.

Our first goal is to secure fully the essential human rights of our citizens.

The United States has always had a deep concern for human rights. Religious freedom, free speech, and freedom of thought are cherished realities in our land. Any denial of human rights is a denial of the basic beliefs of democracy and of our regard for the worth of each individual.

Today, however, some of our citizens are still denied equal opportunity for education, for jobs and economic advancement, and for the expression of their views at the polls. Most serious of all, some are denied equal protection under laws. Whether discrimination is based on race, or creed, or color, or land of origin, it is utterly contrary to American ideals of democracy.

The recent report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights points the way to corrective action by the Federal Government and by State and local governments. Because of the need for effective Federal action, I shall send a special message to the Congress on this important subject.

We should also consider our obligation to assure the fullest possible measure of civil rights to the people of our territories and possessions. I believe that the time has come for Alaska and Hawaii to be admitted to the Union as States.

Our second goal is to protect and develop our human resources.

The safeguarding of the rights of our citizens must be accompanied by an equal regard for their opportunities for development and their protection from economic insecurity. In this Nation the ideals of freedom and equality can be given specific meaning in terms of health, education, social security, and housing.

Over the past 12 years we have erected a sound framework of social security legislation. Many millions of our citizens are now protected against the loss of income which can come with unemployment, old age, or the death of wage earners. Yet our system has gaps and inconsistencies; it is only half-finished.

We should now extend unemployment compensation, old age benefits, and survivors' benefits to millions who are not now protected. We should also raise the level of benefits.

The greatest gap in our social security structure is the lack of adequate provision for the Nation's health. We are rightly proud of the high standards of medical care we know how to provide in the United States. The fact is, however, that most of our people cannot afford to pay for the care they need.

I have often and strongly urged that this condition demands a national health program. The heart of the program must be a national system of payment for medical care based on well-tried insurance principles. This great Nation cannot afford to allow its citizens to suffer needlessly from the lack of proper medical care.

Our ultimate aim must be a comprehensive insurance system to protect all our people equally against insecurity and ill health.

Another fundamental aim of our democracy is to provide an adequate education for every person.

Our educational systems face a financial crisis. It is deplorable that in a Nation as rich as ours there are millions of children who do not have adequate schoolhouses or enough teachers for a good elementary or secondary education. If there are educational inadequacies in any State, the whole Nation suffers. The Federal Government has a responsibility for providing financial aid to meet this crisis.

In addition, we must make possible greater equality of opportunity to all our citizens for education. Only by so doing can we insure that our citizens will be capable of understanding and sharing the responsibilities of democracy.

The Government's programs for health, education, and security are of such great importance to our democracy that we should now establish an executive department for their administration.

Health and education have their beginning in the home. No matter what our hospitals or schools are like, the youth of our Nation are handicapped when millions of them live in city slums and country shacks. Within the next decade, we must see that every American family has a decent home. As an immediate step we need the long-range housing program which I have recommended on many occasions to this Congress. This should include financial aids designed to yield more housing at lower prices. It should provide public housing for low-income families, and vigorous development of new techniques to lower the cost of building.

Until we can overcome the present drastic housing shortage, we must extend and strengthen rent control.

We have had, and shall continue to have, a special interest in the welfare of our veterans. Over 14 million men and women who served in the armed forces in World War II have now returned to civilian life. Over 2 million veterans are being helped through school. Millions have been aided while finding jobs, and have been helped in buying homes, in obtaining medical care, and in adjusting themselves to physical handicaps.

All but a very few veterans have successfully made the transition from military life to their home communities. The success of our veterans' program is proved by this fact. This Nation is proud of the eagerness shown by our veterans to become self-reliant and self-supporting citizens.

Our third goal is to conserve and use our natural resources so that they can contribute most effectively to the welfare of our people.

The resources given by nature to this country are rich and extensive. The material foundations of our growth and economic development are the bounty of our fields, the wealth of our mines and forests, and the energy of our waters. As a Nation, we are coming to appreciate more each day the close relationship between the conservation of these resources and the preservation of our national strength.

We are doing far less than we know how to do to make use of our resources without destroying them. Both the public and private use of these resources must have the primary objective of maintaining and increasing these basic supports for an expanding future.

We must continue to take specific steps toward this goal. We must vigorously defend our natural wealth against those who would misuse it for selfish gain.

We need accurate and comprehensive knowledge of our mineral resources and must intensify our efforts to develop new supplies and to acquire stockpiles of scarce materials.

We need to protect and restore our land—public and private—through combating erosion and rebuilding the fertility of the soil.

We must expand our reclamation program to bring millions of acres of arid land into production, and to improve water supplies for additional millions of acres. This will provide new opportunities for veterans and others, particularly in the West, and aid in providing a rising living standard for a growing population.

We must protect and restore our forests by sustained-yield forestry and by planting

new trees in areas now slashed and barren.

We must continue to erect multiple-purpose dams on our great rivers—not only to reclaim land, but also to prevent floods, to extend our inland waterways and to provide hydroelectric power. This public power must not be monopolized for private gain. Only through well-established policies of transmitting power directly to its market and thus encouraging widespread use at low rates can the Federal Government assure the people of their full share of its benefits. Additional power—public and private—is needed to raise the ceilings now imposed by power shortages on industrial and agricultural development.

We should achieve the wise use of resources through the integrated development of our great river basins. We can learn much from our Tennessee Valley experience. We should no longer delay in applying the lessons of that vast undertaking to our other great river basins.

Our fourth goal is to lift the standard of living for all our people by strengthening our economic system and sharing more broadly among our people the goods we produce.

The amazing economic progress of the past 10 years points the way for the next 10.

Today 14 million more people have jobs than in 1938.

Our yearly output of goods and services has increased by two-thirds.

The average income of our people, measured in dollars of equal purchasing power, has increased—after taxes—by more than 50 percent.

In no other 10 years have farmers, businessmen, and wage earners made such great gains.

We may not be able to expand as rapidly in the next decade as in the last, because we are now starting from full employment and very high production. But we can increase our annual output by at least one-third above the present level. We can lift our standard of living to nearly double what it was 10 years ago.

If we distribute these gains properly, we can go far toward stamping out poverty in our generation.

To do this, agriculture, business, and labor must move forward together.

Permanent farm prosperity and agricultural abundance will be achieved only as our whole economy grows and prospers. The farmer can sell more food at good prices when the incomes of wage earners are high and when there is full employment. Adequate diets for every American family, and the needs of our industries at full production, will absorb a farm output well above our present levels.

Although the average farmer is now better off than ever before, farm families as a whole have only begun to catch up with the standards of living enjoyed in the cities. In 1946, the average income of farm people was $779, contrasted with an average income of $1,288 for nonfarm people. Within the next decade, we should eliminate elements of inequality in these living standards.

To this end our farm program should enable the farmer to market his varied crops at fair price levels and to improve his standard of living.

We need to continue price supports for major farm commodities on a basis which will afford reasonable protection against fluctuations in the levels of production and demand. The present price support program must be reexamined and modernized.

Crop insurance should be strengthened and its benefits extended in order to protect the farmer against the special hazards to which he is subject.

We also need to improve the means for getting farm products into markets and into the hands of consumers. Cooperatives which

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directly or indirectly serve this purpose must be encouraged—not discouraged. The school lunch program should be continued and adequately financed.

We need to go forward with the rural electrification program to bring the benefits of electricity to all our farm population.

We can, and must, aid and encourage farmers to conserve their soil resources and restore the fertility of the land that has suffered from neglect or unwise use.

All these are practical measures upon which we should act immediately to enable agriculture to make its full contribution to our prosperity.

We must also strengthen our economic system within the next decade by enlarging our industrial capacity within the framework of our free enterprise system.

We are today far short of the industrial capacity we need for a growing future. At least $50 billion should be invested by industry to improve and expand our productive facilities over the next few years. But this is only the beginning. The industrial application of atomic energy and other scientific advances will constantly open up further opportunities for expansion. Farm prosperity and high employment will call for an immensely increased output of goods and services.

Growth and vitality in our economy depend on vigorous private enterprise. Free competition is the key to industrial development, full production and employment, fair prices, and an ever improving standard of living. Competition is seriously limited today in many industries by the concentration of economic power and other elements of monopoly. The appropriation of sufficient funds to permit proper enforcement of the present antitrust laws is essential. Beyond that we should go on to strengthen our legislation to protect competition.

Another basic element of a strong economic system is the well-being of the wage earners.

We have learned that the well-being of workers depends on high production and consequent high employment. We have learned equally well that the welfare of industry and agriculture depends on high incomes for our workers.

The Government has wisely chosen to set a floor under wages. But our 40-cent minimum wage is inadequate and obsolete. I recommend the lifting of the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour.

In general, however, we must continue to rely on our sound system of collective bargaining to set wage scales. Workers' incomes should increase at a rate consistent with the maintenance of sound price, profit, and wage relationships and with increase of productivity.

The Government's part in labor-management relations is now largely controlled by the terms of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947. I made my attitude clear on this act in my veto message to the Congress last June. Nothing has occurred since to change my opinion of this law. As long as it remains the law of the land, however, I shall carry out my constitutional duty and administer it.

As we look ahead we can understand the crucial importance of restraint and wisdom in arriving at new labor-management contracts. Work stoppages would result in a loss of production—a loss which could bring higher prices for our citizens and could also deny the necessities of life to the hard-pressed peoples of other lands. It is my sincere hope that the representatives of labor and of industry will bear in mind that the Nation as a whole has a vital stake in the success of their bargaining efforts.

If we surmount our current economic difficulties, we can move ahead to a great in-

crease in our national income which will enable all our people to enjoy richer and fuller lives.

All of us must advance together. One-fifth of our families now have average annual incomes of less than $850. We must see that our gains in national income are made more largely available to those with low incomes, whose need is greatest. This will benefit us all through providing a stable foundation of buying power to maintain prosperity.

Business, labor, agriculture, and Government, working together, must develop the policies which will make possible the realization of the full benefits of our economic system.

Our fifth goal is to achieve world peace based on principles of freedom and justice and the equality of all nations.

Twice within our generation, world wars have taught us that we cannot isolate ourselves from the rest of the world.

We have learned that the loss of freedom in any area of the world means a loss of freedom to ourselves—that the loss of independence by any nation adds directly to the insecurity of the United States and all free nations.

We have learned that a healthy world economy is essential to world peace—that economic distress is a disease whose evil effects spread far beyond the boundaries of the afflicted nation.

For these reasons the United States is vigorously following policies designed to achieve a peaceful and prosperous world.

We are giving, and will continue to give, our full support to the United Nations. While that organization has encountered unforeseen and unwelcome difficulties, I am confident of its ultimate success. We are also devoting our efforts toward world economic recovery and the revival of world trade. These actions are closely related and mutually supporting.

We believe that the United States can be an effective force for world peace only if it is strong. We look forward to the day when nations will decrease their armaments. Yet so long as there remains serious opposition to the ideals of a peaceful world, we must maintain strong armed forces.

The passage of the National Security Act by the Congress at its last session was a notable step in providing for the security of this country. A further step which I consider of even greater importance is the early provision for universal training. There are many elements in a balanced national security program, all interrelated and necessary, but universal training should be the foundation for them all. A favorable decision by the Congress at an early date is of world importance. I am convinced that such action is vital to the security of this Nation and to the maintenance of its leadership.

The United States is engaged today in many international activities directed toward the creation of lasting peaceful relationships among nations.

We have been giving substantial aid to Greece and Turkey to assist those nations in preserving their integrity against foreign pressures. Had it not been for our aid, their situation today might well be radically different. The continued integrity of those countries will have a powerful effect upon other nations in the Middle East and in Europe struggling to maintain their independence while they repair the damages of war.

The United States has special responsibilities with respect to the countries in which we have occupation forces: Germany, Austria, Japan, and Korea. Our efforts to reach agreements on peace settlements for these countries have so far been blocked. But we

shall continue to exert our utmost efforts to obtain satisfactory settlements for each of these nations.

Many thousands of displaced persons, still living in camps overseas, should be allowed entry into the United States. I again urge the Congress to pass suitable legislation at once so that this Nation may do its share in caring for the homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths. I believe that the admission of these persons will add to the strength and energy of this Nation.

We are moving toward our goal of world peace in many ways. But the most important efforts which we are now making are those which support world economic reconstruction. We are seeking to restore the world trading system which was shattered by the war and to remedy the economic paralysis which grips many countries.

To restore world trade we have recently taken the lead in bringing about the greatest reduction of world tariffs that the world has ever seen. The extension of the provisions of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, which made this achievement possible, is of extreme importance. We must also go on to support the International Trade Organization, through which we hope to obtain worldwide agreement on a code of fair conduct in international trade.

Our present major effort toward economic reconstruction is to support the program for recovery developed by the countries of Europe. In my recent message to the Congress, I outlined the reasons why it is wise and necessary for the United States to extend this support.

I want to reaffirm my belief in the soundness and the promise of this proposal. When the European economy is strengthened, the product of its industry will be of benefit to many other areas of economic distress. The ability of free men to overcome hunger and despair will be a moral stimulus to the entire world.

We intend to work also with other nations in achieving world economic recovery. We shall continue our cooperation with the nations of the Western Hemisphere. A special program of assistance to China, to provide urgent relief needs and to speed reconstruction, will be submitted to the Congress.

Unfortunately, not all governments share the hope of the people of the United States that economic reconstruction in many areas of the world can be achieved through cooperative effort among nations. In spite of these differences we will go forward with our efforts to overcome economic paralysis.

No nation by itself can carry these programs to success; they depend upon the cooperative and honest efforts of all participating countries. Yet the leadership is inevitably ours.

I consider it of the highest importance that the Congress should authorize support for the European recovery program for the period from April 1, 1948, to June 30, 1952, with an initial amount for the first 15 months of $6.8 billion. I urge the Congress to act promptly on this vital measure of our foreign policy—on this decisive contribution to world peace.

We are following a sound, constructive, and practical course in carrying out our determination to achieve peace.

We are fighting poverty, hunger, and suffering.

This leads to peace—not war.

We are building toward a world where all nations, large and small alike, may live free from the fear of aggression.

This leads to peace—not war.

Above all else, we are striving to achieve a concord among the peoples of the world based upon the dignity of the individual and the brotherhood of man.

This leads to peace—not war.

We can go forward with confidence that we are following sound policies, both at home and with other nations, which will lead us toward our great goals for economic, social and moral achievement.

As we enter the new year, we must surmount one major problem which affects all our goals. That is the problem of inflation.

Already inflation in this country is undermining the living standards of millions of families. Food costs too much. Housing has reached fantastic price levels. Schools and hospitals are in financial distress. Inflation threatens to bring on disagreement and strife between labor and management.

Worst of all, inflation holds the threat of another depression, just as we had a depression after the unstable boom following the First World War.

When I announced last October that the Congress was being called into session, I described the price increases which had taken place since June 1946. Wholesale prices had increased 40 percent; retail prices had increased 23 percent.

Since October prices have continued to rise. Wholesale prices have gone up at an annual rate of 18 percent. Retail prices have gone up at an annual rate of 10 percent.

The events which have occurred since I presented my 10-point anti-inflation program to the Congress in November have made it even clearer that all 10 points are essential.

High prices must not be our means of rationing.

We must deal effectively and at once with the high cost of living.

We must stop the spiral of inflation.

I trust that within the shortest possible time the Congress will make available to the Government the weapons that are so desperately needed in the fight against inflation.

One of the most powerful anti-inflationary factors in our economy today is the excess of Government revenues over expenditures.

Government expenditures have been and must continue to be held at the lowest safe levels. Since V–J day Federal expenditures have been sharply reduced. They have been cut from more than $63 billion in the fiscal year 1946 to less than $38 billion in the present fiscal year. The number of civilian employees has been cut nearly in half—from 3¾ million down to 2 million.

On the other hand, Government revenues must not be reduced. Until inflation has been stopped there should be no cut in taxes that is not offset by additions at another point in our tax structure.

Certain adjustments should be made within our existing tax structure that will not affect total receipts, yet will adjust the tax burden so that those least able to pay will have their burden lessened by the transfer of a portion of it to those best able to pay.

Many of our families today are suffering hardship because of the high cost of living. At the same time profits of corporations have reached an all-time record in 1947. Corporate profits total $17 billion after taxes. This compared with $12.5 billion in 1946, the previous high year.

Because of this extraordinarily high level of profits, corporations can well afford to carry a larger share of the taxload at this time.

During this period in which the high cost of living is bearing down on so many of our families, tax adjustments should be made to ease their burden. The low-income group particularly is being pressed very hard. To this group a tax adjustment would result in a saving that could be used to buy the necessities of life.

I recommend therefore that, effective January 1, 1948, a cost of living tax credit be extended to our people consisting of a credit of $40 to each individual taxpayer and an additional credit of $40 for each dependent.

Thus the income tax of a man with a wife and two children would be reduced $160. The credit would be extended to all taxpayers, but it would be particularly helpful to those in the low-income group.

It is estimated that such a tax credit would reduce Federal revenue by $3.2 billion. This reduction should be made up by increasing the tax on corporate profits in an amount that will produce this sum—with appropriate adjustments for small corporations.

This is the proper method of tax relief at this time. It gives relief to those who need it most without cutting the total tax revenue of the Government.

When the present danger of inflation has passed we should consider tax reduction based upon a revision of our entire tax structure.

When we have conquered inflation, we shall be in a position to move forward toward our chosen goals.

As we do so, let us keep ever before us our high purposes.

We are determined that every citizen of this Nation shall have an equal right and an equal opportunity to grow in wisdom and in stature and to take his place in the control of his Nation's destiny.

We are determined that the productive resources of this Nation shall be used wisely and fully for the benefit of all.

We are determined that the democratic faith of our people and the strength of our resources shall contribute their full share to the attainment of enduring peace in the world.

It is our faith in human dignity that underlies these purposes. It is this faith that keeps us a strong and vital people.

This is a time to remind ourselves of these fundamentals. For today the whole world looks to us for leadership.

This is the hour to rededicate ourselves to the faith in mankind that makes us strong.

This is the hour to rededicate ourselves to the faith in God that gives us confidence as we face the challenge of the years ahead.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:30 p.m. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

3 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Concerning Appointment of General Kuter as Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board. *January* 8, 1948

My dear ————:

I am attaching hereto a draft of bill to authorize the President to appoint Major General Laurence S. Kuter as a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board, without affecting his military status and perquisites. I contemplate designating Major General Kuter as Chairman of the Board.

The draft of bill would provide that Major General Kuter would continue, while serving as a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board, to receive his military pay and allowances, with Department of the Air Force appropriations being reimbursed therefor from appropriations of the Civil Aeronautics Board, but that, in the performance of his duties as a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board, Major General Kuter would be subject to no supervision or control by the Department of the Air Force, the National Military Establishment, or the armed services of the United States. The bill provides that in the event

the civilian salary of a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board should at any time exceed Major General Kuter's military pay and allowances, the difference would be paid to him from Civil Aeronautics Board appropriations.

I would appreciate your aid in having the bill introduced in the Senate. Since it is desirable to send Major General Kuter's nomination to the Senate at an early date, I would appreciate your aid in securing the passage of the bill as soon as practicable.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Arthur H. Vandenberg, President pro tempore of the Senate, and to the Honorable Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives. The text of the draft bill was also released.

4 The President's News Conference on the Budget. *January* 10, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. I have got a statement I will read you, then we will go into questions.

Mr. Ross: This conference is for background purposes, and any information given out is not for attribution except as to the statement. The rest of it is informative only, and not for attribution to the President, unless specific permission is given in some particular case.

[1.] THE PRESIDENT [*reading*]. "The preparation of the budget for the fiscal year 1949 has been a painstaking process.

"Beginning nearly a year ago, I asked the Bureau of the Budget to make advance studies to indicate the expenditure ranges required to carry out alternate policies and present them to me for my decision. In order to achieve maximum economy, the general policy I decided to follow for going programs was to hold 1949 appropriations at or below the 1948 level, despite rising prices, except in circumstances where this was clearly not in the public interest. Under this policy, and if no new legislation were required, the 1949 budget expenditures would not exceed $34 billion.

"The policies on which this budget is based, therefore, mean that under present conditions of high costs, it is even more realistic and hard boiled than the 1948 budget was.

"In order to portray clearly some of the major facts about this budget, I am distributing 10 charts. I should like particularly to refer to 4 of these charts.

"First, the chart covering Federal budget receipts and expenditures for the period 1939 to 1949 shows clearly the effective work which has been done to bring down the wartime peak of expenditures. It shows graphically the important fact that 1949 will be the third consecutive year in which we have achieved a surplus. This surplus is one of the most important factors in combating inflation, and an essential element of prudent fiscal management.

"Second, the chart comparing changes in major Government programs for the years 1939 and 1949 shows that in 1939 only 29 percent of our expenditures was devoted to the categories of national defense, international affairs, veterans, interest on the public debt, and tax refunds, leaving 71 percent for all other Government expenses. In the 1949 budget, this relationship is completely reversed. The five programs men-

tioned will require 79 percent of expenditures, leaving only 21 percent for all other activities.

"In this 10-year period the per capita increase for these 5 programs has been very great, whereas the per capita increase for all other Government expenditures has been relatively small. Per capita expenditures for national defense have increased from $8 in 1939 to $75 in 1949; international expenditures from 15 cents in 1939 to $48 in 1949. Veterans expenditures have increased from $4 in 1939 to $42 in 1949. Debt interest and tax refunds have increased from $8 in 1939 to $49 in 1949. Contrasted with these, the total for all other expenses of the Federal Government has increased only $7—from $49 in 1939 to $56 in 1949. This is a comparatively small increase when we consider the sharp increase in the cost of all the goods and services the Government must buy.

"The third chart covering civilian employment in the executive branch reveals that, while the number of civilian employees in the War and Navy Departments and emergency war agencies increased rapidly during the war, the number has decreased rapidly since the war. The chart shows clearly that there has been no substantial increase since 1939 in the total of civilian employees for most of the Government agencies. For all departments and agencies other than the War and Navy Departments, the emergency war agencies, the Veterans Administration, and the Post Office, the total of civilian employees was 366,770 in 1939 and 408,000 at the end of November in the present fiscal year. Much of this increase can be traced to the new and expanded programs resulting from war effort. For instance, more employees are now needed by the Bureau of Internal Revenue and the Bureau of Public Debt to handle increased workloads. Also the State Department, the Maritime Commission, and the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad now require more employees than in 1939.

"Fourth, the chart covering Federal budget expenditures by function shows not only the amount recommended for expenditure under each of the major functional categories, but also the trend in these for the 3 fiscal years, 1947, 1948, and 1949.

"I hope these charts will be helpful in understanding the 1949 budget."

The remarkable thing about the budget to me is the fact that we have been able to hold it well below the 1948 fiscal year budget, and had it not been for our requirements for foreign aid and things of that sort, we would have been $3½ billion below the 1948 budget.

And I think you will find, as you analyze the budget and go through it, that it is a budget based on the facts as they will appear. Every Cabinet officer and every head of an independent agency has made the statement to me that this budget was gotten up in better form and in better shape and with more cooperation than anybody's budget that they had any knowledge of. Every Cabinet officer told me that yesterday at the Cabinet meeting, and I have heard from the heads of the independent agencies—and several of them this morning—and they all feel the same way about it.

Now if you want to ask questions, I will try my best to answer them.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, you mention in here other countries that are going to receive aid, without stipulating which they are. Is there anything that can be said in detail about that at this time?

THE PRESIDENT. No, not in detail.

Q. Does that mean countries beyond the 16 European powers?

THE PRESIDENT. It does. Yes.

Q. Do you say anything about the total for China, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. No, that has not been pre-

pared. As soon as that is ready, why you will be informed what that total is. The State Department is working on it now.

Q. Can you name the other countries, Mr. President, besides China and the European nations?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, China is the principal one, and the 16 European nations, and of course there are situations in the Far East which may need looking into the same as the 16 nations in Europe. That will develop as we go along.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, in case the Marshall plan is approved, will it not be necessary for a large expansion of personnel, or will the old establishment in the—UNRRA be used?

THE PRESIDENT. No, UNRRA will not be used. The establishment is—we are trying to maintain the establishment in the various departments as we have it now. If you will read the message which I sent down to Congress, you will find the outline of the program as we expect to implement it. Of course, there will be some additional personnel necessary, but not anything like the setup that was under UNRRA.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, in recent years there seems to have been a growth in the budget insofar as including estimates for expenditures which are not authorized. It has been more and more difficult to get an accurate picture of the actual fiscal year.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think it has been a bit more difficult. The reason for that is because there are always bills pending in the Congress which may be passed, and we have to anticipate what may happen. For instance, the pay raise of last year, if you will remember, and the year before, had to be anticipated or we would have been in a bad fix budgetwise.

Director Webb: The legislative budget requires us to indicate the things you intend to send up.

THE PRESIDENT. That is true. The Director of the Budget says the legislative budget requires that we do that, but I don't think it's a bit confusing. All you have got to do is to settle down on one side and read the budget. [*Laughter*]

[5.] Q. Mr. President, at the end of the budget, certain appropriations are referred to as supplemental appropriations—anticipated supplemental appropriations. What is the difference between an anticipated supplemental appropriation and just a regular rundown on all these? I find myself confused on that one.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, supplemental appropriations might be necessary for a salary increase or for a change in the Veterans Administration approach by the Congress, or several different things like that.

Q. It was the terminology that confused me.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I will get the Director of the Budget to define it for you.

Director Webb: Those are things that are estimated requirements about which we do not have complete information at this time, and are included so that the budget will indicate the total of all the things that the President knows he will have to send down, even though he may not have the detail to substantiate complete submission at this time.

Q. Mr. President, the point I am trying to make—for instance, you have almost $2 billion in the budget here that is unauthorized—things like the Marshall plan—and this shows in the budget figure total. Well, if Congress doesn't approve that $2 billion——

THE PRESIDENT. Then it won't be spent.

Q. Then it won't be spent and it doesn't—the budget doesn't reflect it properly then?

THE PRESIDENT. Doesn't do what?

Q. Wouldn't reflect it properly on that.

THE PRESIDENT. The budget does reflect it properly, and if the Congress doesn't pass

the appropriation, it will be just as if it didn't exist. I am anticipating that the Congress will carry out the Marshall plan.

Q. Well, Mr. President, in the section on budget receipts, the paragraph that says, "The tax adjustment I am proposing will mean a reduction in personal income taxes and a corresponding increase in corporation taxes. The estimates in the budget for these taxes are based on existing legislation." Does that mean that the increase in corporation taxes already provided for the machinery there——

THE PRESIDENT. No, no. The Congress would have to pass an increase in the corporation taxes, and the Treasury would have the machinery set up to take care of that situation. That is the simplest approach we could find to it, and was recommended by the Economic Advisers as the most satisfactory way of relieving the cost of living to the small taxpayer.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us what national income level this revenue estimate is based on?

THE PRESIDENT. The Director of the Budget can.

Director Webb: I think the Secretary of the Treasury probably—who gets receipts and estimates that, should speak on that.

THE PRESIDENT. Go ahead.

Secretary Snyder: These figures are based on the—I would rather give you that in a couple of hours, because we have started out—used a lower figure and then raised it, and I want to be sure of the figure we use. So I will get it for you when you leave.

Director Webb: The President states in his budget the total general assumption, Mr. Secretary, that I think indicates—would you like me to read that? "The estimates assume a continuation of the present high level of business activity and incomes, continued full employment, and stable prices close to the present level."

Q. What page, please?

Director Webb: M9 (p. 23).[1]

Q. What is the present level?

Secretary Snyder: That is the figure that I am going to give you.

THE PRESIDENT. I can tell you, but I am going to let the Secretary of the Treasury give you the actual figure.

[7.] Q. You talked about—in your message to Congress you talk about the natural resources expenditures—increased expenditures.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Q. Where in the budget is that broken down? I do not find but two places, one in the agricultural and the other——

THE PRESIDENT. You will find it in the Department of the Interior and in the Department of Agriculture also. Then you will find it in flood control.

Q. In flood control, but that is——

THE PRESIDENT. Look at that chart, it explains it very definitely.

Director Webb: Mr. President, also in the back we have included a section which draws together all the civil and public works.

Q. That is what I want. Where is that?

Director Webb: Mr. Weldon Jones can give it to you now.

Mr. Jones: Page 1280.

THE PRESIDENT. It's in the big book.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, could we turn to your social welfare program, on page M24, (p. 34), at the bottom of the page, old-age and survivors insurance, in which it is proposed to extend coverage to all gainful workers, including agricultural and domestic employees, farmers, and other self-employed persons. In the very next paragraph it says "increases in individual amounts and in the

[1] Page references in parentheses, throughout this news conference, indicate where the subjects referred to may be found in the Budget Message as printed herein (Item 5); all other references correspond to the page numbers in the Budget as published in House Document 456 (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

maximum amount of earnings taxable." Does the first portion of that last paragraph mean increases in benefit payments—old-age insurance benefit payments?

THE PRESIDENT. That is what is intended.

Q. On page M8 (pp. 21, 22) you say that you are not recommending at this time any cost-of-living increases in benefits for veterans, social insurance beneficiaries, etc. That was a bit confusing to me, because after reading page M8, where you indicate here that—where you say you are not recommending any cost-of-living increases, I get this proposal for increasing the individual benefits—I mean, on page M24 (p. 34)——

THE PRESIDENT. You have got to increase those enough so that they can have enough to eat. That's what the difficulty is.

Q. You feel—I am still confused.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think they will clash with each other at all.

Director Webb: Two different things, Mr. President.

Q. Can that be explained, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Director Webb: Weldon, you may want to straighten him out on that.

Mr. Jones: I didn't think there was any clash. That is largely trust funds, and so forth, which do not affect the budgetary expenditures.

THE PRESIDENT. Almost entirely trust funds.

Mr. Jones: That is the proposal.

THE PRESIDENT. You will find it set out in the chart where the trust funds are shown.

Q. Well, doesn't that mean regular Federal old-age insurance?

Mr. Jones: He is not recommending temporarily, as I understand it. This is a permanent proposal, long range. There is a temporary cost-of-living proposal that you have got on page—an earlier page.

Q. Oh, I see. But under this program those increases would begin to go into effect in 1949, wouldn't they?

Mr. Jones: That's right.

Q. Then the difference between that is temporarily a—you are not proposing any temporary increase but you are proposing some long range, which will increase——

Mr. Jones: That's right.

THE PRESIDENT. That's right.

Q. All right, then. Then, in connection with the same sentence there, in the maximum amount of earnings taxable, right now we tax up to $3,000. Could you tell us, sir, what maximum? Would it be the same——

THE PRESIDENT. Being worked on now by the social security setup, and I am going to send a special message down on that later.

Q. Along the line already suggested by Mr. Altmeyer [1]—$4,800?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I don't want to make any statement on it right now.

Q. Would that be included in the message you referred to, on welfare, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Q. Mr. President, along the same line, on M28 (p. 37), it speaks of a payroll tax of ½ percent on health insurance. Is that one-half each on employer and employee, or one-quarter each on employer and employee?

Director Webb: Weldon?

Mr. Jones: Half on each.

THE PRESIDENT. One-half on each, I am sure, but I want to be——

Q. Up to what amount? What would the permanent contribution rate be?

Director Webb: As to what the rate on the employer is, that has to be worked out in accordance with the total plan. I don't believe you would want to find out now that it definitely will be one-half for employer as well as employee. That will be one element

[1] Arthur J. Altmeyer, Commissioner for Social Security.

in the President's plan when he submits it.

THE PRESIDENT. Depends on how the Congress acts on it.

Q. There is a reference there to a permanent contribution rate, and we can't find it any place in the book. Could you tell us what that might be?

THE PRESIDENT. I will tell you when the message goes down. It isn't in this Budget Message.

[9.] Q. As a result of the later revisions in the 1948 budget that are contained in today's budget, do you have a detailed—more detailed estimate of the reductions Congress made in the original on a comparable basis? In other words, if Congress had accepted all of your original proposals plus the new ones that alternately went up, what would be the total Government expenditures figure for the 1948 fiscal year?

THE PRESIDENT. Can you answer that?

Director Webb: We haven't made any calculation on that. The increases in the budget between this revision and the one last August are pretty clearly indicated in the budget and relate largely to increases in the international field.

Q. That is what I am trying to get at, what were those increases, the total?

Director Webb: We have not made a calculation in total on that. If you will contact the people in the Bureau, we can help you with that project, if you want to undertake it. [*Laughter*] It's a hard project.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, I am a bit confused on M13 (p. 25), first paragraph.

THE PRESIDENT. M13.

Q. Yes. "While the anti-inflation program will require higher expenditures, the total for finance, commerce, and industry will fall sharply because the current year total includes nonrecurring payments of war damage insurance profits to the Treasury."

Director Webb: That is the first paragraph?

Q. My point is how can you fight inflation with increased expenditures?

Director Webb: That is an increase in the particular area of a few million dollars relatively to finance the people necessary for the anti-inflation program. Doesn't refer to the total budget.

THE PRESIDENT. The Director of the Budget says that is for the payment of the overhead cost. Only runs a few million dollars.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, is there any explanation from the Treasury why people up on the Hill were so far ahead of the Treasury in estimating this terrific rise in Federal revenues?

THE PRESIDENT. Was that true?

Q. Yes sir. The Treasury was still holding, I believe, to a round $40 billion estimate up until the time of the adjournment of Congress last year.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think the Treasury finally revised its estimate after the first collection period was in. That is the only way it could be revised. The other was probably a guess. The Treasury works on the figures as they are.

Secretary Snyder: They must have had a better insight into the rise in prices. [*Laughter*] They must have known what they were going to do to them.

[12.] Q. Is it going to be easy to sell John Taber[1] on that $6.8 billion, whereas you list 4.5 in this budget for expenditures?

THE PRESIDENT. Do you understand the difference between expenditures and the requirements of the budget, do you? I tried to explain that to you. Entirely different figures.

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[1] Representative John Taber of New York.

Q. That's a pretty big difference, though.

THE PRESIDENT. You understand what a pipeline is?

Director Webb: Four and a half.

THE PRESIDENT. In these things the pipeline has to be filled first, and it takes—it will take considerable time to get that pipeline working, and the rest of the expenditures will extend over into the following fiscal year. That doesn't have anything to do with what is required.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, does your limited shipbuilding recommendation here for the Maritime Commission mean that you have decided against the recommendation of your advisory committee on merchant marine, or that you have not yet made a decision on that?

THE PRESIDENT. The decision is that we will eventually go ahead with the merchant marine program. We have got to do the best we can, though, when we can't get the money. We are asking for what we think we can get.

Director Webb: You can study that report, too.

[14.] Q. On the cost-of-living tax credit, I wonder if you could tell us how you decided on $40, rather than 30, 50, or some other figure?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I can tell you. The suggestion came from the Economic Advisers that this was a proper approach to the situation, and then it was figured out what $20 would do, what $25 would do, what $30 would do; and it was finally decided that the 40 figure would come more nearly meeting the necessary cost-of-living program for more people than any other figure, and that the increase in the corporation tax, which would be just enough to offset it, would not in any way injure corporation profits. You see, in 1947 they had the greatest profit they ever had in their history—$12½ billion. This year it's 17 billion. That's how we arrived at that conclusion.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, were you aware that Mrs. Douglas [1] had introduced a bill at the last session for identical exemption?

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't know about Mrs. Douglas's bill.

Q. She had a hundred dollars.

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't know about Mrs. Douglas's bill.

Q. She had in her bill the excess profits—reimposition of excess profits.

THE PRESIDENT. Excess profits tax.

Q. Why was that rejected? What was the reason?

THE PRESIDENT. It was considered too difficult to administer. It was difficult to administer, and we decided that a straight increase probably would be better. The Treasury is working on the bill now.

Secretary Snyder: Haven't settled on that now.

THE PRESIDENT. The Secretary tells me he hasn't settled on which approach it will be.

Q. You have not yet decided whether it's a flat increase?

THE PRESIDENT. Excess profits?

Q. On excess profits.

THE PRESIDENT. That will be straightened out.

[16.] Q. Again, in connection with the $40 tax exemption figure, could you tell us what consideration was made to give everybody the same—the same tax exemption rather than to weight it on behalf of the people with the lowest income?

THE PRESIDENT. We want to treat everybody just alike. I think everybody is equal before the law, isn't that part of your constitutional teaching? Want to treat everybody just alike.

Q. Mr. President, I am not sure I heard,

[1] Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas of California.

but I had the impression you said that you were weighing whether it should be or will be a straight increase on excess profits tax, is that correct?

THE PRESIDENT. That's right.

Q. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT. What is it, Miss May? [1]

Q. Mr. President, do you treat everybody alike, in that you give people with children exemption of $40 too?

THE PRESIDENT. Miss May, that is a question for argument. That is a question for argument. [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, if the corporate tax is increased to cover the $40 for each taxpayer, will not the prices of the commodities of corporations be increased?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't see why they should, at the rate profits are coming in.

Q. Isn't it true that the profits of corporations which used to run pretty close to 10 percent of the national income are now running less than 10 percent of the national income?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that question. I would be glad if you would furnish me the figures.

Q. Has the Treasury figured out what the corporate percentage increase would be, would it be 12 or 13 percent?

THE PRESIDENT. Somewhere in that neighborhood.

Secretary Snyder: Make it 13.

Q. About 13.

Q. About the maximum.

THE PRESIDENT. Totaling about a straight across-the-board rate.

Q. That would hike the corporate rate to what?

THE PRESIDENT. About 51 percent. I think it is 38 now.

[17.] Q. What sort of an adjustment would you give small business on that?

THE PRESIDENT. Same sort of adjustment they have now. I think there is an exemption of $25,000 or $50,000 now.

[18.] Q. If I could go back to that, I am surprised to hear you say everybody should be treated alike. Don't you think low-income people ought to get more help?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, and they are going to get more help. Under the plan they will get more help than the one that is proposed in the Congress.

Q. On that point, where is business going to get this $50 billion that you recommended for business investment?

THE PRESIDENT. Where did it get the 23 billion it spent over the last year and a half? From the same place.

Q. Where did they get that, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. They got it from the sale of securities. They got some of it on profits. Just a general business approach to the thing. This is, you understand, to extend over a period of years. It doesn't mean to be a $50 billion expenditure in one year. It's a 10-year period about which I have been talking.

Q. Mr. President, won't such an expansion of expenditures—expenditures for expansion require a rate increase in bank credit, and aren't we trying to contract bank credit in order to fight inflation?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think so. We are not trying to contract bank credit where it will increase production. We are only trying to contract bank credit where it does not increase production, or for speculative purposes—particularly speculative.

Q. Mr. President, on page M9 (p. 23) your message reads, "Between 1947 and 1948 revenues from corporations and individual income taxes combined increased by $5.5 billion, more than offsetting the decline of

[1] Mrs. May Craig of the Portland (Maine) Press-Herald.

$3.2 billion in excess profits tax revenues." Is there any connection between that and your recommendation?

THE PRESIDENT. No, that is just a statement of fact.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, have you any estimate of how much of this budget goes to carry out the recommendations of your State of the Union Message on the 10-year plan for health and education and everything else?

THE PRESIDENT. Can you answer that?

Director Webb: You propose certain specific legislation here, and there are estimates for that for this year.

THE PRESIDENT. We have proposed certain specific legislation here and the estimates are in the budget for those specific proposals.

Q. Is that in that table in the back?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Yes, that's in that table.

Director Webb: Page M56 (p. 58).

[20.] Q. Mr. President, some of the things that you have proposed in your State of the Union Message are not—are not in this Budget Message.

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. For example, the river valley authorities, for example, are not—there is no estimate in the budget for those?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the reason that estimate is not included is because it hasn't even been reported out of the committee. It has been pending for the last 5 years—ever since I was in the Senate. That is one of the reasons it isn't in there. If you can assure me that the Congress will act on them, why I will put them in the budget by a supplemental.

Q. Quite to the contrary, I question whether they will act on a lot of things that are in here.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we'll see. The answer will come along about May or June.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You asked about the national income on which this budget was figured. It is 192 billions.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and thirty-second news conference was held in the Movie Projection Room in the East Wing at the White House at 10 a.m. on Saturday, January 10, 1948. The President was assisted in presenting information on the budget by John W. Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury; James E. Webb, Director of the Bureau of the Budget; and J. Weldon Jones, Assistant Director in Charge of the Fiscal Division of the Bureau of the Budget.

5 Annual Budget Message to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1949. *January* 12, 1948

[Released January 12, 1948. Dated January 6, 1948]

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting my recommendations for the Budget of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1949, together with revised estimates for the fiscal year 1948. This Budget includes estimates to carry out both existing laws and proposed legislation.

The realities of our existing international and domestic requirements account for the size of this Budget. It affords essential support to the foreign policy of the United States by encouraging widespread international economic cooperation while maintaining our armed strength. It affords essential support to our domestic policies by advancing the development of human and material resources within a fiscal plan designed to help combat inflation.

The expenditures of the Federal Government are still inescapably dominated by the

war and its aftermath. In the fiscal year 1949, 79 percent of our expenditures directly reflect the costs of war, the effects of war, and our efforts to prevent a future war: National Defense—International Affairs—Veterans' Benefits—Interest on the Public Debt—Tax Refunds. This should be a sobering thought to all of us as we strive for the creation of lasting peace among the nations of the world. Only 21 percent of our expenditures finance the Government's programs in the broad areas of: Social Welfare — Housing — Education — Research—Agriculture—National Resources—Transportation — Finance — Commerce — Industry—Labor—General Administration.

In the 2 years since the surrender of the Axis Powers, expenditures of the Federal Government have decreased sharply from 63.7 billion dollars in the fiscal year 1946, to 42.5 billion dollars in the fiscal year 1947, and an estimated 37.7 billion dollars in the current fiscal year. Were the Budget for the fiscal year 1949 to be confined solely to carrying out existing laws, there would be a further decrease to slightly below 34 billion dollars.

It would be gratifying if I could say to the American people and to their Senators and Representatives in the Congress that our existing programs fulfill our national requirements. But this is not the case. Our national and international responsibilities demand that we undertake new activities and expand some activities in which we are already engaged.

Expenditures of 5.7 billion dollars will therefore be required for the fiscal year 1949 to finance programs under proposed legislation. Of this, 4.4 billion dollars is needed for our aid to the European recovery program and for aid to other countries, including China. Most of the remainder is for the development of our human and material resources through universal training, aid to education, expansion of social security, health insurance, housing, and scientific research.

Thus the Budget for the fiscal year 1949 calls for total expenditures of 39.7 billion dollars. Receipts during this period are estimated under existing tax laws at 44.5 billion dollars. This will balance the Budget and provide 4.8 billion dollars which should be used to reduce the public debt.

For the current fiscal year, 1948, the revised estimates included in this Budget indicate expenditures of 37.7 billion dollars and receipts of 45.2 billion dollars. This indicates a surplus of 7.5 billion dollars which should be used to reduce the public debt.

Our 1949 Budget reflects a number of important decisions involving Government policies which deserve special attention.

National defense, amounting to 11 billion dollars, accounts for 28 percent of the 1949 Budget, as it will in 1948. The net increase over 1948 is 279 million dollars, which is less than the amount needed to inaugurate the program of universal training. The total for all other defense activities has been held below the 1948 level. Increases in the most essential activities, such as aircraft procurement and civilian reserves, will be offset by economies and reductions elsewhere. This Budget emphasizes progress toward a modern and balanced armed force.

International affairs and finance, amounting to 7 billion dollars, accounts for 18 percent of Budget expenditures in 1949 as compared with 15 percent in 1948. The cost of the new aid programs will be largely counterbalanced by completion or sharp reduction of expenditures for the British loan, UNRRA, post-UNRRA relief, and certain other programs. There will therefore be a net increase in this category of less than 1.5 billion dollars. The new international program is our answer to an unprecedented challenge. We are undertaking it under conditions

basically different from any which we have experienced before. I have repeatedly stressed the critical importance of our aid to European recovery, which represents the bulk of this expenditure. The sums requested are vital to the success of this program.

The budgetary implications of failure to achieve recovery in Europe and other crucial areas deserve additional emphasis. Should failure of these programs result in a further extension of totalitarian rule, we would have to reexamine our security position and take whatever steps might be necessary under the circumstances. The costs of added military strength, if Europe should succumb to totalitarian rule, would far exceed the costs of the program of economic aid now before the Congress.

Expenditures for national defense and international activities constitute 46 percent of the total Budget for the fiscal year 1949. The increases in national defense and international aid programs total almost 1.8 billion dollars, which is close to the increase of the entire Budget over 1948.

All other expenditures of the Government in the fiscal year 1949 are estimated at 21.6 billion dollars, about the same as the 1948 expenditures in these categories. Within this total, which includes 6.1 billion dollars for veterans, over 5.2 billion dollars for interest, and nearly 2 billion dollars for refunds, there are a number of reductions resulting from declining programs and a number of increases to finance activities which should not be deferred.

During the fiscal year 1949, fewer veterans will be requesting educational aid and needing unemployment compensation benefits than in 1948, but expenditures for hospital construction will increase, leaving a net reduction of 530 million dollars for veterans' activities. This reduction contemplates continuation of existing veterans' programs with the same types of benefits as have been available this year. The surplus property disposal program is nearing completion, and under revised legislation should cost about 200 million dollars less than in the current year.

New legislative proposals, together with expansions in present programs necessary to carry out the intent of existing laws, account for the increases in expenditures.

Failure to improve our educational system or to expand flood-control work would mean risking the loss of precious resources—human and material. Failure to adopt a program of health insurance would mean that many families will continue to go without adequate medical care. Failure to broaden the coverage of present social insurance and to increase benefits on a permanent basis would mean too much reliance upon relief, whereas more reliance on insurance is our national objective. Failure to adopt a long-range housing program would mean further delay in achieving decent housing standards. Failure to devote needed sums to our atomic plant would mean that we would be derelict in the use of one of our most valuable resources. Each of these proposed new and expanded programs has been most carefully weighed. All these programs directly support the twofold objective of building economic and individual strength and health in this Nation, and of better preparing this Nation to discharge its increased responsibilities in the family of nations.

We are all aware of the imperative necessity for preventing further inflation. Both the expenditure and revenue proposals of this Budget are designed to avoid inflationary effects wherever possible.

To this end, Government purchases of materials in short supply are being deferred where feasible. The expansion of Government credit and of Government guarantees of private credit is being restricted. Further, I am not recommending at this time cost-of-

living increases in pay for military and civilian Government personnel, nor cost-of-living increases in benefits for our veterans, social insurance beneficiaries, retired Federal employees, and other similar groups.

The rapid increase in living costs during the last 18 months has placed a serious burden on these groups. Yet, to offset the cost-of-living increase since the last time pay or benefit rates were advanced for each group would add at least 2.4 billion dollars to Budget expenditures in 1949—apart from increases that would be paid from the trust funds. This large expenditure would add greatly to the inflationary pressures in our economy.

The wiser approach, which I have proposed to the Congress, is to enact a comprehensive program to hold living costs down. Enactment of that program will give relief not only to Federal personnel and annuitants, but to our citizens generally. In the event that the Congress does not provide controls adequate for this purpose, I may have to recommend further adjustments in pay and benefit rates.

The question of taxation must be considered in the framework of the budgetary program and the danger of further inflation. One of our most effective weapons in fighting inflation is a substantial Budget surplus for reduction of the national debt. If we make this protection less effective, we shall have to rely much more heavily on direct price, wage, and rationing controls, which we all agree should be held to a minimum.

Some readjustment is required to afford relief to many families who are suffering great hardship from the present tax structure. But total receipts should not be reduced and the surpluses for 1948 and 1949 should be used to decrease the national debt.

This Budget reveals the magnitude of the problems with which the Federal Government must deal. It demonstrates alike the heavy responsibilities of our international

BUDGET RECEIPTS

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Source	*Actual, 1947*	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*
Direct taxes on individuals:			
Individual income tax	$19,629	$21,951	$22,506
Estate and gift taxes	779	842	816
Direct taxes on corporations:			
Corporation income tax	6,055	9,222	10,000
Excess profits tax and other	3,621	326	158
Excise taxes	7,270	7,320	7,476
Employment taxes:			
Existing legislation	2,039	2,409	2,493
Proposed legislation	.....	.....	350
Customs	494	394	378
Deduct (appropriations to trust funds):			
Existing legislation	1,459	1,627	1,672
Proposed legislation	.....	.....	350
Subtotal, net tax revenues	38,428	40,837	42,155
Miscellaneous receipts	4,831	4,373	2,322
Budget receipts	43,259	45,210	44,477

position and our concern for the maintenance of a sound domestic economy. The plain fact is that our Budget must remain high until we have met our international responsibilities and can see the way clear to a peaceful and prosperous world. Prudence demands that we plan our national finances in full recognition of this fact.

BUDGET RECEIPTS

Net tax revenues for the fiscal year 1949 are estimated at 1.3 billion dollars higher than the present estimate for 1948, and 3.7 billion dollars higher than in 1947. The estimates assume continuation of the present high levels of business activity and incomes, continued full employment, and stable prices close to the present level. These assumptions presuppose an effective anti-inflation program.

Budget receipts, however, will decline from 1948 to 1949, because of an estimated reduction of 2 billion dollars in miscellaneous receipts, most of which is due to a decline in receipts from sales of surplus property.

The tax adjustment I am proposing will mean a reduction in personal income taxes and a corresponding increase in corporation taxes. The estimates in the Budget for these taxes are based on existing legislation.

Between 1947 and 1948, revenues from corporation and individual income taxes combined increased by 5.5 billion dollars, more than offsetting the decline of 3.2 billion dollars in excess profits tax revenues. Between 1948 and 1949, revenues from the two types of income taxes will increase by an added 1.3 billion dollars. These increases are largely the result of inflation during the past 18 months, which has swelled corporation profits and aggregate personal incomes. Because the increase in tax collections lags behind the rise in profits and incomes, the 1948 increase in tax collections will be followed by a further rise in 1949.

Excise tax and employment tax receipts are expected to increase slightly in the fiscal year 1949 as a result of continued high levels of production and income. Receipts from customs, however, have been declining in recent months. The international trade agreements which recently became effective may cause a further slight drop in these receipts in 1949.

The expansion of existing social insurance programs and introduction of a health insurance program, under proposed legislation, will add an estimated 350 million dollars of employment taxes to gross Budget receipts, but this will all be transferred directly to the trust accounts without reflection in Budget totals.

RETIREMENT OF THE PUBLIC DEBT

The public debt on June 30, 1947, was 258 billion dollars. Budget surpluses of over 7 billion dollars in the current fiscal year and nearly 5 billion dollars next year should permit further reduction to 246 billion dollars by June 30, 1949. As long as employment and income continue at record levels—and especially while inflationary dangers threaten—we must make the most of our opportunity for debt retirement.

The retirement of public debt held by banks, other private institutions, and individuals will be considerably greater than the 12-billion-dollar reduction in the total, since trust accounts and other Government agencies will accumulate about 6 billion dollars during the two fiscal years. The investment of these accumulations in Federal securities will permit the Treasury to retire securities in the possession of other holders.

In management of the public debt, the major goal will be the achievement of the

maximum anti-inflationary effect. This has been our policy since the debt reached its peak in February 1946.

Debt held by the commercial banks and the Federal Reserve banks has been repaid out of excess Treasury balances, the Budget surplus, trust fund accumulations, and the sale of savings and investment bonds to the public. The whole process reduces the volume of private bank deposits and so combats inflationary pressure.

At the same time, we shall do our utmost to increase voluntary savings in all forms, particularly the purchase of savings bonds.

To curtail bank credit expansion, the Federal Reserve System and the Treasury have progressively tightened the money market. This has been reflected in an adjustment in interest rates and a better balance between short- and long-term rates. However, by refunding long-term securities into short-term securities we have minimized the increase in the average interest rate paid by the Government on market debt.

BUDGET EXPENDITURES AND APPROPRIATIONS

The Budget total includes expenditures from the general and special accounts of the Treasury and also the net expenditures from checking accounts of Government corporations and enterprises. It does not include trust account expenditures.

Expenditures in relation to authorizations.—Expenditures in the fiscal year 1949 will exceed appropriations for that year by 6.7 billion dollars. Of the 1949 expenditures, 28.4 billion dollars will be made from appropriations recommended in this Budget, including 5.4 billion dollars under permanent appropriations. Expenditures of more than 10.5 billion dollars, including 5 billion dollars for international programs, will be

BUDGET EXPENDITURES AND APPROPRIATIONS BY MAJOR PROGRAMS

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program	*Expenditures*			*Appropriations, 1949*
	Actual, 1947	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*	
National defense	$14,281	$10,746	$11,025	$10,295
International affairs and finance	6,540	5,533	7,009	2,104
Veterans' services and benefits	7,370	6,032	6,102	5,154
Social welfare, health, and security	1,379	1,960	2,028	2,077
Housing and community facilities	403	113	38	292
Education and general research	76	77	387	407
Agriculture and agricultural resources	1,248	614	906	655
Natural resources	628	1,179	1,626	1,581
Transportation and communication	587	1,563	1,646	1,549
Finance, commerce, and industry	238	372	190	171
Labor	120	97	116	117
General government	1,318	1,473	1,157	1,065
Interest on the public debt	4,958	5,200	5,200	5,250
Refunds of receipts	2,897	2,049	1,990	1,990
Reserve for contingencies	.....	120	200	225
Adjustment to daily Treasury statement basis	+464	.....	.....	.....
Total	42,505	37,728	39,669	32,930

financed by appropriations for 1948 or earlier years. The remaining expenditures of about 700 million dollars, principally net expenditures of Government corporations and credit agencies, will be made under other types of congressional authorizations.

The Budget also includes recommended new authority for Government agencies to make contracts amounting to 1.9 billion dollars. Before expenditures are made in payment of these contracts, the funds must be provided by appropriations, but this will not be necessary until later years. Within the 32.9 billion dollars of appropriations recommended for the fiscal year 1949, nearly 1.7 billion dollars are for the liquidation of prior contract authorizations.

Changes in expenditures.—The major reasons for the changes in the national defense, international, and veterans' programs have already been summarized.

The 1949 Budget expenditures for social welfare, health, and security involve increases for the public health and public assistance programs, and initial administrative costs of the proposed health insurance program. Trust account expenditures for benefit payments will also increase.

Expenditures for housing and community facilities decrease. Completion of veterans' re-use housing and curtailment of mortgage purchases more than offset the first-year costs of the proposed long-range housing program.

The increases for education and general research result mainly from the proposed grants by the Federal Government to the States to aid elementary and secondary education, and from the proposed establishment of the National Science Foundation.

The increase in expenditures for agriculture is accounted for mainly by decreased net receipts of the Commodity Credit Corporation. Proposed revisions in price support will bring some savings in 1949. More adequate provision for the conservation and use program is recommended for the 1949 crop year.

Natural resources expenditures will increase chiefly because of higher expenditures for atomic energy, flood control, and reclamation.

Major increases in expenditures for transportation are in grants for highway and airport construction, and direct improvement of rivers and harbors. These are offset in part by lower Maritime Commission expenditures.

While the anti-inflation program will require higher expenditures, the total for finance, commerce, and industry will fall sharply because the current year total includes the nonrecurring payment of war damage insurance profits to the Treasury.

The increase for labor is required to carry out the provisions of the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, to restore essential services in the Department of Labor, and to cover increased costs of the public employment offices.

General government expenditures will decrease, chiefly because of lower expenditures for the disposal of surplus property.

Although the public debt will be lower, interest payments will increase somewhat, chiefly as a result of higher accruals on savings bonds as they approach maturity.

Tax refunds will decrease mainly because of lower refunds arising from adjustment of wartime corporate tax liabilities.

In the preparation of this Budget I directed all departments and agencies to plan to continue their programs for the fiscal year 1949 at or below their operating levels in 1948. Exceptions were made only where activities could no longer be deferred. Many departmental requests to perform desirable

services have been refused. Throughout the Federal Government changes in activities will be made to achieve the rigid standards of operating economy which have governed the preparation of this Budget.

Specific Programs

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Since the close of hostilities, we have reduced our armed services to a small fraction of their wartime strength. Nevertheless, national defense remains the largest single Government program. The defense of the United States and the task of administering the affairs of 140 million people in the occupied areas require heavy expenditures.

The enactment of the National Security Act of 1947 will enable us to move more rapidly toward an integrated and balanced national defense program. The amounts we can afford to spend for national defense, as for any other program, are necessarily limited. The Secretary of Defense and the coordinating agencies provided by this act are now engaged in reviewing the missions and programs of the services in order to attain the most effective defense possible within these limits.

In this Budget, we provide only for the minimum requirements of the National Military Establishment. For the Air Force, the Budget will permit a higher level of maintenance and operation, with a considerable increase in aircraft procurement. For the Army, it will provide for improved equipment for small, highly mobile tactical ground forces, as well as for occupation troops and their support. For the Navy, it will provide for maintaining the fleet and naval aviation at the 1948 strength, but with increased aircraft procurement.

One basic element of a balanced national security program which I have repeatedly urged—universal training—is still lacking. A national program of broad training for all young men is necessary to provide a firm base for small standing forces to be augmented, when necessary, by trained reserve components. Such training should make possible an ultimate reduction in our standing forces. In anticipation of early approval by the Congress of a program of universal training along the lines recommended by the Advisory Commission on Universal Training, I have included 400 million dollars in the expenditure estimate for the fiscal year 1949. This is the first-year cost of a program which in full operation will cost about 2 billion dollars annually.

Expenditures.—A net increase of 279 million dollars in total national defense outlays is estimated in fiscal year 1949. Apart from readjustments in the expenditures of the Air Force, Army, and Navy, the most substantial increases are for universal training and stockpiling, and the largest decreases are in terminal-leave payments and other war liquidation expenses.

This Budget is the first to provide for a full year's operation of the facilities established by the National Security Act of 1947 for coordination and direction of our defense, both within the National Military Establishment and by the National Security Council and the National Security Resources Board.

Expenditures for Air, Army, and Naval defense are estimated at more than 10.3 billion dollars for the fiscal year 1949—slightly less than in the present year. These expenditures cover pay and maintenance of military personnel, civilian-reserve components, research and development, aircraft procurement, naval ship construction, and military and naval public works, as well as other equipment and general operating expenses. Each of these is discussed in the following paragraphs.

Pay and maintenance of military person-

NATIONAL DEFENSE

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program or agency	*Expenditures*			*Appropriations, 1949*
	Actual, 1947	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*	
Direction and coordination of defense	.....	$2	$11	$11
Air and Army defense:				
Pay and maintenance of military personnel	$4,326	3,325	3,128	3,100
All other (present programs)	1,968	2,879	2,904	2,752
Reserve components (proposed legislation)	.....	.....	13	16
Public works (proposed legislation)	.....	30	140	20
Naval defense (including naval air arm):				
Pay and maintenance of military personnel	2,374	1,659	1,581	1,569
All other (present programs)	3,184	2,458	2,535	1,938
Public works (proposed legislation)	.....	9	26	25
Activities supporting defense:				
Terminal-leave pay for enlisted personnel	1,998	283	5	.....
Lend-lease liquidation (excluding National Military Establishment)	340	83	.....	.....
Military stockpiling (Treasury)	11	110	305	360
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	49	—102	—28	.....
Other	31	9	4	4
Universal training (proposed legislation)	.....	.....	400	500
Total	14,281	10,746	11,025	10,295

nel, excluding civilian reserves, in the fiscal year 1949 will require an estimated 4.7 billion dollars, or 45 percent of the 10.3 billion dollars. This estimate will provide for an average military strength of 1,423,000 officers and enlisted personnel in the Air Force, Army, and Navy for the fiscal year 1949, about the same as the current strength of the armed forces. Existing recruitment inducements appear to be adequate to maintain these forces. Pay, subsistence, travel, welfare, training, clothing, and medical expenditures will average about 3,300 dollars a man in the armed forces—nearly two and one-half times the cost a decade ago.

For the civilian-reserve components, estimated expenditures for the fiscal year 1949 are nearly 600 million dollars, an increase of about one-half from the present year. This includes 13 million dollars under proposed legislation, mainly for additional drill pay. These organizations are also being provided with equipment, facilities, and supplies procured and paid for during the war.

Expenditures for military research and development—exclusive of those for atomic weapons, construction of facilities, and pay of military personnel engaged on research projects—will remain at about 550 million dollars in the coming year. A large proportion of these expenditures will be in aviation and related fields.

Increased replacement of aircraft is essential in the fiscal year 1949 to support our air arms at the planned levels. Wartime reserves of planes and parts are becoming depleted or obsolete. Expenditures for procurement of complete aircraft in fiscal year 1949 are estimated at 900 million dollars—an increase of about 150 million dollars over the current year. Expenditures in 1950 for this purpose will rise again as a result of the proposed increase of over 30 percent in 1949 authorizations. The plans for the Air

Force contemplate operation of 55 combat groups and 17 separate squadrons.

Estimated expenditures for naval ship construction will amount to 312 million dollars in the fiscal year 1949, an increase of 34 million dollars over 1948. At present the Navy is required by law to complete certain ships authorized and started during the war. To assist in modernizing the fleet, I recommend that this provision be repealed. The partially completed ships would then be held in reserve. I also recommend that 230 million dollars of the money that would have been spent to complete these ships and convert them to advanced design be used for the construction, during the next few years, of improved types of vessels. This substitution will mean a more efficient fleet.

For construction of military and naval public works, expenditures for fiscal year 1949 are estimated at 334 million dollars, as compared with 409 million dollars in the current year. Both estimates include anticipated expenditures under legislation now pending before the Congress to provide essential housing for troops in the United States and overseas and other construction of high priority, such as research facilities.

The remaining expenditures of about 2.9 billion dollars for the defense activities of the National Military Establishment are for equipment, supplies, and civilian payroll for maintenance and operation. In the fiscal year 1949 the bulk of this expenditure will be to pay civilian workers engaged in industrial, supply, maintenance, and administrative activities, overseas and in the United States, on defense programs. About 40 percent of all Federal civilian employees will be engaged in defense activities. Procurement of equipment and supplies other than aircraft will be limited chiefly to developmental and test items and some new equipment for ground force units. Limited provision is made for the maintenance of stand-by plants and facilities and for industrial mobilization planning.

Aside from the National Military Establishment, the most important expenditures for defense activities in 1949 will be for military stockpiling, particularly to build up reserves of those raw materials and supplies which must be obtained from overseas sources that might be cut off in time of war. Although procurement of materials for the strategic stockpile is behind schedule, the estimated expenditures for procurement in the fiscal year 1949 are held to 285 million dollars because of the urgent need for such materials to promote world recovery, and the prevailing shortages with attendant high prices. In addition to the new procurement, transfers from Government-owned stocks to the stockpile which began in 1947 will continue, with expenditures of 20 million dollars for processing in fiscal year 1949. The value of these transferred materials will amount to an estimated 400 million dollars in all by the end of the fiscal year 1949.

Appropriations and other authorizations.—Appropriations of 10.3 billion dollars will be necessary for national defense in the fiscal year 1949. This amount includes estimates of 500 million dollars in appropriations for universal training and 61 million dollars for other proposed legislation, largely for military construction.

Excluding 565 million dollars in appropriations to liquidate obligations under prior contract authorizations, the new appropriations recommended for the fiscal year 1949 amount to 9.7 billion dollars. In addition, new contract authorizations of about 1.2 billion dollars are required—923 million dollars for aircraft procurement, 65 million dollars for public works, and 230 million dollars for naval ship construction.

Thus, I am recommending new authority to obligate totaling 10.9 billion dollars in the fiscal year 1949, which will permit expendi-

tures both in 1949 and later years. Of this amount nearly 50 percent will be devoted to defense aviation. For 1948, the corresponding total authority to obligate is 10.4 billion dollars. The increase is mainly for the proposed universal training program and for strategic stockpiling.

I am also requesting authority to continue available for expenditure an estimated 380 million dollars of appropriations obligated in the fiscal year 1946 and earlier years, largely for aircraft procurement contracts and for military construction. This extension will permit liquidation of outstanding contracts on which deliveries have been delayed.

Appropriations for major activities of the Air Force and the Army have not yet been separated. In addition to obligations under direct appropriations to the Department of the Air Force, about half of those by the Department of the Army in the fiscal year 1949 will be for the Air Force. The complete recasting of the appropriations structure necessary to separate the accounts of these two Departments is now in process, but could not be completed in the short time since the passage of the National Security Act.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND FINANCE

Our new international programs for European aid have been fully presented to the Congress in recent messages. The appropriation already enacted will provide "stopgap" assistance through next March to the European countries in most urgent need—France, Italy, and Austria—as well as aid to China. It is essential that we move as soon as possible to a positive program for promotion of European recovery.

In addition to the European recovery program, other international-aid programs for several countries, including China, are provided for under proposed legislation. Definite recommendations on these programs will be transmitted shortly. Also, I urge again enactment of the inter-American military cooperation bill proposed last May. Estimates of appropriations and expenditures for this group of programs have been included in the Budget.

Expenditures.—By far the largest international expenditures in the fiscal year 1949 will be under the European recovery program—4 billion dollars, in addition to 500 million dollars in the fiscal year 1948. Expenditures under other proposed legislation for aid are estimated at 60 million dollars in the fiscal year 1948 and 440 million dollars in the fiscal year 1949.

The Export-Import Bank will continue in the fiscal year 1949 to make loans to expand international trade and promote economic development, particularly in the Western Hemisphere. The need for such loans will decline, however, when the dollar problem of Western Hemisphere countries is eased as a result of purchases in these countries under the European recovery program. Disbursements of the Bank's funds will also decline because its large loan authorizations to several European countries are rapidly being exhausted during the current fiscal year. Plans for the European recovery program call for use of the Bank's facilities to administer loans made under the new program.

The largest expenditures for foreign relief now fall under the occupied-areas program. These expenditures are handled by the Army and are chiefly for shipments of goods to prevent disease and unrest. They will increase in both the 1948 and 1949 fiscal years. The increase in 1948 will be caused largely by sharply higher prices, a severe German crop failure, extensive storm damage to Japanese crops, and the British dollar shortage. Since the United Kingdom is no longer able to meet dollar costs for essential supplies

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND FINANCE

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program or agency	*Expenditures*			*Appropriations, 1949*
	Actual, 1947	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*	
Reconstruction and stabilization:				
European recovery program (proposed legislation)	.....	$500	$4,000	[1]
Other proposed aid legislation	.....	60	440	[2] $450
Export-Import Bank loans	$937	736	500	.....
Treasury loan to United Kingdom	2,050	1,700	.....	.....
Subscriptions to International Bank and Fund	1,426	.....	.....	.....
Reconstruction Finance Corporation loans to United Kingdom	—38	—40	—40	.....
U.S. Commercial Company	—47	63	.....	.....
Greek-Turkish aid (act of 1947)	.....	275	119	.....
Foreign relief:				
Foreign (interim) aid (Foreign Aid Act of 1947)	.....	375	165	.....
Army (occupied countries)	514	998	1,250	1,250
Relief assistance to war-devastated areas (post-UNRRA)	.....	272	60	.....
UNRRA	1,489	201	1	.....
International Refugee Organization	.....	71	71	71
Other	3	[3]	.....	.....
Philippine war damage and rehabilitation:				
Present programs	73	95	180	116
Proposed legislation for veterans' benefits	.....	.....	16	16
Membership in international organizations:				
Present programs	17	25	24	24
Proposed legislation	.....	15	34	4
Foreign relations:				
Department of State:				
Present programs	111	160	164	151
Proposed legislation	.....	20	16	20
Other	6	7	7	1
Total	6,540	5,533	7,009	2,104

[1] A 1948 supplemental appropriation of 6.8 billion dollars is anticipated for the period from April 1, 1948, to June 30, 1949.

[2] A 1948 supplemental appropriation of 300 million dollars is also included in this Budget.

[3] Less than one-half million dollars.

for the bizonal area of Germany the United States is now assuming this expense. The British will continue to finance purchases from sterling areas. Expenditures under this program will increase still further in the fiscal year 1949 because all dollar costs of imports for relief in the bizonal area must be paid by the United States for the entire fiscal year.

Expenditures under the interim-aid and post-UNRRA programs will be completed in the fiscal year 1949. Most of the shipments under these programs will be made in the current fiscal year, but expenditures lag behind shipments.

Payments to the Philippine Republic to make partial compensation for war damage and to aid in its rehabilitation are now increasing. I renew the recommendation that the Congress enact legislation to carry out

our pledge to provide certain benefits to Philippine veterans.

Estimates for the fiscal years 1948 and 1949 for membership in international organizations include disbursement of part of a proposed loan to the United Nations for construction of permanent headquarters.

The budget for the Department of State includes amounts needed under proposed legislation to carry out an effective foreign informational and cultural program. This program is essential in order to present to the world an accurate picture of United States policies and to counter misleading propaganda. An adequate information program will greatly increase the effectiveness of our international political and economic policies, especially in Europe.

Appropriations.—A supplemental 1948 appropriation of 6.8 billion dollars is included in this Budget for the first 15 months of the European recovery program. This appropriation would be available for obligation through the fiscal year 1949, and would be used mainly in that year. Experience with programs involving similar procurement problems indicates that the margin between the recommended appropriation and the 4.5 billion-dollar expenditure estimate during the same period is reasonable. To permit systematic and economical placement of orders for later delivery, appropriations must be substantially greater than expenditures in the initial phase of the program. In addition, bills for a portion of the goods shipped in one fiscal year are not paid until the following year, and this lag of expenditures is particularly significant in a large new program.

Other recommended 1948 supplemental appropriations, to be spent mainly in 1949 and later years, include 300 million dollars for other foreign-aid programs, 65 million dollars for the loan to the United Nations for headquarters construction, and smaller amounts for Department of State programs.

Because of the large supplemental appropriations for international activities recommended for the fiscal year 1948, appropriations for 1949 total only 2.1 billion dollars. The two main items are 1,250 million dollars for the Army programs in occupied areas and an estimate of 450 million dollars for aid programs under proposed legislation. Recommended appropriations totaling 133 million dollars for Philippine programs are below estimated expenditures because a portion of the appropriations for the current year will remain available for expenditure next year.

VETERANS' SERVICES AND BENEFITS

During the past year about 900,000 World War II servicemen returned to civilian life, increasing the number of World War II veterans to 14.7 million and the total veteran population to 18.6 million. Within a decade, veterans and their immediate dependents will constitute more than two-fifths of our entire population. Many of our veterans have rights under more than one provision of Federal law and, although the readjustment program has now passed its peak, veterans' benefits will remain a large part of the Federal Budget for many years to come.

While the veterans' program has largely accomplished its original purposes, certain aspects of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act need modification. The law is being used in some cases to provide training for avocational or leisure-time activity at high cost to the Government and without commensurate benefit to veterans. The Veterans' Administration does not have adequate authority to limit the expenditure of funds under this act to constructive educational and vocational programs. A reexamination of the basic purposes of the law and suitable modification of its provisions should result

VETERANS' SERVICES AND BENEFITS

(Excluding trust accounts)

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program or agency	*Expenditures*			*Appropriations,*
	Actual, 1947	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*	*1949*
Readjustment benefits (Veterans' Administration):				
Education and training	$2,122	$2,532	$2,029	$1,971
Unemployment and self-employment allowances	1,444	669	412	
Loan guarantee	75	79	87	
Other	.....	71	67	
Pensions (Veterans' Administration)	1,929	2,055	2,105	1,948
Insurance (Veterans' Administration)	840	154	60	58
Hospitals, other services, and administrative costs:				
Construction:				
Veterans' Administration	19	50	112	230
Corps of Engineers (Army)	9	77	300	.....
Federal Works Agency	26	52	6	.....
Current expenses:				
Veterans' Administration:				
Hospital and medical care	425	520	615	639
Other activities	472	368	308	306
All other agencies	9	4	2	2
Total	7,370	6,632	6,102	5,154

in substantial savings. These savings should more than offset such limited increases of other benefits as may be justified.

Expenditures.—Expenditures for readjustment benefits in the fiscal year 1949 will amount to an estimated 2.6 billion dollars—a decline of 756 million dollars from expenditures in the current year.

College, school, and job training is now expected to reach its peak in the fiscal year 1948, with an average of 2,250,000 veterans enrolled. For the fiscal year 1949, average enrollment is expected to fall to 1,730,000 students and trainees. The number will decline in all programs except institutional on-the-farm training.

In recent months the number of veterans drawing unemployment and self-employment allowances has been substantially smaller than previously expected. The 1948 appropriations approved by the Congress provided for an average of 925,000 on the rolls. The present estimates provide for an average of 625,000 in the fiscal year 1948, with a further reduction to 390,000, on the average, in the fiscal year 1949.

Under the loan-guarantee provisions of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, veterans obtained about 635,000 loans amounting to 3.6 billion dollars in the fiscal year 1947. About 90 percent of the loans are on residential property and the remainder are for business or farm purposes. The Government's obligation under the guarantee and insurance provisions runs to nearly one-half of the face value of these loans. In addition, the Government makes on behalf of the veterans a principal payment equal to 4 percent of the guaranteed portions of the loans. The estimates provide for continuation of the 1947 rate for the loan-guarantee program in both the fiscal years 1948 and 1949. However, in both years higher expenditures will be required to meet losses

and to permit property acquisitions under loan defaults.

Compensation and pension payments to veterans and their dependents are estimated on the basis of an average of 2,923,000 claimants in fiscal year 1948 and 3,010,000 claimants in fiscal year 1949. The expenditure estimate of 2.1 billion dollars for 1949 includes 242 million dollars for subsistence allowances for disabled trainees and students.

New hospitals and domiciliary facilities are necessary to provide for the increasing number of veterans who apply for care. The construction and improvement of facilities to cost over 1.1 billion dollars has already been authorized by the Congress, but has been delayed by unduly high bids and by shortages of materials. The present expenditure estimates assume that one-half of the work on the total authorized program will be completed by the end of the fiscal year 1949.

The operating expenses of the medical, hospital, and domiciliary-care program of the Veterans' Administration will increase substantially again in the fiscal year 1949, largely because of the steady rise in patient load, which will average 148,000 in fiscal year 1949. The out-patient care program will cost slightly less in the fiscal year 1949 than in the current year, but will provide treatment for over 6 million veterans.

Declining work loads and improvements in administrative procedures will reduce operating and administrative expenditures for other programs.

Expenditures for insurance, mostly transfers to the national service life insurance trust fund, will continue to decline in 1949. The cumulative cost to the Government of insurance due to war hazards in World War II will exceed 3.6 billion dollars by the end of the fiscal year 1949.

Trust accounts.—Premiums from veteran policyholders, supplemented by Government payments to cover war hazards, have resulted in substantial accumulations in the national service life insurance and Government life insurance trust funds. The assets of the national service life insurance trust fund will reach an estimated 7.3 billion dollars by June 30, 1949.

A dividend estimated at between 1 and 2 billion dollars will probably become payable to the servicemen who hold or have held national service life insurance. This dividend cannot be paid, however, until the financial liabilities of the fund and its legal status are determined. Because of these uncertainties, the payment of the dividend is not now included in estimated trust account expenditures. The Veterans' Administration is gradually catching up on the processing of the basic insurance records. The

VETERANS' LIFE INSURANCE FUNDS

(*Trust accounts*)

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Item	*Actual, 1947*	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*
Receipts:			
Transfers from general and special accounts	$822	$147	$46
Premiums, interest and other	816	659	698
Total	1,638	806	744
Expenditures for benefits, refunds, and other (deduct)	349	372	376
Net accumulation	1,289	434	368

general contingency reserve includes expenditures to administer payment of the dividend if the exact status of the fund is clarified during the fiscal year 1949.

Appropriations and other authorizations.—To cover the expenditures necessary for veterans' programs, appropriations of 5.2 billion dollars are recommended for the fiscal year 1949. The difference of about 950 million dollars between estimated expenditures and appropriations will be covered by unexpended balances from fiscal year 1948 and prior appropriations.

The appropriations estimated for the fiscal year 1949 include 230 million dollars to liquidate obligations incurred under contract authorizations for the hospital and domiciliary construction program. New contract authorizations of 43 million dollars are also requested, in part for modernization of hospital facilities and in part to cover the increased construction cost of previously authorized hospitals.

SOCIAL WELFARE, HEALTH, AND SECURITY

In the existing social security programs we have a tried and successful framework within which to construct an integrated, comprehensive system providing for all citizens some protection against the major economic hazards of our society. We have made real progress toward our objective, but it is still far from realized.

From time to time I have proposed measures which, taken together, would complete our present system to a substantial degree, and would provide protection increasingly on a social insurance basis. I intend shortly to discuss this legislative program in a special message to the Congress. Some of the proposals would have immediate fiscal effects, and I have accordingly included estimates for the following items:

Old-age and survivors insurance.—Extension of coverage to all gainful workers, including agricultural and domestic employees, farmers, and other self-employed persons.

Increases in individual benefit amounts and in the maximum amount of earnings taxable.

Health program.—Provision of a national system of health insurance and improved services and facilities for public health and medical care.

Unemployment compensation.—Extension of coverage to employees of small businesses and as many other groups as feasible.

Public assistance.—Broadening of Federal aid to include general assistance, and allotment of Federal grants for public assistance so as to relate them to the financial resources and needs of each State.

Other proposals, such as temporary and permanent disability insurance benefits, would not affect estimates for the fiscal year 1949.

Expenditures.—My recommendations for legislation involve Budget expenditures estimated at 116 million dollars in the fiscal year 1949, mainly for revisions of public assistance and initial administrative costs of the medical-care program. The other proposals would be self-financed through trust accounts.

Federal grants to States for the administration of unemployment compensation—the only Budget expenditure for this Federal-State program—are projected for fiscal year 1949 at slightly above the level for the current year. This rise reflects higher State salaries and operating costs.

Railroad retirement expenditures for retirement and dependency insurance, which consist almost entirely of transfers to the railroad retirement trust account, are determined by railroad pay-roll tax receipts. These are expected to remain at their present high level throughout the fiscal year 1949. The estimate for the current year is un-

SOCIAL WELFARE, HEALTH, AND SECURITY

(Excluding trust accounts)

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program or agency	*Expenditures*			*Appropriations,*
	Actual, 1947	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*	*1949*
Unemployment and accident compensation:				
Federal Security Agency	$78	$82	$88	$88
Railroad Retirement Board	14	15	14	15
Retirement and dependency insurance:				
Railroad Retirement Board	303	764	579	642
Federal Security Agency and other	3	3	6	6
Assistance to the aged and other special groups:				
Federal Security Agency:				
Present programs	662	758	828	822
Proposed legislation	.....	.....	100	100
School lunch (Agriculture)	76	62	66	65
Promotion of public health:				
Federal Security Agency:				
Present programs	140	163	211	222
Health program (proposed legislation)	.....	.....	15	15
Stream pollution abatement (proposed legislation)	.....	.....	1	1
Federal Works Agency and other	13	15	24	15
Crime control and correction	79	87	84	82
Other	12	11	13	4
Total	1,379	1,960	2,028	2,077

usually high because it includes approximately 200 million dollars properly allocable to previous years' operations which could not be transferred until the necessary appropriation was enacted early in the fiscal year 1948.

An increase in expenditures for assistance to the aged and other special groups in the fiscal year 1949 is occasioned by higher anticipated public assistance payments. Recently the Congress extended until 1950 the temporary increase in the Federal share of these payments. In view of the upward trend in both benefit levels and case loads, the Federal expenditures for this purpose under existing legislation are expected to continue to rise. An additional 100 million dollars for public assistance has been included as an estimate of expenditures under the proposed legislation for improving this program.

An increase in Federal Security Agency expenditures for public health work in 1949 results primarily from progress in the Federal-aid hospital construction program, and from some expansion in other grants-in-aid and in research activities. The expenditure estimates include 1.4 million dollars for surveys under the stream pollution abatement program now under consideration by the Congress. The rise in Federal Works Agency expenditures for health purposes is in items for construction of hospital and research facilities in and near the District of Columbia.

Trust accounts.—All social insurance benefit payments are made directly from trust funds. The handling of contributions varies. Thus, the pay-roll taxes collected by the States to finance unemployment compensation are deposited directly in a Federal trust

SOCIAL WELFARE, HEALTH, AND SECURITY

(*Major trust accounts*)

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Fund and item	*Actual, 1947*	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*
Unemployment trust fund:			
Receipts:			
Deposits by States and railroad unemployment taxes	$1,143	$1,238	$1,231
Interest	147	166	186
Extension of coverage (proposed legislation)	.....	.....	20
Payments: State and railroad unemployment withdrawals	869	814	906
Net accumulation (including proposed legislation)	420	590	531
Federal old-age and survivors insurance trust fund:			
Receipts:			
Appropriation from general receipts	1,459	1,627	1,672
Interest and other	163	193	222
Extension of coverage and raising of tax base (proposed legislation)	.....	.....	200
Payments of benefits and administrative expenses:			
Existing legislation	466	556	649
Proposed legislation	.....	.....	175
Net accumulation (including proposed legislation)	1,157	1,264	1,270
Railroad retirement account:			
Receipts:			
Transfers from Budget accounts	298	758	575
Interest	24	40	55
Payments of benefits	173	229	232
Net accumulation	149	570	398
Federal employees' retirement funds:			
Receipts:			
Salary deductions and transfers from Budget accounts	483	470	465
Interest	95	105	115
Payments of annuities and refunds	323	241	250
Net accumulation	255	333	330
Health insurance trust fund (proposed legislation):			
Receipts from pay-roll contributions	.....	.....	150
Payments of benefits	.....	.....	.....
Net accumulation	.....	.....	150

account, as are nearly all the taxes collected for railroad unemployment insurance. For the railroad retirement system, pay-roll tax collections are included in Budget receipts and the transfers to the trust account appear as Budget expenditures. The proceeds of Federal pay-roll taxes which finance old-age and survivors insurance are transferred to the trust account without affecting expenditures; the transfer is made through a deduc-

tion from receipts and an equal credit to the trust account.

All major social welfare trust funds will continue to accumulate assets in the fiscal year 1949. Excepting the unemployment trust fund, they are retirement funds which will, for some time, accumulate reserves against future benefit payments. By the end of the next fiscal year, these assets should reach 16 billion dollars.

The unemployment insurance system is related more immediately than the others to the level of economic activity. With continuing full employment, its assets should continue to accumulate, bringing the total up to approximately 9 billion dollars by the end of fiscal year 1949.

Broader coverage under old-age and survivors insurance would be financed by extending the pay-roll tax at the rates provided by present law to the newly insured persons and their employers. These old-age pay-roll tax collections would suffice for several years to finance more liberal benefits for both present and prospective beneficiaries.

The estimates for the health insurance program assume a total initial pay-roll tax of one-half of 1 percent of individual salaries up to 4,800 dollars a year, effective January 1, 1949, to furnish a basis for establishing eligibility for benefits and to build up an operating reserve. After a year or two of accumulation at this low rate, the permanent contribution rate would go into effect and the system would begin to provide benefits on a basis which is mainly self-financing.

The recommended broadening of social insurance would increase both the receipts and expenditures of the trust accounts over what they otherwise would have been. For the immediate future, however, these increases would be greater in pay-roll contributions than in benefits. This net accumulation is useful at this time as an anti-inflation measure.

Appropriations and other authorizations.—Appropriations recommended for social welfare, health, and security exceed estimated expenditures for the fiscal year 1949 principally because the appropriation requested for the Railroad Retirement Board includes authorization to transfer to the trust account during the current fiscal year part of the taxes to be collected in this year. Wage increases in the railroad industry have resulted in higher pay-roll tax collections than were estimated when the appropriation for the current year was enacted.

Besides the appropriations, contract authorizations of 119 million dollars are recommended for public health programs. This total includes 75 million dollars for the Federal-aid hospital construction program, 26 million dollars for research and hospital facilities for the Public Health Service, and 18 million dollars for the District of Columbia hospital center. Included in the recommendations for 1949 is an appropriation of 60 million dollars to liquidate the prior year's contract authorization for Federal-aid hospital construction.

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY FACILITIES

Since last fall the number of dwelling units built has been greater than in any comparable period in our history. But many families most in need of housing, particularly veterans, cannot afford to pay present high prices.

The Federal housing program, under present legislation, places primary emphasis upon assuring adequate credit through guarantees of mortgage loans for builders and veterans—including guarantees by the Veterans' Administration, classified under veterans' pensions and benefits. These credit aids have accelerated construction and increased the proportion of old and new homes going to veterans. These emergency

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aids have temporarily replaced most of the activity under the permanent mortgage insurance program.

In recent months, however, available credit has tended to outrun available production, and thus has helped to keep construction costs and housing prices at unreasonably high levels. The Housing and Home Finance Administrator, with the assistance of the National Housing Council, is tightening standards employed in administration of existing loan-guarantee programs—including guarantees of loans both on new construction and on existing homes. He is also preparing legislative proposals designed to strengthen the permanent programs and to taper off the special credit aids necessary during the war and reconversion periods. As long as inflation persists, such emergency aids should be limited to the types of construction most urgently needed, particularly rental housing and lower-cost housing.

Both private enterprise and local public agencies need a broader long-range program of assistance from the Federal Government. I again recommend enactment of comprehensive housing legislation. Besides establishing a better basis for Government assistance to private enterprise, such legislation is necessary to provide Government assistance through local public agencies for the sizable minority of our people whose incomes are insufficient to pay the full cost of decent housing. The Budget includes estimated first-year expenditures under such proposed legislation. These expenditures would largely prepare the way for later expansion in loans and grants for low-rent housing, urban redevelopment, and farm housing; for insurance of direct investments in large-scale rental housing; and for basic technical and economic research.

Fundamental to all progress in raising the housing standards of our people is a substantial reduction in the current excessive level of housing costs. While cost reductions are primarily the responsibility of private industry and labor, the Federal Government should provide assistance wherever possible. The Housing and Home Finance Administrator is organizing a series of conferences with representatives of local government, industry, and labor, designed to speed the removal of existing obstacles to lower costs.

The greatest promise of additional cost reduction lies in development and use of improved materials and methods, and in revision of obsolete building codes to permit their use. With the assistance of the Bureau of Standards and other Federal agencies, the Housing and Home Finance Administrator is working out a program of technical research to supplement industry programs. The Administrator will make the results of these studies available in usable form to builders, local public agencies, and others who can translate them into actual cost savings or quality improvements.

I also urge the Congress to authorize the Federal Works Agency to make additional commitments for repayable advances to States and localities for planning community facilities and other nonhousing public works. This would revive the authority which expired on June 30, 1947. Detailed public works plans are indispensable if State and local governments are to apply public funds efficiently in construction work. Only through such advance planning can useful public works be ready to initiate when needed, and when conditions are favorable for their construction.

Expenditures.—All Federal programs to furnish financial aids to private housing will show net receipts in the fiscal year 1949. With continuing high prosperity, liquidation of previous loans will remain high, and disbursements to cover losses on guarantees of private loans will be low.

The 1949 budget of the Federal Housing

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY FACILITIES

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program or agency	*Expenditures*			*Appropriations,*
	Actual, 1947	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*	*1949*
Aids to private housing:				
Housing and Home Finance Agency:				
Federal Housing Administration	—$1	—$9	—$6	.....
Home Loan Bank Board:				
Home Owners' Loan Corporation	—200	—159	—127	.....
Transfer of Federal Home Loan Bank stock	.....	123	.....	.....
Other	1	(1)	(1)	.....
Reconstruction Finance Corporation:				
Mortgage purchases (net)	59	70	—8	.....
Premium payments and other aids	24	10	(1)	.....
Transfer of Federal Home Loan Bank stock	.....	—123	.....	.....
Public housing programs:				
Public Housing Administration:				
War housing	108	58	47	$213
Veterans' re-use housing	365	69	7	14
Low-rent housing	(1)	10	27	6
Defense Homes Corporation:				
Return of capital	.....	12	.....	.....
Other	—1	—11	.....	.....
Other	—5	1	(1)	(1)
Other housing services:				
Housing and Home Finance Agency	8	1	1	1
Housing Expediter (excluding rent control)	5	4	.....	.....
Provision of community facilities:				
Federal Works Agency:				
Present programs	31	21	15	1
Proposed legislation	.....	.....	10	20
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	8	37	32	.....
Long-range housing program (proposed legislation)	.....	.....	40	37
Total	403	113	38	292

[1] Less than one-half million dollars.

Administration assumes that new insurance commitments will be limited to mortgages which do not exceed a reasonable percentage of long-run value. The emergency program permitting insurance of mortgages on the basis of current costs expires on March 31, 1948. It is my hope that, if further extension proves necessary, it will be for a very limited period and that the emergency program can be progressively curtailed. Even with more conservative operations, the Federal Housing Administration expects to aid in financing almost a quarter of the houses built in the fiscal year 1949. As long as employment and income continue high, foreclosures will be few, and receipts from insurance premiums and other sources will continue to exceed expenditures (excluding investments). Thus, further substantial additions can be made to reserves available to meet future losses.

The Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, under the supervision of the Home Loan Bank Board, now insures over

7 billion dollars in share accounts of savings and loan associations. The Federal home loan banks, also under the supervision of the Home Loan Bank Board, supervise the operations of member savings and loan associations and provide a reservoir of credit to meet the needs of such associations. To minimize demands upon the Corporation and the banks in future years, extension of excessive or unsound mortgage credit must be avoided. As part of the anti-inflation program, I have requested the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to review existing regulations and policies with the Home Loan Bank Board and to propose any legislation that may be necessary to strengthen this important part of our financial structure.

Repayments are continuing on the depression loans made by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, but at a diminishing rate as the outstanding loans decrease. By the close of the fiscal year 1949, borrowers will have repaid all but 309 million dollars of the 3.5 billion dollars advanced by the Corporation.

The new charter of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation drastically curtails the Corporation's authority to purchase mortgages. The authority to make premium payments to stimulate building-materials production has expired.

Management and disposition of war housing accounts for most of the expenditures estimated for public housing programs in the fiscal year 1949. Almost all of the 18-million-dollar increase of expenditures for low-rent housing represents net purchase of local housing authority obligations in order to refinance war-built projects on a permanent basis. Annual contributions to local authorities will increase moderately as projects are returned to low-income occupancy.

Federal expenditures for construction of public housing in the fiscal year 1949 will be limited to small amounts for resumption of a few low-rent projects authorized before the war. Construction of temporary re-use housing for veterans will be virtually completed in the current fiscal year.

Liquidation of the Defense Homes Corporation will be completed by the end of the current fiscal year. The Corporation will return to the Treasury the entire capital investment of 10 million dollars and also an estimated earned surplus of more than 2 million dollars.

This Budget provides for a small staff under the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to coordinate Government housing activities and to make technical information and assistance generally available to the housing industry and State and local officials. Except for proposed extension of rent control, classified under finance, commerce, and industry, the functions of the Housing Expediter terminate in the current fiscal year.

Repayable advances under the original authorization by the Federal Works Agency to State and local governments for planning nonhousing public works projects will amount to 16 million dollars in 1948 and 12 million dollars in 1949. The Budget provides for an additional 10-million-dollar expenditure under the proposed renewal of this authority. Other community facility programs of the Agency are relatively small.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, in the fiscal year 1949, will disburse an estimated 32 million dollars in excess of repayment on loans to local public agencies for public works construction.

Appropriations.—Of the 292 million dollars in appropriations required to finance existing and proposed programs in 1949, an estimated 57 million dollars will be necessary to inaugurate the proposed long-range housing program and to make advances for State and local public works planning under proposed legislation. Annual appropriations of 8 million dollars are recommended under

existing legislation mainly to provide for annual contributions for low-rent housing projects.

Five permanent indefinite appropriations account for the remaining 227 million dollars. Of this total, 54 million dollars covers current expenses for management and disposition of war housing and veterans' re-use housing. The remaining 173 million dollars in the permanent indefinite appropriations is the estimated excess of current receipts from rental and sales of war housing and veterans' re-use housing over current expenses, to be deposited in miscellaneous receipts in the fiscal year 1950 without being reflected in expenditures.

EDUCATION AND GENERAL RESEARCH

The American people have long recognized that provision of an adequate education for everyone is essential in a democratic system of government. It has become evident in recent years that the financial resources of many States and their subdivisions are not sufficient to meet minimum educational standards. Therefore, I urge the Congress to take prompt action to provide grants from the Federal Government to the States for elementary and secondary education. The Budget estimates provide for beginning this program in the fiscal year 1949.

The Budget estimates also assume the creation of a National Science Foundation. In the Budget Message last year, I recommended the establishment of an agency to encourage fundamental scientific research. The Congress passed a bill to create a National Science Foundation, but the bill included unacceptable administrative provisions and I was obliged to disapprove it. I hope that the Congress in this session will pass a bill for this purpose in keeping with the principles of responsible and efficient administration.

Expenditures.—Apart from the proposed

EDUCATION AND GENERAL RESEARCH

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program or agency	*Expenditures*			*Appropriations,*
	Actual, 1947	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*	*1949*
Promotion of education:				
Office of Education (Federal Security Agency):				
Aid for education (proposed legislation)	.....	.....	$290	$300
Present programs	$28	$34	42	44
Federal Works Agency and other	5	4	(1)	(1)
Educational aid to special groups:				
Bureau of Indian Affairs (Interior)	11	12	12	12
Howard University (Federal Security Agency) and other	3	4	7	4
Library and museum services	8	9	10	10
General-purpose research:				
Department of Commerce:				
Radio propagation building (proposed legislation)	.....	.....	1	1
Other	15	15	19	20
Office of Scientific Research and Development (Office for Emergency Management)	5	(1)	.....	.....
National Science Foundation (proposed legislation)	.....	.....	5	15
Other agencies	(1)	(1)	1	1
Total	76	77	387	407

[1] Less than one-half million dollars.

grant program, nearly all the estimated increase in 1949 in expenditures for the general promotion of education is due to the increase in vocational education grants authorized by the Congress in 1946. Expenditures of the Federal Works Agency for the maintenance and operation of schools in war-affected communities will be practically completed during the current fiscal year.

The increase in expenditures for library and museum services is due to a slight expansion in activities in the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institution.

For general-purpose research, the principal expenditures are by the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Standards, both in the Department of Commerce. The increase for the fiscal year 1949 arises chiefly from preparatory work in the Bureau of the Census for the seventeenth decennial census in 1950 and from expenditures for the research and standards work of the radio propagation laboratories of the Bureau of Standards.

In addition to the expenditures for general and multipurpose programs included in this function, many agencies of the Federal Government carry on education or research activities which are a part of their specialized activities and which are, therefore, included as expenditures for other functions. For example, there are the education benefits of the Veterans' Administration, the scholarship programs of the State and Navy Departments, the Agricultural Extension Service, the fellowship program of the Public Health Service, and the research activities of the National Military Establishment, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Departments of Agriculture and Interior.

Appropriations.—For the fiscal year 1949, the total of appropriations for education and general research is 407 million dollars, of which 316 million dollars is an estimate of supplemental appropriations which will be required under proposed legislation and 91 million dollars is for programs under present law. The estimated appropriation for the National Science Foundation is 10 million dollars above the estimated expenditure because contracts to be made in the first year of operation will require expenditures in later years. Only 3 million dollars of appropriations is required for Howard University, since expenditures for construction will be financed in part from earlier-year appropriations.

AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES

At the present time, American agriculture is in the best financial condition in history. Agricultural prices in recent months have been at an all-time high—nearly three times the level of 1940. Net farm income in 1947 was approximately 18 billion dollars—three and one-half times the average net farm income in the years 1935–39. Farm debts were reduced greatly during the war years and have remained at low levels.

The Government's present commitment to support the prices of most agricultural commodities at not less than 90 percent of parity will continue until December 31, 1948. At present, however, the world-wide shortage of food has raised the prices of all but a few agricultural commodities well above support levels.

Price support will be needed in the future, but the parity formula should be revised to reflect basic changes in price relationships and improvements in agricultural technology. Price supports should be regarded chiefly as devices to safeguard farmers against forced selling under unfavorable conditions and economic depression. However, they should be revised so as not to be so high as to encourage overproduction of particular commodities, which sometimes can occur even under conditions of full employment.

AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program or agency	*Expenditures*			*Appropriations,*
	Actual, 1947	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*	*1949*
Loan and investment programs:				
Department of Agriculture:				
Commodity Credit Corporation:				
Present programs	$264	—$247	$12	.....
Proposed legislation	.....	.....	—50	.....
Farmers' Home Administration (including Reconstruction Finance Corporation funds)	7	75	113	$115
Rural Electrification Administration (including Reconstruction Finance Corporation funds)	185	305	325	5
Return of capital to miscellaneous receipts	3	31	68	.....
Other corporate transactions	—93	—78	—30	7
Other	—3	—1	—2	1
Other financial aids:				
Department of Agriculture:				
Conservation and use	339	227	176	150
Exportation and domestic consumption	77	57	47	[1] 135
Sugar Act	55	55	69	72
Food subsidies (Commodity Credit Corporation and Reconstruction Finance Corporation)	222	8	.....	.....
Agricultural land and water resources	49	50	51	50
Development and improvement	142	131	125	121
Total	1,248	614	906	655

[1] Rescission of 91 million dollars of this permanent appropriation is proposed.

The authority of the Commodity Credit Corporation, which is the principal agency for carrying out our price support programs, was temporarily extended to June 30, 1948. I recommended a year ago, and I recommend again, that the Corporation be rechartered by act of Congress with a Federal charter in place of its present State charter, and that its present capital and borrowing authority be renewed.

Expenditures.—The largest factor in the fluctuation of total agricultural expenditures is the change in the various price support, supply, and purchase programs of the Commodity Credit Corporation. Advances under the contract to purchase Cuban sugar in June 1947, for example, largely account for net expenditures of 264 million dollars in the fiscal year 1947, and likewise, the subsequent sale is largely responsible for the net receipts now expected for 1948.

By 1949, net cash outlays for price support and supply programs will be small because agricultural prices on the whole are expected to be above support levels, and reimbursements from other agencies and cash-paying foreign governments should offset expenditures for procurement of agricultural commodities. However, price support will probably be required for commodities such as potatoes, eggs, wool, and tobacco.

Under proposed legislation, a saving of 50 million dollars has been included as an estimate of the possible effects of revision of the parity formula and the level of price support.

The programs of the Farmers' Home Administration were greatly curtailed during the war period. I am asking for a small in-

crease in administrative funds and a 15-million-dollar increase in funds for production and subsistence loans in order to meet a small part of the need for essential production credit for low-income farmers. The increase in expenditures of the Farmers' Home Administration does not reflect changes in its program, but is due primarily to changes in the method of accounting for loan repayments by farmers. In 1949 such repayments, made directly to the Treasury, will amount to an estimated 111 million dollars.

Electrification of rural areas, held back during the war years, has greatly accelerated since 1945, and will continue to expand in the fiscal year 1949 as rapidly as materials become available. Except for administrative expenses, the entire expenditure figure represents loan disbursements to local cooperatives and other borrowers.

Other corporate transactions reflect the high level of farm prosperity, which has enabled farmers in recent years to make large repayments on their mortgage indebtedness. Repayments will continue in 1949, though at a reduced rate.

In accordance with the 1948 Agriculture Appropriation Act, commitments for payments to farmers under the conservation and land-use program will be reduced for the crop-year 1948, causing a decline in expenditures in the fiscal year 1949. It is necessary, however, that this program be restored in order to prevent a serious reduction in the fertility of our soil as a result of the high production induced by heavy foreign and domestic demands for agricultural products. I therefore ask the Congress to make more adequate provision for the conservation and use program by authorizing a 300-million-dollar program for the 1949 crop year. Expenditures under this program will occur largely in the fiscal year 1950.

With the present high agricultural prices, expenditures for various surplus disposal programs under the permanent appropriation for exportation and domestic consumption of agricultural commodities can be reduced in the fiscal year 1949. On the other hand, expenditures under the Sugar Act of 1948 will be increased to make payments to sugar growers at the rates specified in the act and to cover payments owed to sugar producers in Puerto Rico—payments which were not made because of the appropriation limitation of 55 million dollars previously in effect.

The programs of the Federal Government to encourage research, education, and demonstration work, which are carried on by the Extension Service, the Soil Conservation Service, and the scientific research agencies of the Department of Agriculture, are included in "agricultural land and water resources" and "development and improvement." Expenditures for these two categories show a small net decline in 1949.

Appropriations and other authorizations.—To carry out our agricultural programs, I recommend that the Congress appropriate 655 million dollars for the fiscal year 1949. This includes 150 million dollars for conservation and use to carry out the commitment authorized by the Congress for the 1948 crop year. In addition, I recommend new borrowing authority of 300 million dollars to finance Rural Electrification Administration loans—an increase of 75 million dollars over the amount authorized for 1948. On the other hand, since not all of the permanent appropriation of 135 million dollars for exportation and domestic consumption of surplus agricultural commodities will be required, I recommend the return to the Treasury of 91 million dollars of this permanent appropriation.

The recommended appropriation of 121 million dollars for the various programs included in development and improvement of

agriculture reflects several changes. It contemplates an increase of 10 million dollars for grants to States, marketing research, and other research under the Research and Marketing Act of 1946. This increase will be offset by a decline of 10 million dollars in the appropriation for the Bureau of Animal Industry. Other increases and decreases will be small.

NATURAL RESOURCES

The key objectives of the natural resources program in the fiscal year 1949 are to find new reserves, to reduce destruction and waste, to discover new applications of resources, to promote greater reliance on resources known to be abundant, and particularly to develop the use of atomic energy.

Heavy demands on our natural resources during and since the war have made it necessary for us to take action aimed at more careful husbandry of these resources. In achieving new high levels of industrial production we have depleted our storehouse at a faster rate than ever before. In addition, our soils, water supplies, minerals, and forests available for constructive use are being diminished by avoidable wastage.

Our heritage is not so great that we can afford to overlook the growing deficiencies. Although some of our resources are practically inexhaustible, others are rapidly being

NATURAL RESOURCES

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program or agency	*Expenditures*			*Appropriations, 1949*
	Actual, 1947	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*	
Atomic energy:				
Atomic Energy Commission	[1] $170	$456	$660	$625
Other agencies	4	20	14	.....
Land and water resources:				
Corps of Engineers (Army, civil functions)	180	314	449	472
Bureau of Reclamation (Interior)	121	183	268	269
Bonneville Power Administration and southwestern power transmission system (Interior)	16	20	32	27
Tennessee Valley Authority	18	46	35	35
International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico (State)	2	4	9	3
Bureau of Land Management and other (Interior)	8	10	13	14
Other	—2	([2])	([2])	([2])
Forest resources:				
Forest Service and other (Agriculture)	50	55	55	55
Department of the Interior	3	4	4	3
Mineral resources:				
Bureau of Mines and other (Interior)	19	24	25	25
Department of the Navy and other	5	5	5	([2])
General resource surveys (Geological Survey, Interior)	10	10	15	16
Fish and wildlife resources (Interior and other)	11	12	19	21
Recreational use of resources (Interior)	11	17	23	16
Total	628	1,179	1,626	1,581

[1] Includes expenditures only after Dec. 31, 1946, when program was shifted to Atomic Energy Commission.

[2] Less than one-half million dollars.

Lewiston Public Library
Lewiston, Maine

depleted. Still other resources we possess only in insignificant quantity or lack completely.

The expenditures included in the Budget for 1949 are not sufficient to provide all the conservation and new development necessary to prevent a further decline in our available resources. They will, however, enable us to make moderate progress toward a more nearly sustaining basis.

Expenditures.—Our responsibilities for safeguarding the national defense and developing peacetime applications of atomic energy require new laboratories, new production plants, and training of an increasing number of scientists and technicians. Increased expenditures in the fiscal year 1949 are required.

Last July the Congress provided for acceleration of our program for flood control and stream-flow regulation. This action was based in large part on the recommendations which I submitted at that time. The increases estimated for the Corps of Engineers in the fiscal year 1949 are needed for the orderly execution of this program. Almost all of the expenditures will be required to carry forward projects under way in the fiscal year 1948.

The reclamation program brings new resources into use. The base has already been set for this program. Even without the addition of any new major projects, expenditures of the Bureau of Reclamation will increase by 85 million dollars in the fiscal year 1949 if construction is to proceed at a rate which will yield irrigation and power benefits without undue delay.

In order to distribute hydroelectric power as it becomes available from Government dams, expansion of transmission facilities is needed by the Bonneville Power Administration and certain extensions should be made in the southwestern area, also by the Department of the Interior. These facilities, for which increased expenditures of 12 million dollars are estimated for 1949, are essential to deliver power to areas of shortage.

Net expenditures for the Tennessee Valley Authority program in 1949 will decrease from the 1948 level. Estimated net proceeds of 750,000 dollars from power operations will be paid into miscellaneous receipts in 1949, as compared with 8 million dollars in 1948. This reduced payment is recommended in order to permit the Tennessee Valley Authority to retain corporate funds urgently needed to finance facilities required to avoid power shortages.

Construction will go forward more rapidly on the Rio Grande dams provided for in the 1944 treaty with Mexico. This will mean increased expenditures by the International Boundary and Water Commission in 1949.

Ownership of large public-domain and acquired-land holdings places on the Federal Government a direct responsibility for land conservation and management. Most of the lands administered by the Department of the Interior are unforested range lands. Expenditures on these lands in the fiscal year 1948 are inadequate for proper conservation and protection. Outlays for the land-management activities of the Department of the Interior increase from 10 million dollars in the fiscal year 1948 to 13 million dollars in the fiscal year 1949.

Our national forests, which are mostly under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture, must be protected from fire, disease, and other losses, and administered so as to yield an assured timber supply for the future. Expenditures for these resources are continued at the 1948 level.

Depletion of our petroleum reserves is one of our most serious and far-reaching problems. Although discoveries of new oil pools are being made each year, reserves are becoming inadequate to match our rapidly growing requirements. Fortunately we have

large supplies of coal and oil shale and moderate supplies of natural gas, which can be converted into liquid fuel. The Budget contemplates appropriation to the Bureau of Mines in 1949 of all the remaining funds authorized for the present 5-year synthetic liquid fuels program which expires in the fiscal year 1949. I recommend extension of this program for a period of 3 years and an additional authorization of 30 million dollars.

Knowledge of our natural resources is still far from complete, and cannot be made complete in a single year or even several years. The 1949 Budget provides for basic mapping and investigations only as part of a long-term program. An increase from 10 million dollars in 1948 to 15 million dollars in 1949 is needed for the basic surveys and mapping of the Geological Survey. Expenditures of the Bureau of Mines and Geological Survey for limited exploration and development, mostly for strategic and critical mineral supplies, will continue in 1949 at a slightly increased level. Since these efforts cannot result in the discovery of resources for all foreseeable requirements, we must supplement them by stockpiling materials likely to become deficient, as I have already stated in reviewing the national defense program.

Development and upkeep of our national parks, fish hatcheries, and wildlife reservations have been deferred because of the requirements of war and postwar adjustments. Increased expenditures are needed for administration and maintenance of the national parks as well as for improvement of roads, trails, parkways, and other facilities for public use and safety. The additional outlays for fish and wildlife are needed for the preservation and development of these valuable resources, including the salmon and fur-seal resources of Alaska.

The expenditure estimates for 1949 include increased allowances for development of the strategically important Alaskan area, where proved and probable resources may help to compensate for shortages in the United States.

Appropriations and other authorizations.—Of the total 1.6 billion dollars of appropriations recommended for 1949, 338 million dollars will be required to liquidate prior-year contract authorizations, largely by the Atomic Energy Commission. New contract authorizations recommended for 1949 include 400 million dollars for the Atomic Energy Commission, 13 million dollars for the Bonneville Power Administration, and 4 million dollars for the National Park Service. Estimated expenditures for natural resources are 45 million dollars above the recommended appropriations, because of the carry-over of funds for some programs.

Additional contract authority of 200 million dollars is recommended for the Atomic Energy Commission in 1948 to supplement the part-year appropriation allowed by the Congress.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

The current high level of economic activity makes heavy demands upon the Nation's transportation system. To meet these demands, the Federal Government must not only perform its regulatory functions but must provide basic facilities and services on an expanded scale for highway, air, and water transport. Most of the Government's activity in these fields since the war represents deferred maintenance. Little has been done so far to effect the long-run improvements that are needed.

The country's airways system is in urgent need of improvement. The installation of landing aids and the modernization of other aids to air navigation must be accelerated in order to assure increased safety and regu-

larity of air transportation, and thus provide a solid foundation on which private capital investment can carry this industry forward. I strongly urge the Congress to provide the funds recommended for this purpose.

Expanding aviation activities also have rendered inadequate many existing airports and have pointed up the need for new ones. The amount in the Budget for the Federal-aid airport construction program represents the minimum level consistent with continued aviation development.

The Nation's highway system needs extensive improvement and modernization. While expenditures under the present Federal-aid program will continue at a high level through 1950, the fiscal year 1948 is the last for which new contract authorization is provided. The development of an adequate highway system will require continued Federal aid. In order to assure continuity in programing, I shall submit at an early date specific proposals designed to meet this need.

New ship construction by the Maritime Commission has been limited in this Budget because of the present scarcity of steel, the large surplus of war-built tonnage, and uncertainties regarding the future economic requirements for shipping. Expenditures, though somewhat higher than in 1948, will be largely for construction previously authorized. In view of present uncertainties, it would be unwise for the Maritime Commission to start construction of ships unless it had already concluded contracts for their sale to private operators.

In the 1948 appropriation act, the Maritime Commission was placed on an annual appropriation basis and its revolving fund was abolished. As a result, the Commission has general authority to enter into long-term subsidy contracts under the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, but has neither specific authority to incur financial obligations extending into future years nor funds for payment of them. Although the Commission could still enter into long-term contracts contingent upon implementation through future appropriations, the Commission considers that this might have an adverse effect on ship construction. While restoration of the revolving fund is not recommended, I urge the Congress to provide for the financing of long-term contracts under the 1936 act. The present Budget includes an amount for operating subsidies to cover obligations under these contracts in 1949.

The subject of a sea-level canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and its location is under study, and my recommendations thereon will be submitted to the Congress at a later date.

The St. Lawrence waterway and power project is needed for both transportation and industry. As an important step in advance planning, the Congress should now authorize this project in order that international treaty provisions and other arrangements can be worked out.

Expenditures.—To a large extent the increase in Maritime Commission expenditures after 1947 reflects the elimination of its revolving fund, and is offset by increases in miscellaneous receipts of the Treasury.

Continued emergency conditions, including the large-scale relief shipments to Europe, make it necessary for the Maritime Commission to continue to operate, sell, and charter war-built vessels beyond February 29, 1948, when its present authority expires. The estimates for 1949 assume extension of this authority to June 30, 1949, as recommended in my recent message. The drop in expenditures below 1948 is due largely to an anticipated reduction in operation under general agents. Such operation is now limited to a few specialized services, and

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program or agency	*Expenditures*			*Appropriations, 1949*
	Actual, 1947	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*	
Promotion of the merchant marine:				
Maritime Commission	—$282	$328	$222	$122
Inland Waterways Corporation (Commerce)	.....	.....	3	3
Provision of navigation aids and facilities:				
Panama Canal (Army)	16	19	20	16
Corps of Engineers (Army, civil functions)	88	131	171	192
Coast Guard (Treasury):				
Present programs	142	121	109	106
Proposed legislation	.....	.....	12	13
Department of the Interior	(1)	(1)	1	.....
Provision of highways:				
Public Roads Administration (Federal Works Agency)	205	406	478	461
Forest roads and trails (Agriculture)	28	18	17	17
Alaska roads (Interior)	6	9	19	13
Promotion of aviation:				
Civil Aeronautics Administration (Commerce):				
Present programs	86	117	158	156
Alaska airports (proposed legislation)	.....	.....	2	2
National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics:				
Present programs	35	42	49	48
Proposed legislation	.....	.....	2	10
Regulation of transportation	23	15	15	15
Other services to transportation:				
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	—30	(1)	(1)	.....
Coast and Geodetic Survey (Commerce)	9	10	10	11
Alaska Railroad (Interior)	12	15	27	26
Postal service deficit (Post Office)	242	323	321	326
Regulation of communication (Federal Communications Commission)	6	6	6	7
Other services to communication	1	2	2	2
Proposed legislation not included above	.....	.....	2	3
Total	587	1,563	1,646	1,549

[1] Less than one-half million dollars.

these will be terminated as rapidly as possible. In the coastwise and intercoastal services, the Commission has entered into special chartering arrangements looking toward the eventual return to completely private operations.

The maintenance and improvement of rivers and harbors by the Corps of Engineers will call for an increase in expenditures in 1949, principally for projects already under way. Only a very few urgently needed new projects are proposed to be started in 1949.

The reduction in Coast Guard expenditures is due principally to a lower level of construction activity in 1949. Pending legislation, for which expenditures are included in this Budget, would give the Coast Guard specific authority to operate additional ocean weather stations. This program is important to safe and regular overseas air operations

and is provided for in an international agreement to which the United States is a party. I urge the Congress to take early action.

The postwar highway aid program, which has been retarded by high costs and material shortages, is now more fully under way, as is evident in the sharp increase in expenditures above the 1947 level. To avoid bidding up costs, however, the expenditures contemplated for 1949 are at a level somewhat lower than could be supported by existing authorizations.

The Budget provides for additional highway construction in Alaska and for the improvement of the Alaska Railroad. These transportation facilities are essential in the development program for the Territory.

An increase is required in expenditures of the Department of Commerce for civil aviation in keeping with the growing importance of this industry to the Nation's economy and security. The establishment and operation of air navigation facilities, and grants-in-aid for airport construction, account for most of this increase.

A moderate increase is recommended in expenditures for the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics. The basic aeronautical research program of the Committee is of vital importance to the development of advanced types of civilian as well as military planes. The 1949 estimates also include first-year expenditures of 2 million dollars under a proposed program for construction of additional facilities required for research in supersonic aeronautics.

The many economic problems faced by all forms of transportation and communication since the end of the war have imposed an unusually heavy work load upon the regulatory agencies in this field. Moderate increases in staff are provided in order to permit more rapid handling of regulatory proceedings.

The postal deficit is running higher in the current year than was previously anticipated. This results from a larger volume of mail, much of which is carried at rates which do not cover operating costs. Recent price advances for supplies and services have also added to the postal deficit. In addition to the deficit specifically included in the Budget, provision is made in the contingency reserve for 1948 and 1949 to cover pending increases in rail and air charges. I strongly urge early action on the recommendation contained in last year's Budget Message that postage rates be revised so as to permit operation of the postal service without a deficit.

Appropriations and other authorizations.—For carrying out the transportation and communication programs, I am recommending appropriations of 1,549 million dollars for fiscal year 1949, including 28 million dollars in supplemental appropriations which will be submitted upon passage of proposed legislation. Appropriations are running somewhat lower than expenditures principally because of the carryover of funds in the Maritime Commission shipbuilding program and the liquidation of prior years' obligations by the Commission. In 1948, a supplemental appropriation of 89 million dollars will be needed for the postal service, in addition to the amount included in the contingency reserve for the increase in rail and air charges.

The Budget for the fiscal year 1949 includes recommended contract authorizations of 15 million dollars for shipbuilding, about 7 million dollars each for Alaska highways and the Alaska Railroad, 11 million dollars for Alaska airports under proposed legislation, and 48 million dollars for construction of facilities for the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (including 30 million dollars under proposed legislation). The appropriation recommended for Public

Roads Administration and part of the appropriation for the Department of the Interior are for liquidation of prior years' contract authorizations.

FINANCE, COMMERCE, AND INDUSTRY

The need to control inflation has made it impossible to eliminate the few wartime controls that still remain in force. Consequently I have requested legislative authority for their extension and for the provision of additional, more effective, and urgently needed anti-inflation measures.

Legislation is now under consideration to extend rent controls, to restore controls over consumer credit, and to provide on a limited basis for mandatory allocations, price controls, rationing, and wage controls. The Congress has already extended export and

FINANCE, COMMERCE, AND INDUSTRY

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program or agency	*Expenditures*			*Appropriations,*
	Actual, 1947	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*	*1949*
Promotion and regulation of business:				
Wartime and other temporary controls:				
Office of Temporary Controls	$118	$2	([1])	.....
Housing Expediter:				
Present programs	2	18	$1	.....
Proposed legislation	.....	4	28	$30
Department of Commerce	1	2	5	5
Department of Agriculture	2	3	.....	.....
Proposed anti-inflation legislation	.....	20	80	85
Continuing programs:				
Antimonopoly programs (Federal Trade Commission, Justice)	5	5	7	7
Other regulatory programs (Federal Power Commission, Tariff Commission, etc.)	9	6	6	6
Department of Commerce:				
Present programs	18	21	20	19
Proposed census legislation	.....	.....	9	13
Business loans and guarantees (Reconstruction Finance Corporation):				
National defense loans	—36	—19	—22	.....
Other loans to business	42	96	70	.....
Retirement of Smaller War Plants Corporation capital stock	136	15	5	.....
Aids to private financial institutions (Reconstruction Finance Corporation)	—66	—38	—25	.....
War damage insurance (War Damage Corporation):				
Payment of profits to miscellaneous receipts	.....	210	.....	.....
Other	1	20	.....	.....
Control of private finance (Securities and Exchange Commission)	6	6	6	6
Total	238	372	190	171

[1] Less than one-half million dollars.

import controls. Budget expenditures for administering all these controls are reflected in the estimates for this function.

While the immediate emergency of inflation demands our primary attention, we must not neglect our programs for protecting and encouraging competition and individual initiative through the established regulatory and promotional programs.

Expenditures.—Expenditures for finance, commerce, and industry will fall sharply in the fiscal year 1949, primarily because of the 210-million-dollar payment in 1948 of war damage insurance profits to miscellaneous receipts. The proposed anti-inflation program accounts for the major increases.

The Office of Temporary Controls was abolished June 1, 1947. All remaining wartime controls administered by this Office have been transferred to other departments or agencies. Estimates for these programs for the 1948 and 1949 fiscal years are included principally in the budgets of the Housing Expediter and the Department of Commerce.

With the housing shortage still acute, the extension of rent control beyond the present expiration date of February 29, 1948, is essential. The estimates assume that these controls, administered by the Housing Expediter, will be strengthened and will remain effective throughout the rest of the current fiscal year and for the fiscal year 1949.

In addition to expenditures of 33 million dollars for rent and export controls, an estimated 80 million dollars will be required to administer and enforce the rest of the anti-inflation program. Price and rationing controls, together with allocation and inventory controls, account for almost all of this total, with minor amounts for wage control and the regulation of speculative trading on the commodity exchanges.

I am requesting further increases for the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission to strengthen enforcement of the antitrust laws, and resist the growing concentration of economic power in many important industries. The increased funds requested for the Federal Trade Commission will also permit inauguration of a new research program designed to develop more effective techniques for identifying and combating monopolistic practices.

I repeat my earlier recommendation for passage of legislation authorizing the Department of Commerce to conduct a new census of business and other surveys. Legislation embodying this recommendation has been approved by the Senate and now awaits consideration in the House. Up-to-date information in this area is essential to assure intelligent action by both business and Government.

New authorizations of Reconstruction Finance Corporation business loans and participations in private bank loans, while somewhat higher than in the fiscal year 1947, are being held down to levels consistent with the anti-inflation program. It would be inappropriate for the Government to restrain inflationary increases in private credit while permitting a substantial expansion in its own credit aids. The Board of Directors of the Corporation has instructed its loan agencies to scrutinize all applications in order to avoid direct loans or guarantees of private loans which create inflationary pressures.

The Corporation is also continuing to press for the early retirement of preferred stock and capital notes in banks and trust companies. Repayment of defense loans made to business is progressing. Prompt repayment of these loans and investments is not only sound business practice, but is also

anti-inflationary.

Accumulated profits of the War Damage Corporation totaling 210 million dollars have already been paid to the Treasury. All remaining obligations, including those owed to participating insurance companies, will be liquidated and the Corporation dissolved before June 30, 1948.

The Budget provides for a small increase in personnel for the Securities and Exchange Commission to improve handling of its continuing heavy work load.

Appropriations.—Appropriations of 171 million dollars for the fiscal year 1949 are recommended for these programs. This total includes 133 million dollars in supplemental appropriations—5 million dollars for export and import controls under legislation recently enacted, 115 million dollars for rent control and other proposed anti-inflation activities, and 13 million dollars for new censuses of business and mineral industries. Expenditures for loans and investments by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation do not require appropriations.

During the current fiscal year, supplemental appropriations of 29 million dollars are recommended to continue some of the anti-inflation controls and to initiate others.

LABOR

The training and placement of workers, the promotion of sound labor relations, and the maintenance of safe and healthful working conditions are of special importance in this period when uninterrupted full production is so vital to the United States.

The reduced appropriations to the Department of Labor in the fiscal year 1948 have impaired its capacity to perform some of its statutory functions. I am recommending increases in the Department's total appropriation for the fiscal year 1949 sufficient to enable it to carry out efficiently its statistical and labor information services to the general public and to the labor mediation and regulatory agencies, and also to carry out adequately its functions in connection with the administration of the State employment offices.

As I have previously indicated to the Congress, there is a need for legislation to establish a Federal program for the elimination of

LABOR

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program or agency	*Expenditures*			*Appropriations,*
	Actual, 1947	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*	*1949*
Mediation and regulation:				
Department of Labor:				
Present programs	$12	$6	$6	$6
Industrial safety program (proposed legislation)	....	....	6	6
National Labor Relations Board	5	6	9	9
Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service	....	2	3	3
National Commission Against Discrimination in Employment (proposed legislation)	....	....	1	1
Other	3	4	5	5
Training and placement:				
Public employment offices	87	69	77	77
Other	2	2	2	2
Labor information, statistics, and general administration	11	9	8	8
Total	120	97	116	117

discriminatory employment practices based on race, religion, color, or national ancestry. A year ago I recommended to the Congress that funds be authorized for grants to States for a program fostering safe working conditions. This Budget includes estimates for this proposed legislation.

Expenditures.—Expenditures of the National Labor Relations Board will rise considerably from the fiscal year 1948 to 1949, because of the expanded responsibilities placed upon this agency by the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947.

Expenditures by the State public employment offices, which are fully financed by Federal funds through the fiscal year 1949, will rise by about 10 percent, or 7 million dollars. More than 2 million dollars of the increase is required to finance on a full-year basis the operation of the farm placement program. In addition, State salaries, rentals, and other costs have increased materially.

The apparent decrease for 1949 in the estimated expenditures for "labor information, statistics, and general administration" results from reclassification to specific programs of certain expenditures which for 1948 are shown under general administration.

Appropriations.—The 117-million-dollar appropriation recommended for fiscal year 1949 includes 6.2 million dollars for proposed legislation, of which 5.6 million dollars is for the safety program.

Because of the expanding activities of the National Labor Relations Board and the difficulty of forecasting the size of its case load, I am recommending that the Congress appropriate 9.4 million dollars at the present time, with the entire amount made available for obligation if needed prior to April 1, 1949.

When the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service came into existence in August 1947 it was granted a part-year appropriation, which will be exhausted during February 1948. The appropriations recommended in this Budget include a supplemental appropriation of 1 million dollars for the remainder of the 1948 fiscal year.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT

"General government" comprises most of the expenditures of the legislative and the judicial branches of the Federal Government, as well as some expenditures of the executive branch. The costs of financial management, the Government payment toward the civilian employees' retirement system, and nonrecurring expenditures for certain war liquidation programs make up the greater portion of the total.

The major legislative recommendation in this category relates to surplus property disposal. By the end of the present fiscal year the disposition of war surpluses will have been nearly completed. The inventories of surplus personal property will then have been so reduced that costs connected with the disposal of this property under the provisions of existing legislation will approach and may even exceed proceeds from their sale. There will remain, however, certain surplus real properties which will present problems in lease and property management and require a continuing disposal program.

The time is now at hand to liquidate the temporary disposal agencies, further consolidate and improve the central supply services of the Government, and establish a permanent, modern, and economical system of property management. A program for the accomplishment of these objectives will be submitted to the Congress at an early date.

Expenditures.—In view of the administrative changes to be recommended, no estimates are included in the 1949 Budget for the continued operation of the present surplus property disposal agencies. Instead, 94 million dollars is included under proposed

GENERAL GOVERNMENT

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Program or agency	*Expenditures*			*Appropriations,*
	Actual, 1947	*Estimate, 1948*	*Estimate, 1949*	*1949*
Legislative functions	$28	$34	$33	$33
Judicial functions	16	19	19	19
Executive direction and management	7	7	7	7
Federal financial management:				
Bureau of Internal Revenue	200	189	187	188
Other Treasury bureaus	171	136	130	132
General Accounting Office	39	37	33	33
Other	5	4	4	1
Government payment toward civilian employees' general retirement system	220	244	259	259
Other general government:				
Surplus property disposal, foreign and domestic:				
Present disposal programs (mainly War Assets Administration)	440	357	56	.....
Proposed legislation	.....	.....	94	105
Deposits and transfers of receipts, foreign sales (Army, clearing account)	—19	75	30	.....
Federal Works Agency (mainly Public Buildings Administration)	67	78	75	65
Reconstruction Finance Corporation:				
Payment of interest to miscellaneous receipts	91	97	2	.....
Other	—76	—17	—12	.....
Cemeteries and return of war dead (Army, civil functions):				
Present programs	12	80	75	46
Proposed legislation	.....	.....	2	2
Other:				
Present programs	118	133	164	174
Proposed legislation	.....	.....	1	1
Total	1,318	1,473	1,157	1,065

legislation as an estimate of the expenditures that will be required for surplus disposal activities in the fiscal year 1949 under the new system of property management and disposal. Of this amount, 81 million dollars is for domestic and 13 million dollars for foreign disposal programs. In addition, 56 million dollars will be spent to liquidate obligations incurred during the current year by the present disposal agencies.

The Bureau of Internal Revenue still has a large volume of work, not only in handling current collections, but also in reviewing wartime tax returns before statutory limitations intervene. Expenditures for tax collection are presently estimated at the same level as in the current fiscal year. I am confident that this level of expenditures is not sufficient to assure complete and equitable application of the tax laws, but the matter is now under investigation by congressional committees as well as by staff of the executive branch. I hope that these studies will result in recommendations for improving tax administration.

Estimated expenditures of the other Treas-

ury bureaus engaged in financial management are reduced slightly for the fiscal year 1949. The organization and operating procedures of the Customs Bureau are the subject of a special survey which will soon be completed. The findings should be helpful to both the Bureau and the Congress.

The cancellation of notes of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which I recommend elsewhere in this Message, will almost eliminate payments of interest by the Corporation to miscellaneous receipts.

The estimate for the Government contribution to the Federal employees' retirement system for the fiscal year 1949 is based on an increase in the number of Federal civilian employees who have served in the Government for 5 years and have thereby become potential applicants for benefits.

Expenditures estimated for other general government activities in the fiscal year 1949 include an increase of over 6 million dollars in expenditures of the Civil Service Commission to verify the loyalty of persons entering the Federal service. Also included is 10 million dollars to augment the working capital in the general supply fund of the Bureau of Federal Supply.

Appropriations.—Anticipated supplemental appropriations based on proposed legislation amount to 108 million dollars of the appropriation total for general government for the fiscal year 1949. The total of estimated expenditures for the year is considerably above the appropriation total, principally because it includes expenditures to liquidate obligations against appropriations of prior years for the disposal of surplus property and for bringing home our war dead.

INTEREST ON THE PUBLIC DEBT

Interest on the public debt represents a fixed obligation of the Federal Government, subject to change only as securities are retired or refunded and interest rates changed. Assuming continued high employment and present tax rates, debt retirement will be substantial during the fiscal years 1948 and 1949. However, other factors will cause some increase in interest payments.

Expenditures.—The increase in interest costs in 1948 and 1949 is the net result of divergent trends in payments on the various types of debt. Interest on nonmarketable obligations, principally savings bonds, and special issues to Government trust funds is rising. Interest on marketable debt is declining.

Increasing numbers of savings bonds purchased during the war are now reaching higher accrual brackets. At the same time net accumulations of Government trust funds will cause further increases in the amount of special issues outstanding. The relatively high rates on these issues are for the most part fixed by statute. Interest payments on nonmarketable debt during 1948 also reflect nonrecurring interest payments on the large volume of armed forces leave bonds redeemed during the year.

The decline in interest payments on the marketable debt arises from two factors. In addition to the substantial debt-reduction program, maturing bonds with high coupon

INTEREST ON THE PUBLIC DEBT

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Agency	Expenditures			Appropriations, 1949
	Actual, 1947	Estimate, 1948	Estimate, 1949	
Treasury Department	$4,958	$5,200	$5,250	$5,250

rates of interest are being paid off where possible, or are being refunded into issues with lower rates. On the other hand, short-term interest rates have increased. About 40 percent of short-term Treasury bills, certificates, and notes are held by the Federal Reserve banks. A considerable part of the interest costs on these securities will come back to the Government, since in effect about 90 percent of Federal Reserve bank earnings are currently being paid into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

Appropriations.—Interest payments represent contractual commitments which are financed by permanent indefinite appropriations not requiring annual congressional action.

REFUNDS OF RECEIPTS

The principal items under refunds of receipts are corporate profits tax refunds and individual income tax refunds.

Expenditures.—Estimated refunds for the fiscal years 1948 and 1949 are more than 800 million dollars below actual refunds in 1947. This decline results principally from the estimated drop in corporate income and profit tax refunds arising out of the adjustment of wartime tax liabilities. These corporate refunds, which were 1.1 billion dollars in the fiscal year 1947, are not expected to exceed one-third of this total during each of the fiscal years 1948 and 1949. Estimated refunds to individuals—mainly due to overpayment of individual income tax under the current payment system—which totaled 1.7 billion dollars in 1947, are estimated to be slightly less in 1948 and 1949. This decrease is due to accelerated refund payments in the fiscal year 1947.

Appropriations.—The specific appropriations of 1,254 million dollars for refunds in the fiscal year 1948 will be inadequate and a supplemental appropriation of 800 million dollars will be required.

GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS

The Government Corporation Control Act requires that no wholly owned Government corporation not now possessing a Federal charter shall continue after June 30, 1948, unless reincorporated by act of Congress. Two of the State-chartered corporations, the Export-Import Bank and the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, have already been reincorporated by the Congress. I recommend early action by the Congress on pending legislation to reincorporate the Commodity Credit Corporation and the Virgin Islands Company, and on legislation which will be introduced to recharter the Panama Railroad Company.

I recommend extension of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation beyond the present expiration date of June 30, 1948. In revising the Corporation's charter last year, the Congress restricted its lending authority mainly to business and financial institutions, the area of its major prewar activities. I also recommend that the Congress authorize cancellation of an estimated 9.3 billion dollars in the notes of the Corporation held by the Treasury Department. This cancellation, representing in amount the unrecovered costs to the Corporation of its

REFUNDS OF RECEIPTS

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Agency	Expenditures			Appropriations, 1949
	Actual, 1947	Estimate, 1948	Estimate, 1949	
Treasury Department	$2,897	$2,049	$1,990	$1,990

wartime and reconversion operations through June 30, 1947, will permit a clearer appraisal of its active programs. Since the cancellation is merely a bookkeeping operation, it will have no net effect on the Budget.

In accordance with the provisions of section 107 of the Government Corporation Control Act, the Bureau of the Budget will soon complete studies of all wholly owned Government corporations to determine in which cases, if any, their fiscal affairs could be handled more appropriately as regular agencies. The Bureau is also studying agencies engaged in business-type activities to determine whether they might administer their programs more effectively and provide better service to the public if they had some or all of the attributes of corporations. These and future studies are designed not only to develop specific recommendations for submission to the Congress, but also to establish guides for determining when the corporate form of organization should be used.

As a part of the program to secure a more uniform approach to the Government's business activities, I recommend legislation to place the Federal Housing Administration under the Government Corporation Control

PROPOSED LEGISLATION

(Summary of amounts included in Budget)

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Function and program	*Expenditure estimate, 1949*	*Anticipated supplemental appropriations*	
		1948	*1949*
National defense:			
Universal training program	$400	.....	$500
Drill pay for military reserve components	13	.....	16
Military and naval construction	166	$165	45
International affairs and finance:			
European recovery program	4,000	6,800	.....
Other foreign aid (including China)	440	300	450
Foreign informational and cultural program	17	6	20
Loan for United Nations headquarters construction	30	65	.....
United States participation in international organizations	4	.....	4
Philippine war veterans' benefits	16	.....	16
Philippine rehabilitation	[1]	.....	[1]
War damage claims	.....	17	.....
Social welfare, health, and security:			
National health program, administrative expenses	15	.....	15
General public welfare program, public assistance benefits	100	.....	100
Stream pollution abatement	1	.....	1
Housing and community facilities:			
Long-range housing program	40	.....	37
Advances for public works planning	10	.....	20
Education and general research:			
Aid for elementary and secondary education	290	.....	300
National Science Foundation	5	.....	15
Radio propagation building, National Bureau of Standards	1	.....	1
Agriculture and agricultural resources:			
Revision of price support program	—50	.....	.....
Transportation and communication:			
Increase in postage rates to eliminate postal deficit [2]	.....	.....	.....

Footnotes on p. 59.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION—Continued

(Summary of amounts included in Budget)

[Fiscal years. In millions]

Function and program	*Expenditure estimate* 1949	*Anticipated supplemental appropriations* 1948	1949
Transportation and communication—Continued			
Alaska communications system	(1)	.....	$1
Construction of Federal Communications Commission facilities	(1)	.....	(1)
Addition to Post Office equipment shops	$1	.....	1
Coast Guard—additional ocean weather stations	12	.....	1
Census of transportation	1	.....	1
Extension of Maritime Commission's authority to operate and charter vessels [3]	.....	.....	.....
Alaskan airport construction	2	.....	2
Research facilities—National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics	2	.....	10
Finance, commerce, and industry:			
Census of business	9	.....	12
Census of mineral industries	(1)	.....	(1)
New anti-inflation program	80	$24	85
Extension of rent control	28	4	30
Labor:			
National Commission Against Discrimination in Employment	1	.....	1
Industrial safety program	6	.....	6
General government:			
Surplus property disposal	94	.....	105
Army cemeterial expense	2	.....	2
Weather Bureau—observers for additional ocean weather stations	1	.....	1
Total	5,735	7,381	1,811

[1] Less than one-half million dollars.

[2] Not included in Budget totals.

[3] Included with estimates for Maritime Commission programs under present laws.

Act. Under existing law, this agency possesses many of the significant attributes of a corporation and, in nearly all major respects, is treated as such by both the executive branch and the Congress.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION—A SUMMARY

Expenditures and appropriations for proposed legislation—apart from the extensions of authority for Government corporations—are listed in the following table. Expenditures under extensions of existing legislation are included. The proposed extensions of old-age and survivors insurance and unemployment compensation would be financed through trust accounts.

This Budget is the measure of our responsibilities at home and abroad. Although these responsibilities are heavy, the economic strength of this country and the resolution of our citizens are great enough to permit us to discharge them.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The message was transmitted to the Senate and to the House of Representatives on January 12.

6 Special Message to the Congress on the Folsom Dam. *January* 12, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

The estimates of appropriation for civil functions of the Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army, in the 1949 Budget include $3,370,000 for beginning construction of the Folsom Dam on the American River in California. This project was authorized for construction by the Corps of Engineers in the Flood Control Act approved December 22, 1944, "substantially in accordance with the plans contained in House Document Numbered 649, Seventy-eighth Congress, second session, with such modifications thereof as in the discretion of the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers may be advisable . . .".

The Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior, and the State of California are agreed that the initial plans, for a reservoir of 355,000 acre-feet capacity, should be revised to provide a reservoir of 1,000,000 acre-feet. This will not only provide more adequate storage for flood control but will also provide adequate storage at the Folsom Dam site for irrigation, hydroelectric power production and other uses consistent with the conservation of water resources in the Central Valley area. The Corps of Engineers is completing construction plans for the dam on this revised basis and work can be started promptly.

The Folsom Dam and Reservoir is a key unit in any plan for the full development of the water resources of the Central Valley. There is an urgent need for this structure, not only from the standpoint of flood control, but also to provide additional electric energy and conservation of water to meet growing demands in the area. The Corps of Engineers should therefore be given funds to start building the dam at once under the authority of existing legislation. At the same time the authority contained in existing law for the construction of Folsom Dam should be expanded to permit the Bureau of Reclamation to construct and operate a power plant.

The power plant at Folsom must be integrated with the hydroelectric power plants at Shasta and Keswick, constructed and operated by the Bureau of Reclamation, and with the Delta-Mendota pumping plant of the Central Valley project—all of which must be operated as a unit. To achieve such coordinated operation the Folsom Dam and Reservoir, once constructed, should be transferred to the Bureau of Reclamation for operation and maintenance. After the transfer the dam would be operated for flood control in accordance with criteria established by the Secretary of the Army, as provided in section 7 of the Flood Control Act of 1944.

The transfer to the Bureau of Reclamation would assure that Folsom Dam and its important related developments would be operated in coordination with other Federal conservation structures in the Central Valley to yield the greatest possible benefits. Power produced at the Folsom Dam would be used as a second source of energy for the Delta-Mendota pumping plant and for other irrigation pumping. The income from the disposition, under Federal reclamation laws, of the power there produced would assist not only in amortizing the cost of the Folsom Dam and Power Plant, but also in paying an appropriate share of the cost of irrigation canals and other works needed to distribute water from Folsom Reservoir to irrigation districts, cities and suburban areas. Unless this income from power revenues is provided for in accordance with established practice under reclamation law, many related developments proposed in the Central Valley,

particularly in the American River basin and nearby areas of California, will not be financially feasible.

I recommend therefore that the Congress expand the present authorization for the construction of Folsom Dam to provide, (1) for the transfer of the dam and reservoir, upon its completion, to the Bureau of Reclamation for operation and maintenance as a coordinated unit of the Central Valley project under the Federal reclamation law; (2) for construction by the Bureau of Reclamation of a power plant, afterbay and necessary transmission lines, and (3) for construction by the Bureau of Reclamation of irrigation canals and related works needed to deliver water from the reservoir to irrigation districts, cities, and suburban areas. There are pending in the Congress two bills (H.R. 4152 and H.R. 4157), either one of which, if enacted into law with appropriate amendments, would accomplish these purposes.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The Civil Functions Appropriations Act, approved June 25, 1948, extended the authority contained in section 6 of the Flood Control Act of 1946 to include the Folsom Reservoir (62 Stat. 1022). On October 14, 1949, the President approved a bill (H.R. 165) which included provisions similar to those recommended in the foregoing message (63 Stat. 852).

7 Statement by the President Upon Making Public the Report of the Air Policy Commission. *January* 13, 1948

I AM making public today the report of the President's Air Policy Commission.

This report represents the conclusions of five distinguished citizens after 5 months of hearings and deliberation covering the broad field of aviation as it affects the defense and economy of the Nation. The report includes both an appraisal of the present status of our air establishment, military and civil, and a comprehensive body of recommendations for future action.

The rapid development of aviation in recent years requires us to give careful consideration to our national aviation policies to insure the greatest possible benefits for the United States and the world. The Government's 1949 program outlined in the budget includes $5.2 billion for national defense aviation activities. This represents almost one-half of the new spending authority requested for national defense.

Budget requests for civilian aviation provide for increased research, improved airport facilities, and continued modernization of the Federal airways system. Funds to provide for the installation of new air traffic control and navigation and landing aids, which will provide greater safety and regularity of service, are again included in the budget. I am sure that the Commission's report will be helpful to the Government in further developing a long-range aviation policy.

The members of the Commission have given freely of their time and energy to the study of important issues concerning the future of United States aviation. Their judgments should be studied with care by the Congress and the people of the United States. All of us are indebted to the Commission members for their valuable report.

NOTE: The Commission's report, dated January 1, 1948, is entitled "Survival in the Air Age" (Government Printing Office, 166 pp.). The letter of transmittal is signed by the following members: Thomas K. Finletter, Chairman, George P. Baker, Vice Chairman, Palmer Hoyt, John A. McCone, and Arthur D. Whiteside. The Commission was established July 18, 1947 (see 1947 volume, this series, Item 148).

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8 Excerpts From Annual Message: The President's Economic Report to the Congress. *January* 14, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

In my first Economic Report to the Congress, presented a year ago in accordance with the provisions of the Employment Act of 1946, I foresaw a bright prospect for the year 1947. In large measure that prospect has been fulfilled.

However, my Midyear Report recorded the fact that agricultural prospects had become less favorable, that certain price adjustments were not proceeding satisfactorily, and that the need for foreign aid would probably be greater and more prolonged than had been anticipated. During the six months since that report, the country has maintained a high level of prosperity but on a wave of inflation which has already caused serious hardship and presents grave concern for the future.

In this second annual Economic Report, I shall set forth the difficulties of the situation by which the Nation is confronted as it enters 1948. At the same time, I have great confidence in our ability to surmount these difficulties and to show another year of splendid achievement for the welfare of our own people and the meeting of our responsibilities in the family of nations.

I. Foreword and Summary

The year 1947 has afforded a new demonstration of the tremendous productivity of the United States when our natural resources, our accumulated capital, and our able and enterprising labor force are used at high levels of activity. Looked at from another point of view, the year has revealed the previously unmeasured size of the profitable market which is furnished when nearly 60 million workers are steadily employed with modern equipment and organization. With high pay rolls and relatively few work stoppages and with a new high record in farm income, most of the people were able to enjoy a level of consumption far above prewar standards. We were able also to satisfy many of the wants for durable consumers' goods whose production had been curtailed during the war and to extend the conveniences of life and modest luxuries to a larger percentage of our homes than had ever shared them in the past. In addition, we were able to provide aid to war-torn and distressed countries abroad.

The main features of last year's economic activity may be summarized as follows:

The record of economic activity during 1947

Employment during 1947 made a new record, passing the mark of 60 million civilian jobs in June and, even with seasonal dips, averaging about 58 million for the whole year. This was almost 3 million more than in 1946 and about 10.5 million more than in 1940. Unemployment was even lower than in 1946, and reached what is probably the practical minimum.

Production measured as total physical output of goods was about 7 percent above 1946 and 76 percent above the 1935–39 average. A slight drop in agricultural production was more than offset by larger production in manufacturing, minerals, construction, transportation, and public utilities. The first Economic Report set up as an objective for 1947 a total output of goods and services about 5 percent above 1946. This goal was not quite reached. The increased output of goods was partly offset by a decline in services.

Productivity per man-hour increased

slightly over 1946. In manufacturing, production increased somewhat more than numbers employed. Output of the average farm worker declined somewhat because of bad weather conditions but remained far above prewar levels.

Consumer income after taxes reached a new high in 1947. It was running at the annual rate of $1,264 per capita in the last quarter of 1947, compared with a rate of $1,074 in the first quarter of 1946. However, the rapid rise in prices caused the purchasing power of the consumer's dollar income to decline by nearly 8 percent during the same period. This did most injury to people with low incomes and moderate fixed incomes. Total spending for consumption was maintained by reduction in the rate of current saving, drawing on past savings, and the rise of consumer credit to a new peak of 13.3 billion dollars at the end of 1947.

Business investment and income throughout 1947 remained consistently above the level of any previous year. Investment in plant, equipment, and increased inventories amounted to over 25 billion dollars contrasted with 21 billion dollars in 1946. Some part of this increase reflected higher prices. Dividend payments reached a new high although corporations retained five-eighths of their profits after taxes to plow back into the business. Retained corporate earnings were double those of the war years and four times those of 1929. Flotation of securities, mostly of fixed-interest types, provided 4 billion dollars of new capital as against 3.3 billion in 1946. Commercial bank loans to business increased about 4.2 billion dollars in 1947, with credit expanding so rapidly in the last half year as to cause grave concern as to its inflationary effect.

Housing units completed in 1947 were nearly double the number in 1946, but high costs raised the question whether this rate could be continued.

Exports of goods and services ran at the annual rate of 20 billion dollars in the early part of the year but declined later. Imports were much less than exports resulting in an export surplus of more than 11 billion dollars for the year. The ability of foreign countries to finance imports declined in the latter part of the year and the future of our international balance will depend in considerable measure on the size of Government aid and private credits extended.

Government expenditures were reduced to 41.3 billion dollars in the calendar year 1947, leaving a balance of cash receipts of 5.6 billion dollars which was used primarily to reduce bank holdings of Federal debt. This was a counterinflationary factor during a year of mounting inflation.

The Nation's Economic Budget for the second half of 1947 indicates a gross national production at an annual rate of 237 billion dollars, contrasted with about 204 billion for 1946. Investment for construction, equipment, and inventories increased by 24 percent over 1946, and net foreign investments increased by 83 percent, while consumer expenditures increased by only 14 percent. The increase in consumer expenditures was 3.5 billion dollars more than the increase in their incomes. The continuance of such a relationship would not enable consumers to absorb, with their current incomes, the output of a maximum employment economy when the extraordinary volume of business reequipment, net exports, and the use of credit level off at more permanently sustainable rates. The relationships within the Nation's Economic Budget permitted maximum employment and high production through 1947 but did not include all the adjustments required for permanent prosperity and growth.

The maintenance and stabilization of such a high level of production and consumption will require proper adjustment among

money, price, and income relationships. While changes in price and income relationships during the past year have not disrupted activity in any serious way as yet, they have brought us progressively into a more unstable situation. As we enter the new year, the American people are keenly aware that inflation is the dominant problem in our economic affairs.

PRICES, WAGES, PROFITS, AND INFLATION IN 1947

At the time of the first Economic Report a year ago, I warned against the danger of advancing prices, which would undermine our structure of national prosperity. I strongly urged businessmen to bring prices into line with the requirements of a stabilized economy. I called upon workers to limit their demands for wage increases to those situations where wages were substandard or where wage increases would not necessitate higher prices. I called for the holding of public works down to the minimum of necessity and called upon procurement agencies to avoid practices that would stimulate price increases.

Prices in the first quarter of 1947 continued the upward trend of the last quarter of 1946. In its first-quarter review to me, the Council of Economic Advisers stressed the fact that the faster rate at which prices were beginning to move up constituted a serious danger. During the following weeks, I emphasized in several public statements the need for all groups in the business world to adopt policies and follow practices which would halt this inflationary trend.

There then followed several months of a remarkably stable price level. One cannot say how far this was due to the voluntary action of the many businessmen who deliberately withheld price advances and in a few cases reduced prices, or to what extent the cessation of price increases was the result of the widespread resistance of retail merchants to higher wholesale prices or was due to the spread of a generally more cautious attitude among businessmen and individual consumers.

Although the upward movement of prices had apparently been checked when I presented my Midyear Economic Report, I warned that there were strong new inflationary forces. I endeavored again to impress businessmen with the great need for price stability and I again asked labor to refrain from demands for such wage increases as would require price advances. Unfortunately, even as the Midyear Report was presented, unfavorable developments in agriculture, industry, and the international situation started changes in incomes and prices quite different from those recommended in my first Economic Report. Businessmen were in the main finding it easy to pass added costs on in price advances of like or greater amount.

Since June, wholesale prices have risen at an annual rate of 20 percent and consumer prices at an annual rate of about 12 percent. Retail food prices have risen at an annual rate of about 15 percent. Rent, since the modification of rent control, has been rising at an annual rate of about 13 percent. At the wholesale level, textiles during the second half of 1947 were rising at an annual rate of 12 percent, fuel and lighting 36 percent, and building materials 18 percent.

Wages, too, were moving up. Wage earners had in the first half of the year sought to obtain increases in rates that would maintain their take-home pay at or near the wartime level and thus enable them to buy the enlarged product of goods and services that a high-production peacetime economy could turn out. Wage advances during 1947 kept up generally with the cost of living trend during the year but did not gain the ground

lost when price increases exceeded wage increases in 1946. The renewed rise in the cost of living during the second half of 1947 brought demands for further wage increases. At the end of the year there was a continuing prospect of a fruitless and dangerous spiraling of prices and wages.

Profits were substantially above the 1946 level, and remained high through the year as increased costs were covered, and in many cases exceeded, by higher prices. Corporate profits before taxes rose to 28 billion dollars, contrasted with 21 billion in 1946, and profits after taxes rose to 17 billion dollars, compared with 12.5 billion in 1946. Corporate earnings after taxes represented about 9.5 percent on net worth, and 5.5 percent on sales. Unincorporated non-farm enterprises earned 23.5 billion dollars before taxes, an increase of 2.5 billion. Total business income before taxes increased by 22 percent during the year. Net farm income before taxes rose from 15.2 billion dollars in 1946 to 18.3 billion in 1947.

The record of prices, wages and profits during 1947 shows how they fed upon one another in a developing process of inflation. In spite of the heartening production record of the year, this inflationary trend was profoundly disturbing. It not only produced great inequities among our people, but also created the danger of a serious setback.

The purposes of the Employment Act are beginning to meet their first real test. Unless we as a nation show an ability to impose restraints upon ourselves and to utilize the machinery of our representative government to devise well-considered regulatory measures, we stand in great danger that runaway prices, overextended credit, and unbalanced developments will lead to an economic recession. We cannot be sure that such a recession would not be severe and recovery slow and painful.

OBJECTIVES FOR 1948

The first objective for 1948 must be to halt the inflationary trend. On November 17, I recommended to the Congress a ten-point program for this purpose. Every point in that program is essential.

The nature of the inflation from which we are suffering arises in part from the total excess of buying power over the available supply of goods and in part from relative scarcities at strategic points in the economy which give impetus to particular price-wage spirals.

To deal with these two phases of inflation, my ten-point program divides into three main parts. First, it proposes appropriate restraints upon business credit and consumer credit and commodity speculation. Second, to deal with the scarcities at strategic spots in the economy, it calls for authority to allocate to their most efficient and necessary uses those scarce commodities and services which enter basically into the cost of living or industrial production. And third, it calls for the extension and strengthening of rent control, and for authority to impose rationing and price control on a highly selective basis on items of outstanding importance to industrial production or to the cost of living so that these powers may be used promptly to protect the public if other measures prove inadequate.

As I have made clear in a statement on December 29, the three points in my ten-point program which were enacted in the special session of the Congress are necessary but insufficient. The other seven points are needed, needed badly, and needed promptly.

This program, which the situation requires, does not lessen the need for voluntary restraint. This applies both to those who price goods and those who buy goods. No program undertaken by the Government can

succeed unless it is accompanied by public cooperation based upon a realization of common dangers and common objectives.

Taxes at present are providing revenues substantially larger than expenditures. It is important to maintain this favorable balance as long as the inflationary trend continues. However, certain adjustments need to be made immediately in order to protect those in the lower income groups hit hardest by inflation.

Our second main objective for 1948 should be to maintain maximum employment, achieve maximum production, and adjust the price-income structure so as to stop the inflationary spiral without production cutbacks or extensive unemployment.

More production this year will help in combating inflation, but there is no possibility of enough additional production this year to overcome inflation without other measures. In fact, if these other measures are not undertaken, inflation may cause such disruption of our economy as to drive production and employment downward.

With healthy adjustments in our economy achieved during the year, our employment objective should be to absorb in useful work the net increase of 700,000 additional people in the labor force. This would mean an average of nearly 59 million jobs for the year as a whole, contrasted with about 58 million as the year's average for 1947.

Our objective for production should be to increase the total output of goods and services by some 3 percent above 1947.

Our third main objective for 1948 should be to establish firmer foundations for the long-range growth and prosperity of our economy in the years ahead.

LONG-RANGE OBJECTIVES

The economic growth and stability of the United States cannot be achieved by dealing with problems merely from day to day. We must have a sufficiently long-time perspective to do also those things which require some time for their planning and organization.

Our total annual national production has increased since 1939 by 53 percent. We cannot expect such rapid advance within the next 10 years because we are now at a fuller use of our resources than we were in 1939. Yet we should within 10 years be able to increase our annual national output by 35 percent. Progress at this rate would bring the per capita real income of our people to 27 percent above the level of 1947 and 80 percent above the level of 1937.

But our record of periodic depressions in the past warns us that we cannot have stabilized prosperity at this rate of progress without carefully considered and well-directed efforts.

The Nation's long-range economic programs should be geared to three major purposes: conserving and developing our natural resources and capital equipment, enabling our human resources to become fully productive and thus provide richer and more satisfying lives, and improving our economic institutions and practices so as to utilize free enterprise and representative government effectively toward maximum production and sustained general prosperity.

Development of natural resources and capital equipment

Development of natural resources in land, water power, minerals, and forests requires that we make up as soon as possible for the lapses in many of these efforts during the pressures of war and postwar reconversion. Wise conservation and development efforts are now all the more needed because in many respects these resources were subjected to excessive drains to supply wartime

production.

One-half of the Nation's crop and pasture land needs to be put under improved soil management. Programs for flood control and power need to be expanded. Further construction of multipurpose dams and related facilities is desirable. Our sustained yield of saw timber should be doubled. With regard to minerals for industrial and strategic purposes, we need increased emphasis upon research, development of substitutes, and importation and stockpiling.

There are areas of the country which, for a combination of reasons, have been underdeveloped or retarded economically. We must push regional development through improved agricultural methods and land use, further industrial expansion and diversification, and lifting the levels of health and education.

All of our resource development activities will require the alert interest of the people, vigorous private enterprise, and a wise pooling of the efforts of Federal, State, and local governments.

Our business plant and equipment need to be expanded to sustain continuous maximum employment and production. We shall require more capacity in steel, petroleum, coke, electricity, and other industries.

We can rely mainly upon business for this expansion, if business adjusts its plans to an economy of continuous maximum production instead of adjusting its plans to an economy of recurrent low resource utilization.

Government has the responsibility of providing favorable conditions for adequate and well-balanced private investment in productive facilities, with prudent use of Government initiative when private resources lag. Both private and public policy must, however, impose restraints on boomtime overdevelopment and overcapitalization.

In transportation, at least 45 percent of our highways leading into cities need to be rebuilt within 10 years, financial aid to airlines should be continued, railroad consolidation should be carried out with increasing vigor, and national policies should recognize the need for protecting the credit of the railroads.

Urban redevelopment and housing afford an immense challenge. The blight and deterioration of our cities have created grave problems of municipal taxation and management, and have damped the rate of investment in rebuilding. This problem is closely related to the inadequacy and instability of house production. As a start toward the objective of a decent standard of American housing within 10 years and for the release of investment opportunities over a decade of as much as 75 billion dollars—mostly private funds—in urban redevelopment, there should be prompt enactment of comprehensive housing and urban redevelopment legislation.

Development of human resources and productivity

Within 10 years, maximum employment will mean 64 million jobs or more.

To raise the individual to the highest practical level of productivity, and to provide an outlet for the increasing part of the labor force which technological changes may displace from the mass-production industries or from agriculture, we need improved services in education, health, and social security.

For education, the first step, which should not be deferred, is to provide Federal aid for elementary and secondary education to help remedy the deplorable shortages and the maldistribution of school facilities and teachers. At present, our ten poorest States are spending about $64 annually for each school child, while our ten wealthiest States are spending about $177. Federal aid should be given not only to this educational effort but also to research work both in basic principles of

natural and social science and in their practical application.

Our health standards are not being met because of the inability of millions of families to purchase adequate medical care with their incomes, and also because of the great disparities in the resources of different areas of the country available for investment in hospitals and other health services. We need a comprehensive national health program, including prepaid health insurance and aid to hospitals and health centers.

Social security, both in its unemployment insurance and its old-age insurance aspects, should be increased and its coverage should be made more general.

Development of institutions and practices for a high-production economy

We have learned from experience that the capacity to produce does not alone assure continuous maximum employment. The distribution of purchasing power determines whether there will be enough funds available to provide adequate investment for maximum production and enough buying power to absorb the output.

Industrial price-wage-profit policies, arrived at without compulsion in a free, competitive economy, play an important part in preserving or destroying balance in our economy. In those areas where businessmen and workers make conscious decisions about prices, wages, and profits, we must seek through education and understanding to adjust these decisions ever more closely to the broad needs of the whole economy.

At the same time, the adaptability of the economy to changing circumstances requires the maintenance of active competition which, through amendment and improved enforcement of the antitrust laws, must be preserved where it exists and revived where it has languished. Collusive monopolistic practices must be eradicated and the trend toward concentration of economic power reversed.

For balanced expansion, our economy requires a larger flow of income to consumers. Comparing 1939 with today in dollars of constant purchasing power, annual expenditures for producers' durable equipment have increased by 170 percent, while annual consumers' expenditures have increased by only 48 percent. When the export surplus and business retooling and the use of savings and credit level off or are reduced, we shall need more consumer income to sustain maximum production.

More consumer income must be accompanied by better income distribution. In 1946, the lowest-income fifth of our families had an average annual income before taxes of only $835. The second fifth had an average annual income of only about $2,000. The top fifth had an average annual income of almost $9,000.

Agricultural and food policy throughout the decade ahead should be based on the expanding needs of a maximum production economy. With improvements in the incomes and living standards of wage earners, and with continued concentration upon improving nutrition, our agricultural output should within 10 years reach a level about 10 percent above the present level. This would mean a crop output about 25 percent, and a livestock output nearly 50 percent, above prewar levels.

Soil conservation activities should be intensified. Capital investment per farm worker will need to be increased, and there is need for three times as many tractors on farms as before the war. There are 2 or 3 million farmers with too little land or whose land is too poor or whose equipment is inadequate.

We shall continue to need the farm programs that have been developed to advise

farmers in adjusting their production patterns to the changing patterns of demand, and to offset in some degree the special hazards affecting their industry through crop insurance and price support for major farm commodities.

Tax policy for the long run should have two major elements: first, a level of revenue above expenditures in all except depression years which will permit systematic reduction of the public debt; and, second, a tax structure which will promote stabilized prosperity through adjustment of particular taxes to stimulate or to check consumer expenditure or business expenditure as circumstances require.

Debt management policies should be so conducted that appropriate restraints on bank credit can be applied without abandoning or impairing the sound principle of Government price support of bonds which the people have bought as an expression of their faith in the Government's financial security.

Our international economic relations should be such as to aid in the restoration of Europe under the European Recovery Program. We are now seeking, and should seek always, to negotiate with other nations better standards for the conduct of world trade so that each country may be facilitated in producing the things which it can produce best and buying the things which can be produced more economically elsewhere. In a framework of increasing world prosperity, our country can move forward most confidently to meet the problems of our domestic economy.

* * * * *

IV. Levels of Activity and Adjustments Needed in 1948

In spite of some disappointments on the supply side and serious inflationary distortions on the demand side during 1947, we enter 1948 on a high tide of economic activity and with prospects for another prosperous year if we handle our economic affairs wisely and firmly. The Employment Act calls upon the President at the opening of each year not merely to review current trends but also to state what levels of employment, production, and purchasing power during the ensuing year are needed to carry out the policy declared in the act and to recommend measures by which these objectives may be attained. These two requirements will be met in this section.

We face in the months and years immediately ahead a test of whether we have the foresight and courage to safeguard our economy against a return to the devastating sequence of boom and depression. If we are to complete safely the transition from a war economy to a stable peacetime economy and clear the way for the great progress which lies within our reach, we must, promptly, take vigorous measures to check the course of inflation which now has the economy in its grip.

Needed levels of employment, production, and purchasing power

Employment objective

The American economy is now operating at a level of employment which may be regarded as a practical maximum. It is estimated that the labor force will increase by about 700,000 persons during 1948. If we provide them as well as the present labor force with opportunities to work, this would mean an average civilian employment of almost 59 million for the coming year.

Production objective

This labor force will have at its disposal expanded and improved capital equipment and there should in general be a better flow of raw materials. During the past year,

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business expended 23 billion dollars for plant and equipment, approximately one-half of which represents a net addition in excess of wear and tear and obsolescence. Since there are still some shortages of materials, particularly in metals, some of the new plant and equipment may begin operating at the expense of somewhat less production in older plants.

It should be our objective to open up most of these bottlenecks in the course of 1948, with the use of new capacity to produce materials and components which are now scarce. Assuming that new capital equipment and other efficiency factors raise nonagricultural productivity somewhat more than 2 percent, our objective should be to increase the output of goods and services in this sector of the economy to a level somewhat more than 3 percent above 1947.

For farm production, the Department of Agriculture has announced production goals for this year which call for an increase of 3 percent in the acreage of crops. Reduced feed supplies, however, will inevitably cause some decrease in the output of livestock and livestock products. Balancing this against a possible increase in crop production, it appears doubtful that total agricultural production this year can surpass that of 1947.

For the economy as a whole, an increase of total output by about 3 percent above 1947 is a feasible objective. To reach this objective will require skillful management, the maintenance of good labor-management relations, and some improvements in the geographical distribution of labor.

Purchasing power objective

Our purchasing power objective for 1948 should be to effect the economic adjustments which are necessary to afford adequate protection against increasing inflation. The view has been expressed that the only cure for inflation and the only means of providing maximum real purchasing power is more production. Certainly the continuation of full employment and the removal of impediments to maximum production will provide the surest long-run remedy for scarcity prices and the exploitation of monopolistic situations. But we cannot increase industrial and agricultural production enough within the next few months to catch up fully with market demands or to surmount the inflationary dangers of the coming year.

Weather will be a major determining factor in our farm output. The reduction in the corn crop of 1947 has required drastic revision of livestock producers' operations and makes it certain that supplies of meat, poultry, and dairy products will be less abundant in 1948 than in 1947.

On the industrial side also, the inability to re-equip producers and to fill pipe lines, while simultaneously turning out enough consumers' goods for all the demands of a fully employed population and providing needed foreign aid, will result in some relative shortages during 1948. The basic shortages in coke, in steel, and other metals, in petroleum and petroleum transport facilities, and in railway cars and motive power will not fully be made up during 1948.

This leads to the conclusion that, even were our employment and production goals for 1948 fully realized, this would not of itself meet our purchasing-power objective nor substantially dispel the need for other affirmative anti-inflation measures. More than this, we face the danger that the continuance of maximum employment and production will be impossible unless we achieve the necessary purchasing-power adjustments in the price-wage-profit structure. When a price-wage spiral breeds business uncertainty and impairs confidence, employment and production go down instead of up.

The affirmative measures which I have proposed to the special session of the Con-

gress, and which I shall here reaffirm, are not a substitute for more production, but rather constitute the only assurance of maintaining high and increasing production.

FISCAL POLICY TO COMBAT INFLATION

It is well established that a substantial excess of Government receipts over expenditures is counter-inflationary.

The Federal agencies will have to make cash payments to the public in calendar year 1948 of over 40 billion dollars. This is about 1 billion dollars less than cash payments to the public in calendar year 1947. It includes proposed expenditures under new legislation, mainly foreign aid, of about 3 billion dollars. (These figures and those below represent cash payments and receipts and apply to the calendar year. They differ in both respects from the conventional Federal Budget.)

Over 40 percent of the total is required for defense and for veterans. Most of the remainder represents expenditures to carry out the provisions of existing law and to meet the Government's commitments, such as interest payments on the public debt, refund of taxes, loans to foreign governments, social-security payments, and expenditures under previously authorized contracts.

On the basis of receipts from present taxes and of expected payments, the excess of receipts over expenditures for calendar year 1948 will be substantial. With inflationary pressures a major threat to the stability of the American economy, no action should be taken now to reduce this excess.

But while waging war against inflation, we should not neglect the casualties. Certain tax changes now will help those millions of families whose disposable incomes have lagged more and more behind the increased cost of living during the past year and a half.

I therefore propose that the Congress enact legislation extending a cost-of-living tax credit of $40 for each taxpayer and each dependent.

To offset this decrease in government revenues, corporate taxes should be increased sufficiently to yield an equivalent amount. Corporations were given early relief after the war in very substantial amount through repeal of the excess profits tax. While present corporate income taxes are very high by all prewar standards, they have permitted both high business activity and an unexampled addition to capital investment. An increase in corporate taxes would not cause production to fall below the highest output that available materials, capacity, and labor will permit. It would, however, have an anti-inflationary effect which would wholly or in large degree offset the inflationary influence of the reduction in individual income taxes.

Any net change one way or the other in the effect of these tax revisions upon inflation is outweighed by the manifest equity of the revisions proposed. In any event, these equitable adjustments will not interfere with success in our anti-inflationary efforts if the other anti-inflationary measures which I shall now discuss are promptly adopted and vigorously applied.

THE REGULATION OF CREDIT

In the process of inflation, one of the most potentially dangerous sources of excessive demand is the expansion of credit. This applies to consumer credit, commercial credit, real estate credit, and credit on securities.

I again recommend that the power of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System to regulate consumer credit be restored. Even under the controls which existed, and which expired only on November 1, 1947, the volume of instalment con-

sumer credit outstanding had increased from 4 billion dollars on January 1, 1947, to 5.5 billion dollars on November 1. Since the lapse of control, and due only partly to seasonal influences, the rate of increase has moved sharply ahead. A further rapid expansion at this time can only contribute to inflationary price increases.

Also dangerous is the mounting volume of mortgage debt, urban and rural. The longer-run interest of the people requires careful consideration of the present financing policies of both private and governmental agencies.

More dangerous than the expansion of consumer credit is the over-rapid expansion of commercial loans by banks. During the first half of 1947, commercial credit expanded only moderately, but during the second half it rose at an annual rate of almost 10 billion dollars, a much more than seasonal increase. This increase coincided with the upsurge of inflationary developments.

The increase of bank credit was both a result and a further source of inflationary pressure. The increase in bank loans reflected a growing demand for funds that arose from a variety of sources. In adapting their operations to a rising cost and price structure, business firms needed a larger volume of credit for working capital, and borrowed additional amounts to maintain and expand expenditures on plant and equipment. Farmers increased their borrowing to purchase real estate and to acquire farm machinery and finance other capital improvements. Increased consumer buying of durable goods, payments for the purchase and modernization of homes, and outlays to meet current living expenses were financed in part by expanded bank loans.

When demand from other sources is already pressing against the price structure, the injection of large amounts of bank-created funds to support business, real estate, and consumer expenditures necessarily contributes to further inflation. The impact of this additional supply of money is felt first, of course, in those markets in which the borrowers are direct participants. But as the funds are used by the borrowers to purchase the goods and services they want, they become part of an enlarged general income stream. As other temporary sources of demand decline, the expansion of bank credit could potentially keep the inflationary trend rising and interfere with the gradual transition to a stable situation. Among the strategic points at which to curb the inflation movement, none is potentially more powerful than the restriction of bank credit.

The control of bank credit is not a simple task, nor is it free from dangers. Unwisely exercised, it could overplay its role and precipitate an undue liquidation of credit and a lowering of economic activity. Furthermore, the problem is complicated by the relation of credit to the administration of the public debt. Limitation of the amount of commercial lending would probably be accompanied by higher interest rates. Except as special devices may be introduced which can partially insulate the public debt, two unfortunate developments might take place: a decline in the value of Government bonds held by the public, and an increase in the cost of servicing the debt as refunding takes place. But these difficulties can be surmounted through the wise exercise of restraints upon excessive bank credit.

In view of their central relation to the control of inflation, current proposals for credit control, especially those which have been presented by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for the increase of bank reserve requirements, should be given close study by the Congress, and legislation should be enacted of a sufficiently comprehensive character to make available all the powers that may be needed.

Within the last fortnight the leaders of our commercial banking system have taken positive organized action to secure the curtailment of inflationary expansion of bank credit by their members. I commend this farsighted action. If they succeed in this voluntary effort, they will be curtailing credit at the points where it is most likely to exercise inflationary influence and further general action might not be required.

As part of our program for restraining excessive credit expansion, the Federal bank supervisory agencies have already announced policies designed to confine extension of private bank credit to legitimate production requirements. The credit standards of the Government lending agencies have also been reviewed with the objective of checking inflationary influences from this source. It is essential that the major Government credit agencies in making direct loans and in guaranteeing private loans shall pursue policies consistent with a national anti-inflationary policy.

THE NEED FOR SELECTIVE CONTROLS

While the credit controls and budget policies discussed above are essential instruments for halting the inflationary trend, there have arisen specific situations which, in all probability, cannot be dealt with adequately by these measures.

The most important of these special situations is the shortage of grains and the related mounting price of food. In the case of meat, for example, the shortage will almost certainly be greater next spring. The use of credit and budgetary controls to the point where they could halt the rise of meat prices would probably cause widespread unemployment. Depriving people of their livelihood in order to cause a decline in the cost of food is obviously not an acceptable alternative. Nor is it an acceptable alternative to let mounting prices ration the short supply at the expense of millions of families of modest income.

In meeting this situation, consumer rationing of selected commodities would not only relieve the demand pressure, but would also provide for a more equitable distribution of the available supply. There should also exist limited powers of price control to be used for combating rising prices at those points where they bear most disastrously upon the cost of living. I have already recommended to the Congress that such powers be authorized. It is also necessary to authorize, and to use if necessary on a selective basis, price control of a few vital industrial products that are in short supply, since we have had ample demonstration that these areas of shortage are also a focal point of spreading inflation.

There should also be set up powers for dealing with the distribution of basic industrial and agricultural products where scarcity threatens to impede production or raise prices unduly. These should not subject business firms to a detailed plan of operation prescribed by the control agency, but merely provide a check on such distribution of scarce supplies as is found to be impeding domestic production, defeating the purposes of the foreign aid program, or working inequities as between legitimate users of the scarce commodity.

In areas where price control might be employed, its workability might be impaired by excessive wage increases. I therefore repeat my recommendation to the Congress that authority should be granted to prevent wage increases where such action is necessary to maintain any price ceiling that may be established. This is a power which should be restricted in its use, and might not need to be used at all. Its existence would not supersede the general practice of fixing wages by voluntary agreement, nor would

it relieve labor of any of the responsibility it now bears for moderation in wage demands to help curb inflationary pressures.

I also repeat my recommendation that rent control be continued and strengthened. Nothing could be more disastrous to the standard of living of millions of people, or better calculated to initiate another spiral of wages and prices, than the continuation of the sharp increases in rents now under way. This is particularly true because relaxation of rent control could not effect a rapid increase in the supply of housing.

The measure enacted by the Congress toward the end of its recent session extended the Export Control Act, and also extended the authority to allocate transportation facilities and equipment. In addition, it authorized measures to increase the production of food in non-European foreign countries and to encourage conservation practices in this country. While these steps are desirable, they constitute only a small part of an effective anti-inflation program.

The same measure also provided for voluntary agreements among businessmen, relating to the allocation of transportation facilities and scarce commodities and relating also to the regulation of speculative trading on commodity exchanges. While I have stressed many times that certain types of appropriate voluntary action are important, the experience reviewed in this Report, and the facts which it sets forth, demonstrate conclusively that governmental action along the lines that I have recommended is absolutely essential.

THE NEED FOR VOLUNTARY RESTRAINT

The need for some government controls does not lessen the need for voluntary restraint. Only with the voluntary cooperation of the American people can any controls be made to work effectively, and the more effective voluntary restraint becomes, the less will controls be needed.

I have already urged consumers to restrict their purchases of scarce products. The Federal Government is deferring many public works projects and following procurement policies designed to minimize their effect upon price increases. I urge State and local governments to do likewise. Businessmen should defer expansion that does not immediately augment production. They should also strive to maintain inventories at the lowest efficient working levels.

The campaign to sell savings bonds will be intensified. Voluntary savings of all types should be encouraged. The new bond buyers and millions of loyal Americans who enabled their country to finance the war are assured that the power which their Government possesses to maintain the value of their bonds will be exercised wherever necessary.

Most important of all, businessmen should hold the line against price increases and reduce prices wherever they can, foregoing a quick and dangerous excessive profit in favor of long-run stability. And labor should be moderate in its wage demands, mindful of recent experience which demonstrates the impossibility of registering real gains in an inflationary spiral.

I cannot too strongly emphasize that every self-imposed voluntary restraint, in the making of purchases, in the setting of prices, and in the demand for wages, contributes to the restoration of economic stability and prolonged prosperity. But to the extent that the result is not achieved by these means, it is essential that proper agencies of Government be given and that they use powers to restore the balance.

When an inflation is in progress, there is no way of predicting when it will break of its own accord. One can only be certain that, if permitted to run its own course, it will break with destructive force. How

serious or prolonged such a situation would be in the current instance cannot be foretold. Whatever its character, if a depression occurs, it will be far more costly in human welfare and will involve the Government in far more pervasive intervention in the economic life of the country than the measures which are necessary to prevent it. I therefore urge that the Congress consider with the utmost speed the nature of the problem which we have to meet and adopt the measures that are appropriate to its solution.

V. Long-Range Objectives for the American Economy

OUR ABILITY TO GROW

While striving to overcome the inflation of today, we cannot safely neglect the problems of tomorrow. No great nation lives for the moment alone. In restraining the excessive demand which is now apparent, we must not cripple the market for an expanding output of American industry and agriculture. Our whole history shows that unless we go forward we shall slip backward. Our economy should be stable, but nonetheless it must continue to grow.

We cannot set aside long-range considerations while we deal with the immediate task of combating inflation. The Employment Act requires that we set objectives for the needed levels of employment, production, and purchasing power. Such objectives require that we look ahead and appraise our economic potentials in the perspective of long-range economic growth.

The best way to realize the growth that we can achieve is to look at what we have recently done. The Nation's Economic Budget has already been used in this Report as a summary device to depict the present state of our economy. In table 11, it is used to show the enormous strides that we have made since just before World War II, with the figures adjusted to allow for price changes.

No one can fail to be impressed by the fact that, within 8 years, our annual national product has increased by about 53 percent measured in constant prices. Some part of this increase is explained by the fact that our economy in 1939 was not running at maximum employment or production. The relentless pressure of the war speeded up certain economic developments. The American people hold a profound conviction that our war-time production record furnishes a significant demonstration of what we can do with maximum employment and effective economic policies.

In recent years, a number of attempts have been made by private and public research agencies to measure the growth that lies ahead if we are successful in maintaining maximum levels of economic activity. These studies recognize that foresight is not perfect and that our knowledge of technological trends and economic relationships is still limited. Further improvements in these measurements are needed. But even now, they can serve to furnish us at least with some broad outlines of our prospects and problems.

Ten years from now, if we maintain maximum employment, we should reach a level of nearly 64 million jobs. This allows for population growth. It also allows for withdrawal from the labor force of some women to their homes and for longer school attendance of some of our young people.

Output per man-hour for our economy as a whole has increased by approximately 2 percent annually in recent decades. The war brought many technological advances which have not yet been adopted fully by peacetime industry. Assuming even the very conservative estimate of 2 percent annual increase in productivity, and allowing

TABLE 11.—THE NATION'S ECONOMIC BUDGET IN CONSTANT DOLLARS, CALENDAR YEARS 1939 AND 1947

Billions of dollars, first half of 1947 prices

Accounts	*Calendar year 1939*			*Calendar year 1947* [1]			
	Receipts	*Expenditures*	*Excess (+) or deficit (−)*	*Receipts*	*Expenditures*	*Excess (+) or deficit (−)*	*Percent increase 1939–47*
Consumers:							
Disposable income	112.5	.....	.....	171.0	.....	.....	52
Expenditures	.....	108.2	.....	.....	160.2	.....	48
Saving (+)	.....	.....	+4.3	.....	.....	+10.8	151
Business:							
Undistributed profits and reserves	13.1	.....	.....	17.1	.....	.....	31
Gross private domestic investment:							
New construction	.....	7.4	.....	.....	10.2	.....	38
Producers' durable equipment	.....	6.4	.....	.....	17.3	.....	170
Net change in inventories	.....	.6	.....	.....	2.1	.....	250
Total	.....	14.4	.....	.....	29.6	.....	106
Excess of receipts (+) or investment (−)	.....	.....	−1.3	.....	.....	−12.5	862
International:							
Net foreign investment	.....	1.3	.....	.....	8.4	.....	546
Excess of receipts (+) or investment (−)	.....	.....	−1.3	.....	.....	−8.4	546
Government (Federal, State, and local):							
Cash receipts from the public	27.0	.....	.....	59.4	.....	.....	119
Cash payments to the public	.....	31.7	.....	.....	53.6	.....	69
Excess of receipts (+) or payments (−)	.....	.....	−4.7	.....	.....	+5.8	.....
Adjustments to arrive at gross national product	−5.1	−8.1	+3.0	−21.2	−25.5	+4.3	.....
Total gross national product	147.5	147.5	0	226.3	226.3	0	53

[1] Estimates based on incomplete data.

for population growth, maximum production 10 years hence would mean an increase of about 35 percent in our total output of goods and services if average weekly hours of work remain unchanged. This would mean per capita disposable income about 80 percent above the level of 1937 and 27 percent above the level of 1947 in terms of constant dollars. Some part of this possible increase may, of course, be taken in the form of increased leisure.

We have within our reach an economic environment that would make it unnecessary for masses of people to be undernourished or ill-housed, to work in obsolete plants and shops, or to lack essential medical care, social security or education. No one would need to go without adequate rest and vacation after hard work. Attainment of these economic objectives would afford ever-increasing opportunities for individual initiative and greatly strengthen the cherished free institutions of American life.

But these gains will not come by accident. They would not be registered in an economy characterized by a period of idle or wasted resources after any period when for a few years we attain full utilization of our

plant and labor force, or in an economy running at only three-quarter capacity even in "fairly good times." The attainment of our objectives will depend upon the best efforts of industry, agriculture, and labor, working with sympathetic understanding of one another's problems and of the common good. It will depend on a clear appreciation of maladjustments in the relationships among production, prices, and purchasing power; it will depend upon the willingness of all concerned to make necessary adjustments, and upon vigorous and forward-looking government.

DEVELOPMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND CAPITAL EQUIPMENT

In the perspective of balanced economic expansion for the future, our first attention should be concentrated upon our productive resources, developed and potential, and the ways in which these resources are utilized. Since the beginning of the war, we have been forced to forego at many points development of our basic natural resources and the essential maintenance and improvement of our capital facilities.

Improvement of the country's natural resources and its capital equipment is a cooperative effort. Private groups and individuals, State and local governments, as well as the Federal Government, are challenged by the task. An expanding base of natural resources and capital equipment is necessary for the realization of increasing production and a rising standard of living.

Natural resources

Land. To meet the needs of a population of perhaps 175 to 185 million persons by 1975 living in an economic environment of sustained maximum employment and production with a considerable volume of agricultural exports, would require an increase of about 30 percent in agricultural production. It would also require a substantial shift in the pattern of agricultural land use to meet changes in demand.

The yield of present cropland can be enlarged by improvements in plant breeding, increased use of machinery, supplemental irrigation, increased use of fertilizers, and more efficient marketing. To some extent, we can also increase production by adding to cropland through drainage, clearing, and irrigation.

Erosion of top soil and depletion of soil fertility are becoming more and more serious. About 60 million acres now cultivated should be used for grass and trees. Despite significant progress in soil conservation in recent years, half the Nation's cropland and pasture still needs to be put under improved soil-management practices as rapidly as possible. Expanded research, education, and demonstration programs are required. We need a Nation-wide program for increased application of fertilizers to depleted soils.

About half our acreage of farm pastures and rangeland has been impaired seriously by overgrazing, fires, and other abuses. Large tracts of land which should be ranges have been plowed for wheat. Higher levels of meat consumption can be met only if individual farmers and stockmen who own two-thirds of the country's range-land adopt better grazing practices. The 300 million acres of western grazing land controlled by the Federal Government, much of it organized in grazing districts, is being improved, but a large part of it requires further rehabilitation.

Water. Bound up as they are with land uses, water resources should be developed and controlled as an integral part of a broader national and regional resources-development program. Expanding programs are needed

to prevent floods, provide for navigation, furnish urgently needed power, promote recreation, control pollution, conserve fish and wildlife, and maintain and improve underground and surface water supplies needed for agriculture and other uses.

An impressive example of the interrelated nature of water and land resources is provided by large multiple purpose dams and accompanying watershed programs. Such integrated programs should be stepped up, as soon as economic conditions permit, in a number of our larger river basins.

Forests. The estimated 461 million acres of private and public commercial forest land in the country ultimately will grow all the timber products we are likely to need, provided they are well managed. The problem is most acute in saw timber. Our present saw-timber stand is less than half that in 1909, and is poorly distributed and deteriorating in quality and size. Better forest practices would provide the greatest assurance of adequate supplies for the future. Achievement of better practices may be furthered by strengthening and expanding technical and other assistance to private forest landowners, including farmers. In addition, multipurpose development of the national forests and other Federal forest land should be pushed to help meet national needs.

Minerals. Ample supplies of all essential minerals are vital to an expanding economy and for the Nation's security. Those minerals with which we are well endowed, such as coal and phosphates, should be mined and utilized efficiently. Those minerals for which we depend on foreign sources, such as tin, antimony, chromite, and strategic mica, will continue to require stockpiling and intensive search for substitutes and alternative sources of supply. Finally, those minerals for which we depend partially on foreign sources, such as zinc, lead, copper, and, increasingly, high-grade iron ore, call for policies which emphasize stepping up the rate of discovery, improving mining methods, and developing commercial processes for the utilization of low-grade ores. For petroleum, new techniques and sources of supply from coal, natural gas, and oil shale will have to be increasingly relied upon to prevent the reserve situation from deteriorating and to meet the rapidly growing demand.

Regional development. Some large regions in the country possess the basic raw materials, population, and locational advantages to support a much higher standard of living, but are below the national average in material well-being. They require large-scale developmental efforts both for their own benefit and to contribute in larger measure to the national welfare. The objective should be to narrow such differentials by raising productivity and incomes in the lagging regions, particularly through improvement in agricultural methods and land uses, further industrial expansion and diversification, and lifting education and health levels.

In recent years, large parts of the West have been growing, in terms of per capita income and production, at rates well in excess of national averages, but they are so meagerly equipped with capital and population that they may accurately be termed underdeveloped. Programs for the development of these regions are practical and productive, and should be continued.

The Territory of Alaska furnishes a special case. Because of its resources and its strategic location as our last northwest frontier, a concerted and expanded effort on the part of public and private agencies and individuals for the rapid economic and social development of Alaska is required.

Regional development requires integrated programs of business, labor, agriculture, and all levels of Government. The Council of

TABLE 12.—GROSS AND NET OUTLAYS FOR PRODUCERS' DURABLE EQUIPMENT, BY DECADES, 1869–1938

Decade	*Billions of 1929 dollars, average annual rate*			*Percentage of gross national product*		
	Gross outlays	*Replacement*	*Net expansion*	*Gross outlays*	*Replacement*	*Net expansion*
1869–78	0.48	0.27	0.20	4.6	2.7	1.9
1879–88	1.03	.58	.45	5.3	3.0	2.3
1889–98	1.42	1.03	.40	5.3	3.8	1.5
1899–1908	2.58	1.54	1.04	6.2	3.7	2.5
1909–18	3.88	2.52	1.36	7.0	4.5	2.4
1919–28	5.48	3.88	1.60	7.0	5.0	2.0
1929–38	4.77	4.47	.30	5.9	5.5	.4

Source: Simon Kuznets, National Product Since 1869, National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, 1946.

Economic Advisers, in cooperation with other agencies of the Government, is studying this problem.

Business plant and equipment

Productive capacity. A growing economy requires balanced expansion of our capacity to turn out consumer goods and crude and semi-finished materials and equipment.

For the greater part of the last two decades, business expansion has been irregular. In the worst depression years of the 30's, outlays were insufficient even for normal replacement. Table 12, which covers producers' durable equipment, shows how the rate of expansion varied from decade to decade before the war.

New stimulus to business investment came with the defense program of 1940–41. But during the war, though certain critical facilities were expanded, we had to curtail many lines of civilian goods and expansion of all facilities not contributing to war production. After 15 years of depression and wartime restriction, productive capacity was highly unbalanced and generally inadequate to meet the peacetime demand. The high rate of investment in new equipment during the past 2 years reflects in part the efforts of producers to make up the deficiencies.

In some industries, present capacity appears adequate for the near future. In others, such as electric power and petroleum refining, expansion of capacity is substantial and is likely to continue for a considerable period until a better balance between demands and capacity has been reached. In a few industries, net capacity expansion during 1947 was less than that required annually to sustain maximum production and employment.

The best available studies indicate that to attain the levels of employment and output we hope to reach, we shall need substantial increases in the output of such basic commodities as steel, petroleum products, coke, and electricity. For these industries, the needed increases during the next 10 years range from 20 to 50 percent. Though such studies make no claim to precision, the only reasonable expectation is that continued high-level production will require large increases of capacity in the industries mentioned and in many others.

Chart 12 gives the historical perspective of expansion of capacity relative to output in several important industries. The tightness of present capacity is apparent. Potential stringencies are even greater than might appear from the chart. For example, if either freight cars or steel were more plentiful, demand for many other commodities would in-

crease, disclosing further deficiencies in capacity. In fact, there are some industries where present capacity is inadequate for current output, providing less elbow room than management considers desirable for continuously efficient operation, satisfactory servicing of the market, and emergencies. Dependable reserve capacity of electric power generating facilities, for example, is normally at least 15 percent of peak load for any system. Near the end of 1947, it dropped to below 1 percent for the United States as a whole; in most areas no reserve capacity was available and in some areas acute shortages exist.

The needed capacities for various industries are related. There is no point in having capacity to make more automobiles unless we have capacity to supply steel and other materials. The output of steel is limited by supplies of coke, scrap, steel furnace capacity, blast furnace capacity, finishing capacity, and rail transportation.

The same principle applies to the development of raw-material-producing and raw-material-consuming industries. There is a serious question, in particular, whether our capacity to produce fuels and energy is being expanded fast enough to meet the fuel and energy demands indicated by expansion in other lines.

If the whole level of output is to rise steadily and rapidly with minimum waste of capacity, the balancing of expansion in different industries calls for considerably more thorough study than it has been given in the past.

Modernization of facilities. The amount of business capital required is only partly measured in terms of scaling up capacity to meet enlarged demands. As table 12 indicates, a large and increasing share of outlays for business equipment is devoted to replacement. The rate at which this renewal and improvement proceeds is set not so much by physical wear and tear as by the profitability of setting up facilities of new types, or for new kinds of products, or at new locations. Industrial equipment and structures are often obsolete long before they are worn out.

In deciding upon replacement, business has not felt it could afford to substitute new types of equipment for old as rapidly as the pace of technological advance would make possible. This lag was accentuated during the war. At its close the progress of industrial and business technology had accumulated a reservoir of potentially profitable opportunities for modernization. If still more rapid technical advances are made and if prospective production economics justify the costs of accelerated modernization, both business investment and the rate of increase of productivity will exceed past rates.

Programs and responsibilities. In a period of far-reaching economic change, an adequate investment program of expansion and modernization taxes the vision and initiative of business management. This is especially true of the long-range planning of business expansion in a manner which preserves proper relationships among the productive capacities of various industries.

In a free enterprise system, business investment rests on profit expectations, which in turn reflect the outlook for consumer spending, costs of production and investment, availability of improved techniques, availability of funds, and the degree of uncertainty and risk involved in gauging these and other factors. The investment "program" is essentially the sum of a great many private programs—privately planned, financed, and executed. Government investment and operation, in special cases such as hydroelectric power and atomic energy development, clearly serve the public interest. More generally, the Government can help

to develop a favorable climate which will encourage business to adopt adequate investment programs.

As the task of making up obvious war-accumulated deficiencies in productive capacity is completed, and as inflation is reduced, increasing attention will have to be given to fostering favorable conditions for balanced expansion and for aggressive development of new fields of investment. The most essential condition is continued acceptance and determined implementation of the national policy laid down in the Employment Act of 1946. A policy of sustained maximum production requires that the actions of business, labor and Government be based on broad agreement as to our over-all economic goals and on a reasonable degree of assurance that appropriate action will be taken to achieve them.

Transportation

In our far-flung economy, transportation needs are so obviously related to the development of natural resources and industrial production that the people long ago undertook through their Government to encourage and in many cases to participate in the building of extensive transportation facilities.

Shipping. Maintenance of a healthy shipbuilding industry, capable of rapid expansion, and the continued operation of an efficient and competitive merchant marine, are not only necessary to national security but are also essential elements in the achievement of a continued high level of employment in the United States. Except for a few ships which are urgently needed now, construction of new vessels can well be deferred until inflationary demands have eased and materials are more readily available. Our present needs for shipping should be met basically by the use of existing war-built vessels. Meanwhile, the shipbuilding industry, by virtue of repair and conversion of war-built ships, is operating at levels considerably above the prewar average.

Highways. In the field of highway transportation, the Congress more than 30 years ago created what is now the Public Roads Administration. At that time, the Congress gave top priority to the problem of getting the farmers out of the mud—providing access to our agricultural resources and to markets for these resources. Although substantial progress has been made in this direction, much remains to be accomplished. In addition, major tasks before us are the efficient maintenance of rural roads, and their reconstruction as age or increased traffic dictate.

The second objective, making it possible to get to and from cities, was well on the way to attainment before the war, but we have lost ground in the last 7 or 8 years. Costs of maintaining many of our highways are so high that it is more economical to rebuild them. Maintenance and traffic records indicate that within 10 years at least 45 percent of existing highways will have to be rebuilt.

A third task, providing adequate facilities for intra-city traffic and healthy urban growth, is one we have hardly begun to tackle. The Congress has recognized the national importance of this problem by authorizing the expenditure of 125 million dollars per year out of the 500 million dollars Federal-aid funds for building through arteries in cities. This is an important undertaking and deserves continued attention.

Air transportation. The Government has undertaken a program of financial aid to air lines through mail payments under which rates of payment are related to the operating income and operating expenditures of the air lines and to the volume of the mail and the value of the service. Those charged

with the administration of this program are constantly testing its effectiveness.

Government aid is most effective when it stimulates the resourcefulness and inventiveness of private enterprise in developing and applying technological advances in aviation.

The Government has also expedited the construction of necessary airports by sharing costs of construction of many publicly owned fields. The Federal Airport Act of 1946 authorized Federal expenditures aggregating 500 million dollars over 7 years. While that program is being completed, growing experience will furnish a basis for further decision as to the pattern of the aviation network which national prosperity requires and how far it is desirable to go in multiplying air lines and in furnishing to a multitude of communities air transportation facilities with their accompanying burdens of maintenance costs.

Railroads. A most urgent national problem in the field of domestic transportation is the maintenance of an expanding and efficient railroad service. Large earnings of the war period permitted the more prosperous lines to fortify their financial position and brought about the financial rehabilitation of many railroads which for years had been in receivership. These great improvements in their financial position are rapidly being dissipated by the effects of inflation, and the railroads will benefit as greatly as any part of our business institutions from a successful effort to end the inflationary movement.

It is in the national interest to insure the continuance of efficient rail transportation. Consolidation of facilities, though it has shown but little progress after nearly 30 years of study and effort, offers such possibilities of convenience and economy that it should be steadily pursued. We can be optimistic about technical improvements helping to offset the rising costs of wages and goods if management and labor are alert to the opportunities which their introduction offers. The need must be recognized to protect the credit of the roads in order to enable them to finance the heavy expenditures which are necessarily involved in these technical changes.

Urban redevelopment

Approximately three-quarters of our population and three-quarters of our wealth are now essentially urban. Our cities, both large and small, make up an integral part of the productive plant that we need for maximum growth. Improved planning and redevelopment of these cities will not only enhance their physical usefulness as facilities for manufacturing and commerce, but will also increase workers' productivity in a living environment more conducive to good health and high morale.

When land is assembled in suitable blocks to facilitate economic redevelopment, extremely large investment opportunities become available. The construction industry will be called upon to supply management, labor to supply skills, and manufacturers to supply building materials and all the products and services which go into residences, schools, factories, offices, stores, and the other elements which constitute the communities of today. Moderate government outlays in redevelopment of urban areas will provide large investment opportunities for private capital. It has been estimated that over the next decade as much as 75 billion dollars—mostly private investment—could profitably be employed in these redeveloped areas. This is in addition to general urban public works.

It is none too early for basic planning of land acquisition and the working out of financial arrangements for urban redevelopment. This will permit rapid progress when there is less pressure on certain materials in short supply, and when additional

investment opportunities will aid in maintaining maximum levels of employment and production.

The present acute housing shortage requires a large amount of new construction in outlying areas before we can engage in slum clearance and urban redevelopment on the large scale that will be needed. Some of this suburban construction needs to be located in whole new communities with adequate provision for municipal services, commercial facilities, and available employment opportunities. These need to be carefully integrated with better planning of our present urban areas. Otherwise urban congestion will be aggravated and local governments, both central and suburban, will be faced with ever-mounting costs.

Private enterprise and local initiative alone cannot rebuild and modernize our cities. Private developers lack both the resources and the legal powers to acquire land in large enough blocks to permit sound profitable redevelopment. Local governments are obtaining powers of land assembly but lack financial powers to undertake the task on the scale needed to encourage private investment and to permit cleared land to be made available at economically feasible prices.

Local governments should take the initiative in providing for site assembly and for area planning, and for streets, schools, and water, sewer, and other connected facilities. State governments should provide enabling and fiscal legislation. Under existing State powers, some worthy redevelopment projects have been undertaken, but most informed sentiment is in general agreement that some Federal aid is also required. The Federal Government is also concerned with highways, airports, Federal buildings, and other facilities as well as with slum clearance and low-rent housing.

I again urge that the Congress consider Federal aid to urban redevelopment along the general lines I have previously recommended.

Housing

We must maintain residential construction at much higher than present levels in order to eliminate the quantitative shortage and also to replace urban slums and rural shacks with an American standard of housing within a reasonable period of time.

From the viewpoint of economic stabilization, there is a compelling reason for maintaining residential construction at consistently high levels. In the past, the volume of housing production has fluctuated more violently than any other major segment of economic activity. This is shown in chart 13. The instability of housing has contributed significantly to the instability of the economy as a whole, and stabilizing residential construction would be a powerful factor in helping to stabilize the general economy. The importance of housing in the national economy is shown in chart 14.

A reasonably steady flow of house production, starting at a high level and increasing gradually from year to year, is essential during the next decade. Taking account of our growing population, the urgent desirability of replacing substandard units as rapidly as possible, and the amounts of home building that will help to maintain maximum employment for the economy as a whole, we need an average of more than a million new urban dwelling units a year for the next 10 years. The needs of rural areas are also great.

During 1947, more than 850,000 new permanent nonfarm dwelling units were started, and conversion and temporary units brought the total to more than 900,000. Measured by volume and allowing for shortages of materials and the unusual strength of competing demands, this was a good start for a 10-

year program. But the record cannot be measured by volume alone. When examination is made of the relationship between the cost of this housing and our income structure, it is clearly apparent that most of the housing is being built for families in the higher income brackets. To the extent that families of low and middle income are being served, the high cost is placing an excessive financial strain upon them.

The cost of housing has been getting further and further out of line with incomes. Only a small minority of our families can afford to purchase new houses of satisfactory size and quality. This is true despite the fact that we have maximum employment and a high national income, and a better income distribution than we had before the war. Unless housing costs drop, the volume of private residential construction will almost certainly decline in coming years, placing new difficulties in the way of our maintaining maximum employment. The poor adjustment of housing costs to income in the 1920's is precisely what caused a sharp and increasing decline in homebuilding which commenced four full years before the general depression to which it contributed.

Industry and labor and local governments need to bend ever-increasing efforts toward the abolition of obsolete practices and restrictions. Many of these restrictions have developed as protective devices for individuals or organizations caught in the insecurity of an industry subject to wide fluctuations. The fluctuations have caused the restrictions far more than the restrictions have caused the fluctuations. Only an affirmative program for stabilizing housing construction can clear the way for the elimination of restrictions, reduction in costs, and adequate provision of housing.

Even the minimum housing program required embraces a number of items. These include research and experimentation to devise better building techniques and concerted efforts to modernize building codes; land assembly programs as an aid to housing; the use of Federal insurance to stimulate longer term investment with lower financing charges both for home ownership and for rental housing; special forms of insurance to amplify the interest in large-scale projects already being shown by builders and institutional investors who have the resources to lay the foundation for the reorganization of the housing industry along more modern lines; and the provision of publicly-aided housing in urban and rural areas—on both a rental and home ownership basis—for families of low income.

On several occasions, I have recommended the enactment of comprehensive, long-range housing legislation. Postponement of this action represents postponement of attention to a problem of utmost economic importance.

DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES AND PRODUCTIVITY

Even with modern factories, fertile fields, abundant sources of power and raw materials, and smoothly flowing arteries of commerce, the growth of our economy will depend ultimately upon the men and women whose mental and physical energies constitute its greatest wealth. We have learned that those programs which make people healthier and more secure also make them more efficient. In this light, the educational and health and social security programs which were once thought of as purely "social" take on a deep economic significance.

Size and composition of the labor force

Our total population, now about 145 million, will continue to grow for a number of decades at a rate exceeding prewar estimates.

This is due to an unusually high rate of marriages and births during and since the war together with a steadily declining death rate. As a result of population growth and plentiful job opportunities, the labor force, and particularly the employed segment of the labor force, has expanded during and after the war. Civilian employment is now 6 percent higher than the war peak and 26 percent above the 1939 level.

One result of the war has been to increase the employment of teen-age workers, and of men and women in the older age groups. The exacting economic demands of modern employment, no less than social considerations, should impel us gradually to reverse this trend. Educational and retirement programs thus influence the optimum use of our labor force.

While these considerations should increasingly determine the size of the labor force, there is the further question of its quality. The progress of industrialization has led to the use of more complicated equipment although much of it is more automatic in its operation. This reduces both the physical exertion and the need for manual skill of operatives generally. At the same time, it increases the proportional demand for engineers and supervisors of higher technical training. And while many operatives have their task reduced to a simple routine, they assume new responsibilities for the proper handling of expensive machinery.

As members of labor unions voting on strike action and other union issues, and as citizens reacting to economic policies and candidates for office, they need a higher degree of economic and civic education. The general requirements of intellectual competence are steadily moving upward.

Moreover, the progress of modern technology, both industrial and agricultural, means that a smaller proportion of the population is required in manufacturing and farming and more people are available for the service callings and professions, where even higher levels of training are required. This trend is reinforced because some of these areas will suffer from shortages of trained personnel for some time to come—teaching, medicine, and nursing being the chief examples.

The adjustment of the labor force to the changing character of our economy thus commences with the problem of education.

Education for the modern economy

With a higher average of competence required by our economy, the most urgent educational problems now center in the elementary and secondary schools. It is here that boys and girls receive their basic training and prepare themselves to absorb more specialized training.

The number of children of school age is increasing far more rapidly than had been estimated before the war. In 1940, there were 27.6 million children between the ages of 6 and 17; by 1955 there will be more than 33.3 million. By 1955, school enrollment should be more than one-third above the 1940 level.

In the face of this need, our educational plant is desperately inadequate. State school officials report minimum needs for 7.5 billion dollars of capital outlays for elementary and secondary schools—twice as great as total construction expenditures for all levels of education during the decade of the 20's. Due largely to low salaries, the number of trained teachers is not keeping up with the increasing need. These shortages in plant and personnel are much more serious in some regions than in others. While the 10 States with the highest per capita incomes are spending about $177 annually for each

school child, the 10 States with the lowest per capita income are spending only about $64.

This maldistribution of educational opportunities is both result and cause of differences in wealth and income in the several areas. Some of the States that are paying least per capita for education are devoting a higher percentage of their total revenues to educational purposes than others with higher per capita outlays. Federal aid to elementary and secondary education should contribute to that equalization of opportunity in various parts of the country which will fit our youth for living and working in the kind of economy that we shall have when they are grown.

A large proportion of the young people who are now crowding the elementary schools will progress through high school and enter college after 1955. They will replace the veterans who are now in college. Compared with an enrollment of 1.4 million when the war started and a current enrollment of 2.4 million, we should now plan for an enrollment by 1960 of 4 to 5 million students in an expanded and improved system of higher education.

I urge the Congress to consider a comprehensive program of Federal aid to education and to enact immediately assistance to elementary and secondary schools.

Research

The expansion of national output, as well as national security, depends increasingly upon scientific accomplishments. Before the war, we drew heavily upon the basic discoveries of scholars all over the world. The war impeded this free flow of knowledge from other lands, and destroyed much of it at the source. During recent decades our own progress in industrial and agricultural research has been tremendous, but we cannot afford to rest on our laurels. There is need for enlarged research, both in basic principles of physical, biological, and social science, and also in their practical application.

Part of the expansion required to meet a reasonable goal of research development will occur as part of the long-range growth of our economy. Considerable growth in industrial research may be counted on. Existing universities and research institutes will continue to make important contributions. But it is clear that the required expansion in research into scientific principles and their application will be impossible without a comprehensive program in which Federal aid should play a part.

Good health and productivity

Study of health records affords another example of the connection between the economic objective of maximum production and the humanitarian objective of improved well-being. With the labor force at its present size, the annual cost of illness, long-term disability and accidents is about 3,500,000 man-years. A part of this loss arises from improper working conditions. Occupational diseases and industrial accidents also take their toll. An even greater charge upon productivity are the millions of people who are physically substandard without being disabled. Inadequate diet is impairing the strength of too many workers. Our goal should be the establishment of safe working conditions and an increase in the physical standards of the whole population.

This problem has economic aspects, not only because health standards below the maximum attainable reduce productivity, but also because the lifting of these standards requires economic measures which remove the incapacity of many communities to support and of millions of individuals to purchase adequate medical care.

On these grounds, I again urge the Congress to enact a comprehensive national health program of the character I have already recommended.

Security and productivity

Job security. No matter how stable a particular business, industry, or region may be, it can rarely avoid unemployment in the event of a serious depression. A national policy of vigorously promoting maximum employment will be the longest step toward the sense of individual security which is conducive to high productivity.

There is no substitute for this national policy, but it should be supplemented with planning by individual firms and industries for the stabilization of their own activities. Wage security plans have been proposed, and a report on this subject is being prepared by the Council of Economic Advisers. Training programs, an adequate and efficient public employment service, and other improvements of the labor market can all play their part. For those who will be temporarily unemployed despite our best efforts, unemployment compensation should be increased in amount and duration, and extended in coverage.

Maximum production must be based upon proof that it is not self-defeating. Only by providing alternative jobs for those who suffer displacement, and by ironing out the fluctuations in business, can we convince both labor and industry that restrictive tendencies are unnecessary for them as well as hurtful to the economy as a whole.

Old-age security. The retirement problem has economic as well as social aspects. Those who have withdrawn from productive activity because of age continue to require goods and services, and to make expenditures which flow into the general income stream. A systematic national program which provides for regularity and certainty in the basic income of those who have retired is a more efficient economic policy than the haphazard treatment of this problem which preceded the establishment of old-age insurance. Such a system has the further advantage that it helps to regularize the saving habits of workers during their productive years.

There are now more than 10 million people in the United States, about 8 percent of the total population, who have reached the age of 65. By 1960, about 15 million people, or about 9 percent of the population, will have reached that age. Our systems of protection against the economic hazards of old age and dependency are inadequate. There are now some 17 million jobs in which workers cannot build up wage credits for old-age retirement. The coverage of old-age and survivors' insurance should be extended, and benefits should be adjusted upward with a higher limit upon earnings which may be received after retirement without loss of benefits.

A lowering of the retirement age will be feasible in future years as we attain the levels of national output that sustained maximum employment and production will bring. At the same time, industry should provide opportunities for the efficient employment of those older people who are able and willing to work although they have earned the right to retire.

Public assistance. The social insurances are supplemented by public-assistance programs financed by States with the aid of Federal grants. The public-assistance programs are now more significant, both in terms of the number of people aided and in terms of total expenditures, than the social insurances. About 4 million people now depend on public assistance, in part because existing social insurances, particularly old

age and survivors' insurance, are deficient and because there is no national health insurance program. Expansion of social insurance will decrease the need for public assistance expenditures, but those who must still rely on public assistance should receive adequate payments. The Federal Government should make grants to States to help them finance general-assistance payments, and all public-assistance grants should take account of variations in the ability of the States to finance adequate assistance programs.

Freedom from discrimination. Maximum employment and production cannot be maintained when men and women are discriminated against because of race or color, creed or national origin. An effective system which will assure fair employment practices should be established.

Fiscal aspects of benefit programs

The whole question of benefits cannot be divorced from the question of the cost of the payments and how these costs are borne. It is of paramount importance to bear in mind that the costs of unemployment, old age, and sickness are borne by the community whether social security measures exist or not. Social security measures involve a change in the distribution of money, goods, and services among consumers only to the extent that the existence of the measures diverts additional funds to the support of the aided groups. This diversion does occur, but the additional funds are far less than the total volume of benefits provided under the programs.

Nevertheless, the fact that wage earners' risks are met under social security measures through payments derived from taxes rather than directly from private sources in itself has economic implications. The social insurances are now financed by employees' contributions and employers' payroll taxes; the public assistance payments are financed from general revenues. Employees' payroll taxes place a heavy drain upon mass purchasing power while the employers' share of these taxes adds to costs of production. In financing an expanded social-insurance program, these economic aspects should be considered.

DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES FOR A HIGH-PRODUCTION ECONOMY

Preceding sections have discussed the means by which our natural resources, our capital equipment, and our human resources may be developed to support a maximum level of well-being. But the ability to produce will not alone assure economic stability and growth. Recurrent periods of recession or depression have led to the realization that maximum resource utilization depends upon many adjustments within our complex economy. It is necessary for us to apply systematic forward thinking to the shaping of our economic institutions and the practices of the men and women whose behavior determines how those institutions will in fact operate.

The problem of progressively improving these institutions, policies, and practices so as to attain balanced growth of the economy divides naturally into four main parts: first, in the industrial area we need price-wage-profit policies which maintain balance between the output of industry and the ability of consumers to buy that output. Second, in the agricultural area, we need balance between city and farm income and between farm and industrial prices. Third, the fiscal policies of the Government, such as taxation and debt management, need to be so contrived as to afford maximum incentives to production and to improve the balance within the economic system generally. And fourth, we must strike a wise balance be-

tween our internal economic activities and our international trade.

Industrial price-wage-profit policies

The national purpose of maximum employment, production, and purchasing power enunciated in the Employment Act of 1946 includes a declaration "to foster and promote free competitive enterprise and the general welfare." Discussion of industrial price-wage-profit policies may therefore quite properly begin with the problem of maintaining a truly competitive system of free enterprise.

Maintenance of competition. To operate effectively without a high degree of Government intervention, a free enterprise economy must adjust itself to changing conditions through appropriate movements of prices, costs, and production. In a very vital way this depends on the maintenance of fair competitive rivalry among business enterprises. This is recognized in the long-standing policy embodied in the antitrust laws, the central purpose of which is to prevent monopolistic control of markets, and, in the words of the author of the Sherman Act, to gain for the people the advantage of "the natural competition of increasing production."

Unregulated private monopoly tends to undermine independent enterprises and to create exaggerated extremes of wealth and power within the country. Strong monopoly elements are likely to retard seriously the cost-price-output adjustments necessary to economic stability with full employment. For these reasons, as well as for the other counts against unregulated monopoly, there must be a strong and continuing pressure by the Government to keep alive the competitive characteristics of the business system. If this were not to be done, we should have to look forward, first, to a great increase of private monopolistic control of American business, and thereafter, since this would be intolerable, to a great increase in the public regulation of business activity, if not actual public operation in some fields.

In considering the character of competition in the future, it is impossible to ignore the tremendous changes which have occurred in the organization of business control over the past 50 or 60 years. From a situation in which industry was typically organized on a small scale basis, we have arrived at a situation in which there exist corporations of gigantic size. In many industries one, two, three or four companies control a major fraction of production. In many areas of industry, modern technology requires that firms be of a very considerable size. The best opinion is, however, that the largest enterprises in many industries are larger than is necessary to secure the benefits of technical efficiency. In the future amendment and enforcement of the antitrust laws, the principle should be followed of checking the further excessive concentration of industrial control and, by protecting the position of smaller competing enterprises, of reversing the past trend toward concentration.

Much of the adaptability of the American economy stems from the initiative and enterprise which give rise to small business concerns throughout the Nation. They should have the opportunity to develop and prosper. The existence of the antitrust laws, although not a sufficient basis for a healthy development of new enterprises, is an essential condition. Beyond this, we must insure that no artificial barriers to their growth exist either through the tax laws or otherwise, and in particular that credit suited and adequate to their needs is made available.

The present degree of concentration of economic power and the existence of other monopolistic elements pose very grave problems. It was in recognition of this fact that the Temporary National Economic Commit-

tee was set up in 1938 to engage in a far-reaching inquiry into business organization and practice. The central problems have not been altered by economic changes in the intervening years and it is important that in the light of the findings of the TNEC we move forward to a clear enunciation of public policy and a program of public action.

The problem of price policies. The effect upon prices of corporate bigness and collusive monopolistic practices is only one aspect of a much wider pricing problem. Many a business manager fears that the use of price reductions to expand his share of the market will merely result in retaliatory price changes by other firms. Business therefore has sought, as far as possible, to place the competition for markets which it must meet upon some other basis than price competition. The pricing system is thereby deprived of much of the elasticity needed to adjust relative changes in cost and demand.

Moreover, in the effort to realize profits through the ups and downs of business, prices and profit margins are geared to the expectation that full use of capacity is not a normal situation. This means that, in periods of high production, pricing policies and practices are followed that produce a level of profits designed to protect the individual company during future declines in business activity rather than to contribute to the prevention of such declines. Such policies are not conducive to the continued health of the business community because they act on the assumption that it will not continue.

The price mechanism may serve either to promote or to prevent a safe balance among prices, wages, and profits. The greater the success of four free enterprise system in maintaining this balance, the less need there will be for direct governmental intervention in the economic system. This imposes a heavy responsibility upon those business managers whose decisions importantly affect the levels of prices, wages, and profits. Management must recognize that sustained maximum production requires that gains in productivity be passed on through lower prices and better wages to the fullest extent consistent with adequate incentives to business enterprise.

The collective bargaining process to determine wages also plays a vital part in the determination and maintenance of healthy price-wage-profit policies. It cannot fulfill its function if it is used merely as a test of the sheer force which one party or the other can exert in the pursuit of immediate self-interest. Collective bargaining must be based upon a better understanding of the long-range interests of management and labor in the context of the interests of the whole economy.

The greatest opportunity for bringing about economic betterment lies in achieving and maintaining a proper balance among prices, wages, and profits. One of the purposes of the Employment Act is to provide a new climate for pricing policies. The act contemplates that the combined resources of business, labor, agriculture, and the Government will be used to do away with business fluctuations of the violence known in the past. To determine what price and wage policies and practices are appropriate to this objective, a reexamination of the problem is necessary.

Therefore, I have instructed the Council of Economic Advisers to continue its work on this problem with the assistance of representatives of all groups concerned. The results of such a study should contribute to the development of sound legislative proposals. But its most important outcome should be a wider and deeper understanding on the part of the Government, business, labor, and

consumer groups as to the price, wage and production policies and practices which will contribute most fully to the maintenance of high levels of consumption and investment.

Markets and income distribution. During the postwar period, our economic balance has thus far been maintained in the sense that we are still operating at maximum levels of employment and very high levels of production. But the situation is precarious to the extent that the balance cannot be maintained indefinitely without changes in the current pattern of economic relationships.

The Nation's Economic Budget, in constant dollars, for 1939 and 1947, shown on page 55 of this Report, indicates changes in the relationships of the major components of the economy. At the present time, an unusually large proportion of the market demand for goods and services results from business investments, net exports, and Government outlays. These have attained a level relatively higher than consumer expenditures, compared with the prewar period. In terms of 1947 prices, annual expenditures for producers' durable equipment have increased by 170 percent, while annual consumers' expenditures have increased by only 48 percent above the prewar level.

We cannot regard the relationship between capital formation and consumption either in 1939 or in 1947 as a model for the future. Domestic capital formation in 1939 was not sufficient. On the other hand, we are now in the stage where the improvement and modernization of our national productive plant has a high priority claim on our resources. Nonetheless, after the most urgent deficiencies in our national plant have been overcome, and the extraordinary export surplus has been reduced, a very substantial increase, both absolute and relative, in individual consumption will be possible and necessary. Without this substantial increase in the general standard of living, we would not be able to sustain an expanding economy of full resource utilization.

The increases in consumer incomes and expenditures which have taken place over the last decade are the result not only of the general increase in national income, but also of significant changes in income distribution. On page 18 of this Report, estimates are presented which show the trend toward better distribution of family incomes. This trend needs to be continued if ready and constant markets are to be available for a potential increase of 35 percent in total output of goods and services within a decade. The trend should be continued also because there are still millions of families whose incomes are too low to provide a decent standard of living. A substantial part of our increasing productivity should be devoted to the betterment of these families.

An increase in full-time employment and in the number of employed persons per family were important elements contributing to creating equality of income during the past decade. But with maximum employment now virtually achieved, further increase in these factors can no longer be expected. Already, recent trends in the real incomes of individuals and families indicate that we are losing some of the gains registered before price inflation gained momentum in the middle of 1946. This price inflation presents in a new and aggravated form the old and unsolved problem of assuring continuous maximum production by maintaining the maximum real purchasing power which must go with it without relying too long upon the depletion of savings, extraordinary use of credit, and an abnormal export surplus.

Our central problem is to make gradual readjustments so that the conditions for permanent stability are reached without

generating a recession of employment and business activity in the process.

Agricultural and food policies

The new farm problem. For two full decades after the first world war congressional and executive policy was dominated by "surpluses" and low prices for farm products. The trends in our economy since the start of World War II have changed basic conditions so markedly that the farm problem of today is not to dispose of surpluses but to get enough production to prevent inflated prices.

If we succeed in our efforts to maintain industrial stability, we can look forward to many years of large markets and agricultural prosperity. Farmers have a large stake in this endeavor. The farm problem today and in the foreseeable future should be stated in terms of a maximum production economy. Farm policies should aim at continuing expansion.

To achieve stabilized farm prosperity, there will need to be changes in the traditional patterns of farm production. Increased efficiency will be required to enlarge the total production of a farming industry which cannot be materially increased in acreage. The depletion of our soil resources during the war years calls urgently for the extension of conservation programs.

Needed levels of farm production. The greatly increased demand for food on the part of our civilian population was a remarkable feature of our wartime economy. This profound change in eating habits, founded upon higher and better distributed national income, has continued since VJ-day. In 1947, per capita food consumption was about 17 percent above the 1935–39 average. Among the items increasing more than the average were chickens and turkeys, 33 percent; eggs, 28 percent; meats, 24 percent; and fluid milk and cream, 18 percent.

In view of the growing population and expanding income, we should seek within a decade to raise agricultural production about 10 percent above present levels. This would mean that crop production would be about 25 percent, and livestock production nearly 50 percent, above prewar levels.

Increasing farm productivity. Achievement of the high objectives set for agriculture will require efficient use of resources. This means increasing emphasis upon research and education to improve technology. It will necessitate an increased capital investment per worker, to raise the individual's productivity about 50 percent above the prewar level. It will also mean using two or three times as much fertilizer as before the war, about three times as many tractors on farms, and more of other types of machinery and equipment.

There are still tremendous variations in the efficiency of farm manpower use. Many farms are well organized. But some 2 or 3 million are too small or have poor land or have inadequate buildings and equipment. There is need to increase the efficiency of labor on such farms, and to help some farmers and farm laborers find other, more profitable, employment. More adequate educational and financial aids should be provided for this purpose.

Security for agriculture and the farm market. Both farmers and consumers should be protected from the feast-and-famine cycle that the vagaries of nature impose from time to time on farm production. Technological progress will reduce this problem, but there will be continuing need for crop insurance and for storage programs for staples and marketing programs for perishables. Orderly marketing and the widest possible distribution of bumper crops call for educational and service work with industry and consumers in moving large supplies.

Great opportunities exist for further ad-

vances in marketing farm products through intensified research and through educational and service programs. From the farmer's standpoint, marketing improvements mean wider outlets and more adequate returns for his product. From the consumer's standpoint they mean both savings in costs of these products and better, more adequate, and more conveniently available supplies.

Commodity price supports are desirable as assurances against special dislocations which might arise in case of recession. I emphasize, however, the need for keeping support levels flexible. I am glad to note the effort currently being made by various groups, outside as well as inside the Government, to modernize and improve the parity formula.

I also realize the stake of many American farmers in maintaining a stable and satisfactory foreign market. Our farmers should continue to export substantial quantities of wheat, cotton, tobacco, rice, and fruit. Though export demands, especially for grain, are now at a high level, some of our more difficult long-term problems are in the foreign trade field.

Interdependence of farm and city. Maintaining an expanding demand for farm products depends not only on maximum employment for the whole economy, but also upon raising the incomes and living standards of those portions of the urban population who have suffered from excessively low incomes even in times of prosperity.

So long as 13 percent of our total families have incomes under $1,000 a year, and 28 percent have incomes under $2,000 a year, as is shown in table 3 on page 19, the dietary standards of these low-income families cannot comport with the true meaning of maximum production for agriculture. Studies made in 1941 indicated that the families and single individuals having incomes of $2,000 or more—enough to satisfy their food wants fairly liberally at the price level then prevailing—bought 60 percent more fruit, 25 percent more vegetables and meats and milk, and 10 percent more eggs than the average for the population as a whole. This means that minimum wage and other programs designed to encourage a better income balance throughout the wage-earning population should be regarded by the farm population as serving their interests also. The farmer is a prime beneficiary of well-distributed prosperity.

High and stable levels of food consumption are essential to a prosperous agriculture. When demand is high there is little need for direct price supports. Programs to maintain food consumption can go far to prevent economic recessions, to maintain good markets for farmers, and to safeguard the diets and health of the public. Our agricultural and food program should therefore give increased emphasis to measures designed to protect the diets of such groups as school children and low-income families.

Just as the farmer sells to the city and depends upon urban prosperity, so also the products of industry are sold to farmers in larger quantities when there is farm prosperity.

The relatively low income of farmers before the war was proverbial. Its effects on the demand for industrial products are equally striking. This is shown in the following figures comparing per capita net income from farming of farm people with what they bought, in three significant years:

Farm income, per capita: 1929—$223; 1933—$90; 1947—about $725.

Farm implement sales: 1929—519 million dollars; 1933—177 million dollars; 1947—around 850 million dollars.

Mail-order sales: 1929—447 million dollars; 1933—220 million dollars; 1947—over 1,100 million dollars.

Feed and farm supply store sales: 1929—

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1,119 million dollars; 1933—463 million dollars; 1947—nearly 3 billion dollars.

Despite recent gains, the purchasing power of many farmers is low compared with that of nonfarm people. The average per capita income of farm people derived from all sources was $779 in 1946, while the income of nonfarm people was $1,288. This low average for farm people reflects, not low farm prices—prices were high—but the low productivity of many farmers.

The more widespread enjoyment of satisfactory incomes in farm areas will provide enormous new outlets for industrial products. As recently as 1945, only 58 percent of all rural homes had refrigerators or ice boxes; only 46 percent had electric irons, and only 28 percent had running water. Since then, the installation of these conveniences in farm homes has given businessmen and wage earners some conception of the large stake they have in the maintenance of farm prosperity and its extension to an ever-increasing number of farm families. Electrification, particularly, is providing for farmers a vast range of labor-saving equipment and living conveniences and is creating an increasing market for industrial products.

Our economy is indivisible. Maximum production and purchasing power in the city and on the farm are inseparably connected. As shown by the relative instability and inadequacy of farm income in the past, and the impact of this upon the whole economy, the economic future of the country as a whole will require concentration upon these policies which will enable the farm population to share equitably in economic growth and in the improvement of living standards.

Taxation and debt management

Taxation. The first feature of our long-range tax policy must be the maintenance of tax revenue which, except in years of depression, will balance the Federal budget and provide a substantial surplus for debt retirement.

It is a remarkable feature of the postwar period that there has been so little fear of the effects upon the national credit or upon the national well-being of a public debt ten times as large as the debt which a dozen years ago was causing much uneasiness in the financial world. But although we have learned that an enormous public debt is not necessarily ruinous to public credit nor destructive of national prosperity, we should never forget that within it is a sleeping danger. If less propitious conditions arise within the economy, the public debt may indeed be found a serious burden upon the process of readjustment. Every consideration of prudence with respect to future problems of the national economy and of the national credit in critical circumstances requires a firm and sustained policy of reducing the public debt.

The second requirement of our long-range tax policy is that the tax rates and the character of the taxes be such as to help sustain prosperity. This cannot be done by a tax structure that remains the same regardless of changing economic circumstances. Lowering particular taxes on business may at one time be needed as a means of stimulating business expenditures when they are inclined to lag, but maintaining or advancing taxes at another time may be needed as a means of checking overexpansion or overcapitalization. These adaptations can be made without the injection of uncertainties into businessmen's calculations greater than those they are already accustomed to deal with. Similarly, the abatement of taxes on consumers or certain classes of consumers may at one time be important as a means of supporting their purchasing power,

whereas at another time the maintenance or increase of taxes may be the most effective means of damping an inflationary tendency.

There is an obvious conflict between the desire of consumers to have taxes upon their incomes reduced and the desire of business to be relieved of taxes which figure in operating costs or which lessen the funds that they have for reinvestment and business expansion or that large incomes receivers have available to invest as equity capital. This conflict of private interests must, in the consideration of tax policy, be resolved by the Congress through adjustments which will promote the most prosperous and stable economy. There is no formula by which the best distribution of the tax burden can be determined. However, the lessons of wartime and early postwar experience seem to indicate that for the sustaining of an economy of maximum production and a market commensurate with this rate of production, more concern will need to be directed during the years just ahead toward easing the tax burden on the consumer than toward accelerating the rate of capital formation.

Debt management. The vast increase in the public debt has not created the difficulties that many people feared, partly because our national debt is owned by our own citizens, and partly because of the technical skill with which the debt has been managed jointly by the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve System.

A most important part of our debt-management policy has been the program to support the market for Government securities. During the war period, when it was vitally necessary to maintain a market which would absorb vast issues of securities at low interest rates, the Federal Reserve stabilized the market through its open market operations in buying and selling short-term Government securities at low rates of interest. Now that it is no longer necessary for the Government to increase its debt, short-term interest rates have been permitted to rise. A decline has also been permitted in prices of bonds from the premium prices to which they had risen as a result of market demands in the early postwar period. No bonds, however, have been permitted to fall below par and it is the declared purpose to continue active support of Government bonds for the purpose of maintaining an orderly and stable market at a low level of long-term interest rates.

The established policy of supporting the market for Government securities makes it possible for banks to obtain additional reserves, on the basis of which to expand credit, by selling part of their large holdings of securities to the Federal Reserve. This policy, therefore, does not permit the Federal Reserve to make effective use of the traditional method of limiting inflationary movements in the economy by requiring banks to borrow in order to obtain additional reserves and by raising the discount rate charged on such borrowings. The result of such a policy would be an increase in general interest rates. If the rate of interest upon other investments rose, they would become more attractive than Government bonds, both to banks and to other investment holders, who would call upon the Federal Reserve banks to buy bonds. Any purchases by the Reserve System would offset the effects of the restrictive discount rate policy.

In the recent congressional hearings there have been proposals to solve this dilemma by abandoning the support policy and freeing the Federal Reserve banks to bring about an anti-inflationary contraction of credit by increasing the discount rate, as was done in 1920. No such change in policy should be considered. The financial world should rest easy that the investment market will not be subjected to the demoralization which swept

over it in 1920 when the unsupported market for Government bonds fell about 20 percent below par.

Affirmation of a policy of supporting the Government bond market as a continuing program of the Government requires the use of other and less dangerous methods to restrain inflationary bank credit. Voluntary but effective restraint by the banks of inflationary bank credit expansion may prove adequate to the problem. If it does not, more direct action by the Federal Reserve banks will be required. Such actions as may be taken will not involve withdrawing support from the Government bond market.

International economic relations

The far-reaching effects of World War II upon the use of economic resources and upon the trade and business relations between nations will be felt for many years. The enormous destruction of the physical and organizational basis of production spread over most of Europe and parts of Asia, while elsewhere many new industries were developed and old ones stimulated. In the reconstruction process many alterations in the patterns of economic organization and trade relations are taking place. Great Britain is engaged in a difficult task of industrial and trade rehabilitation, while two other former leading industrial nations, Germany and Japan, are now thrust into minor roles.

The relative importance of the United States in the world economy has been greatly enhanced, partly because some of the older great nations have suffered adversity, but primarily because of our own increase in production. Although other nations fortunately possess most of the resources which they need for reconstruction, certain critical resources, such as food and machinery, which are needed to revitalize their productive energies, can be supplemented only by supplies from the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere. The program which I have asked Congress to authorize in order to assist European recovery over the next 4 years may make the difference between success and failure of world reconstruction.

The changing economic position of the other industrial nations is of great significance. During the war and its aftermath, many areas that formerly looked to these nations for industrial products have become intent upon their own industrial development. They cannot secure supplies sufficient to meet their increased requirements for capital goods from their traditional trade sources, and they are beckoning increasingly to American machine makers, to American capital, and to American skill in management and production.

A development which we cannot yet evaluate is the growth of the policy of state control of foreign trade in many countries. Because of critical shortages throughout the world there has been little relaxation of the wartime controls over exports, imports, and foreign exchange, and the course of action in some countries indicates a purpose to continue these controls. Our experience, however, shows that the difficulties of trade between a nation with state control and a nation with free enterprise can be surmounted and they can be expected to diminish as goods become more readily available in world markets.

Other developments bound to affect the course of trade are the occupation of Germany and Japan and the emergence of several new independent and self-governing states.

Against this background of new developments we can place the more familiar consideration of our own requirements. For some commodities we must have foreign markets or undertake a serious task of shift-

ing our resources. A substantial part of agricultural and industrial employment is in production for export. On the other hand, our need for imports, especially of raw materials, will increase, notwithstanding our progress in the production of substitutes for such materials as natural rubber and silk, two of our most important prewar imports. The great enlargement in national production which has been portrayed in this Report requires a corresponding increase in those raw materials which come from abroad and in many other goods and services supplied by foreign countries. The heavy drain of war production upon our own natural resources must be remedied by a conservation policy supported by heavier imports, and the national security must be fortified by stockpiles of strategic materials which we do not produce at home.

Undeterred by the uncertainties arising from new political and economic conditions, this Government has been striving consistently to promote recovery and reconstruction efforts which would eventually contribute to mutually profitable and harmonious international economic relations. In addition to relief and reconstruction aid, we have supported within the framework of the United Nations a series of international organizations, such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, and the Food and Agriculture Organization, to cope with the different categories of economic problems. This vast effort is now well advanced and many of these international organizations are already operating.

Still in process of creation is the International Trade Organization. The draft charter of this organization lays down a code of fair play in the international trade field. Nondiscriminatory and multilateral trade unhampered by high barriers, is the central aim of the proposed organization.

A major step toward this long-range goal is the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, recently concluded between ourselves and 22 other countries. This agreement reduces or eliminates preferences affecting a large part of our trade with the British Commonwealth. It provides for reductions of many tariffs and the maintenance of a low rate or free entry on other products. These concessions are protected by provisions designed to prevent participating countries from resorting to alternative means of restriction or discrimination. Like the proposed charter of the International Trade Organization, this agreement will help establish conditions under which world trade can flourish in less troubled times and under which the present reconstruction efforts can be carried forward.

The recovery of foreign production and ability to export, our own high demand for imports, and the international agreements to reduce obstacles to trade may be expected to help other countries buy our products in the future without depending upon the extraordinary financial assistance that is now required. Nevertheless, it is natural and desirable that we maintain some surplus of exports in the years ahead by the steady investment abroad of private capital. It is desirable both from our point of view and that of other countries that we, a country rich in capital, make some of our savings available to areas where capital is needed and where properly safeguarded private investments can earn a good return.

THE TIMING OF ECONOMIC PROGRAMS TO PROMOTE STABILIZATION

While it is most urgent now that we combat inflationary dangers, we cannot wait until the tide turns before considering affirmative measures that will be needed in the future. Economic conditions may turn

rapidly, but the formulation, enactment, and initiation of economic and fiscal programs require a considerable amount of time. Prudence demands that we look ahead and prepare for tomorrow while we act for today.

In timing the adoption of measures for long-run prosperity we must give careful consideration to the following principles:

(1) Certain programs related to national security and foreign policy, to promotion of urgently needed production, and to protection of our natural and human resources against serious economic hazards must go ahead even though Government outlays for foreign or domestic programs contribute to the necessity of anti-inflationary measures.

(2) Certain adjustments, such as the increase in minimum wages and tax adjustments, are needed in order to mitigate the hardship imposed on those who are the hardest-hit victims of the inflationary price rise.

(3) Major parts of the proposed expansion in the social security program will be deflationary in the first period after inauguration. Therefore, there is no reason to postpone the adoption of these urgently needed measures.

(4) Federal, State, and local public works in general should still be deferred wherever feasible. We need, however, certain initial steps immediately to prepare these measures for future years. For instance, the Federal Government and State and local governments should be preparing drawings and specifications for public-works projects to be undertaken when needed. In my budget for the fiscal year 1949, I have included appropriation requests and estimated expenditures in amounts sufficient for the initial steps of new public works.

(5) When the inflationary pressure subsides, we should speed up the programs of resource development, transportation, and urban rehabilitation, and further expand the social security, health, and education programs.

Since our first experience with the Employment Act is occurring under conditions that give priority to measures needed to counteract inflation, we are given time to consider carefully the measures that will aid in meeting the threat of unemployment at some time in the future. But we must not fritter away the time thus granted us. We must not be complacent and believe that the job of employment stabilization has been solved. A boom carries in it the seeds of its own destruction. We must be prepared to act in time if we want to make good our promise and prove to the world as well as ourselves that an economic system of free institutions can be made to work steadily as well as efficiently.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: Sections II and III of this message have been omitted. They are similar in content and language to the annual economic reviews by the Council of Economic Advisers which were separated from the President's messages beginning in 1949. All charts have been omitted.

The complete message and report of the President (136 pp.) are printed in House Document 498 (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

9 The President's News Conference of *January* 15, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] I have one announcement for you. Mr. Vincent Burke, the Postmaster of Washington, will be the First Assistant Postmaster General. And his background is available for you after the conference, if you want it. He has had 41 years in the postal service.

And now I am ready for questions.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, your tax proposal said nothing of any extension of community property tax benefits. Do you oppose extension of the benefits in all States?

THE PRESIDENT. The tax bill will be explained tomorrow before the committee [1] by the Secretary of the Treasury, and he will cover the waterfront, no doubt. That's all the comment I have to make or to explain. It will speak for itself.

[3.] Q. What are your latest thoughts, Mr. President, about the Civil Aeronautics Board chairmanship?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't any. I was very much disappointed in the action of the senatorial committee.[2] Probably have to start over.

Q. Mr. President, is Jim Mead [3] being considered for that?

THE PRESIDENT. He is not. [*Laughter*]

[4.] Q. Mr. President, in your Budget Message you came out for the special bank reserves. Secretary Synder had opposed that previously. Does that mean that Snyder has come around to the Federal Reserve Board view?

THE PRESIDENT. The Cabinet is in complete harmony on that Message.

Q. In complete harmony.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, any successor to Vincent Burke thought of yet?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have not.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, when Mr. Alberto Dodero of Argentina visited you the other day, did he bring you a message from President Peron?

THE PRESIDENT. Just good wishes.

Q. From President Peron?

THE PRESIDENT. From President Peron, yes.

[7.] Q. These appointments, of Burke as well as Donaldson, from within the ranks gives you a professional setup over there, doesn't it——

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, it does.

Q. How long did you say Burke had been in the service?

THE PRESIDENT. Forty-one years. He used to be over in the Post Office Department in Washington.

Q. Darn good Postmaster.

THE PRESIDENT. He is also taking a cut in pay by accepting this thing. He got more as Postmaster of Washington than he will get as First Assistant Postmaster General.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, has Mr. Theodore Wright of the Civil Aeronautics Board Authority submitted his resignation?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, he has, and I have it under consideration. He doesn't want to quit immediately. He is going to stay on awhile.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, are you going ahead with the controversial balcony?

THE PRESIDENT. I am! Your paper to the contrary notwithstanding. [*Laughter*]

Q. Lot of other papers, too, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, they don't know the facts, or they wouldn't be that way. And you can't explain it to them, because they don't want to know.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, in your Budget Message you indicated that you were opposed to raising the subsistence payments to veterans at the present time, those in school——

THE PRESIDENT. Only in special—I don't think that was in the Budget Message. You had better read it again. [*Laughter*] There were specific instances where an in-

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[1] House Committee on Ways and Means.

[2] On January 13 the Senate Armed Forces Committee rejected President Truman's request for special legislation to permit Maj. Gen. Laurence S. Kuter to retain military pay and rank while serving as Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board. On the same day, General Kuter announced that he would not resign from the Army to become Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board.

[3] James M. Mead, former U.S. Senator from New York.

crease in subsistence was not recommended, but in other instances I think you will find that it was.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, that home rule for the District of Columbia; people had expected you to recommend that in your State of the Union Message.

THE PRESIDENT. It doesn't belong in the State of the Union Message. I have expressed my opinion on that on several occasions, and I am still for home rule in the District. But I can't act on it until it gets before me.

[12.] Q. I want to ask you about a paragraph in the air policy report.[1] I don't know whether you paid any attention to it or not, but it states flatly there that we ought to have wartime security on aeronautical developments. I wonder if you have made up your mind about the possibility of reviving that?

THE PRESIDENT. That is under consideration, but I have not made up my mind on the subject.

Q. *What* is under consideration? As to the broader question of censorship?

THE PRESIDENT. No, no. What that report means is that we ought to keep our manufacturing plants in the condition so that it would be available for an emergency, and that doesn't necessarily mean that we have to keep it on a wartime basis.

Q. That wasn't the thought, though, as I understood it. The question was whether we should give everybody our developments as fast as they come along, and this policy report recommended that we do not do that, that we have wartime security, so called. Does that mean revival——

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't understand it that way at all.

Q. That is one of the ways I understood it, though.

THE PRESIDENT. There are some things—for instance atomic energy and the making of our atomic weapons—that we are not giving publicity to, and there are some things in relation to planes that we do not expect to make public. But things that have an effect on transportation and the use of planes for commercial use, will be available.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, would you give your present views on legislation giving States the right to submerged tidelands?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't do that until I see what legislation the Congress is going to send to me. Then I will comment on it.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, to get back to this question of security, does that mean—you say we are not putting out certain things about the making of atomic weapons and certain planes—does that mean that—will there be any new form of censorship to prevent publication of——

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think it's necessary. I don't think there's any man here who would want to give away a secret that might be expensive to us in the long run.

Q. No, but there is considerable philosophy along the line that we should have some sort of clearance, at least that is what Mr. Forrestal has been talking——

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I haven't discussed it with him.

Q. A man sits there, who virtually tells you that that is all right to use or isn't all right to use, as was done by Byron Price during the war.

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't come to any such conclusion. At the same time, I hadn't considered the matter along that line at all.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us something about the background of the reopening of our air base in Tripoli?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't, and I have no comment to make on it.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, will you have a

[1] See Item 7.

special message on the St. Lawrence in the next week or two?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know that it will be a special message, but probably will be a letter [1] urging passage of the St. Lawrence Seaway project. I think the Senate committee has acted on it. I am not sure.

Q. It was reported out.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, do you think, in view of the Palestine situation, that American troops might be sent to Palestine?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not. I have no further comment to make on that. Probably in the long run we will have an international police force with the United Nations plan, to which all of us are working.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, I wonder if you would clarify one thing that is in the economic report, where you say you would have budget credit controls that would bring down the cost of living and keep rent costs from going up?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't remember that point at the present time. I will look it up for you, though.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, could we go back to the question of Palestine? Do you mean in the long run there would be an international police force in Palestine?

THE PRESIDENT. Not necessarily. Wherever it is necessary for the United Nations to use it and enforce its mandates.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, in your conference with Harry Carlson, New Hampshire Committeeman, did the subject of Henry Wallace come up?

THE PRESIDENT. No, it did not.

Q. 1948 politics come up?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh yes, that is what National Committeemen come in to talk about. [*Laughter*]

[21.] Q. Mr. President, you indicated that newspapers didn't want to give information about that balcony, which of course is more or less personal with you, but do you care to say anything about it for——

THE PRESIDENT. I would rather not.

Q. ——along the—some sort of statement would be good, it's always interesting——

THE PRESIDENT. I can tell you some other thing. There was the same opposition to putting bathtubs in the White House, and a cooking stove, and gaslight. [*Laughter*]

Q. But Mr. President, they didn't change the structural appearance.

THE PRESIDENT. Oh yes, but they did, in some instances. Entirely changed the interior of the White House when they put in bathrooms. [*Laughter*]

Q. The first bathroom was thrown out by Andrew Jackson. He said that washing made you too soft. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. The first bathtub was put in the White House by Mrs. Fillmore.

Q. Was that it? Then I am wrong about that.

THE PRESIDENT. Mrs. Fillmore put the first bathtub in the White House, but they almost lynched her for doing it.

Q. Mr. President, is it going to be a Missouri-type veranda?

THE PRESIDENT. I will answer that question when I get around to it.

Q. Mr. President, will you have a rocking chair on it?

THE PRESIDENT. I suppose so. [*Laughter*]

Q. What was the third thing that you said? Bathtub, gaslight, and what?

THE PRESIDENT. Cooking stove. The cooks refused to use the cooking stove. They kept using the old fireplace.

Q. Mr. President, the Republican comment is that you are only a temporary tenant, therefore you are not——

THE PRESIDENT. No President has been anything else but a temporary tenant. That will continue, I hope, as long as our Republic lasts.

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[1] See Item 12.

[22.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with the visit of Mr. Michael Pearson,[1] Defense Minister of Canada, have you anything to say in connection with American-Canadian defense?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have not.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You're welcome.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and thirty-third news conference was held in his office at the White House at 4:05 p.m. on Thursday, January 15, 1948.

10 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 1 of 1948. *January* 19, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1948, under the Reorganization Act of 1945, which transfers the United States Employment Service and the Bureau of Employment Security to the Department of Labor. The United States Employment Service is now in the Department of Labor by temporary transfer under authority of Title I of the First War Powers Act, 1941, while the Bureau of Employment Security is at present a constitutent unit of the Federal Security Agency. This plan will place the administration of the employment service and unemployment compensation functions of the Federal Government in the most appropriate location within the Executive establishment and will provide for their proper coordination.

I find that this proposed reorganization is necessary to accomplish the following purposes of the Reorganization Act of 1945: (1) to group, coordinate, and consolidate agencies and functions of the Government according to major purposes, (2) to increase the efficiency of the operations of the Government, and (3) to promote economy to the fullest extent consistent with the efficient operation of the Government.

The United States Employment Service was established in the Department of Labor by the Wagner-Peyser Act in 1933. It was later transferred under Reorganization Plan No. I, effective July 1, 1939, to the Social Security Board in the Federal Security Agency. After the creation of the War Manpower Commission, the United States Employment Service was placed under that Commission by Executive Order No. 9247 of September 17, 1942. Shortly after the Japanese surrender the Service was transferred to the Department of Labor by Executive Order No. 9617. Both of these transfers were made under the temporary authority of Title I of the First War Powers Act.

The provision of a nation-wide system of public employment offices, which assists workers to get jobs and employers to obtain labor, belongs under the leadership of the Secretary of Labor. Within our Federal Government the Department of Labor is the agency primarily concerned with the labor market and problems of employment.

The Department of Labor already has within its organization many, but not all, of the resources needed for the full performance of this role. It has a broad understanding of working conditions and the factors in labor turnover. Through the Bureau of Labor Statistics, it develops extensive information on the long-term trends in employment and on the occupational characteristics of the labor force. Through the Apprentice Training Service it promotes the development of needed skills. I consider it necessary and desirable that these facilities

[1] Lester B. (Mike) Pearson, Canadian Under Secretary of State for External Affairs.

of the Department of Labor should now be augmented by the other major operating agencies in the field of employment—the United States Employment Service and the Bureau of Employment Security. These agencies are concerned, as is the Department of Labor, with the full and proper employment of American workers.

The results achieved by the Employment Service after more than two years of operation within the Department of Labor strongly justify the decision to place these functions permanently within that Department. More employers are now using the facilities of the public employment offices than ever before in the history of the peace-time Employment Service. More services are being furnished employers by the public employment offices than ever before. Today the public employment office has become the central labor exchange in the community and the primary source of information on employment opportunities and immediate labor market trends.

The Bureau of Employment Security in the Federal Security Agency administers the Federal activities relating to the nationwide unemployment compensation system. As a practical matter these functions have proved to be intimately related to those of the United States Employment Service. Under existing state laws, claimants for unemployment compensation must register with the Employment Service before they may become eligible for benefits. In consequence nearly all states have assigned the administration of these two programs to the same agency.

Both the employment service and the unemployment compensation system are concerned with the worker as a member of the labor force. Both are concerned with shortening the periods of unemployment and with promoting continuity of employment. When the worker becomes unemployed, the alternatives are either to assist him in obtaining new employment or to pay him benefits. The proper emphasis is on employment rather than on benefit payments. This emphasis can best be achieved by having the two programs administered in the agency most concerned with the employment process—the Labor Department.

By reason of the reorganizations made by this plan, I find that the responsibilities and duties of the Secretary of Labor will be of such nature as to require the inclusion in the plan of provisions for the appointment and compensation of a Commissioner of Employment to coordinate the employment service and unemployment insurance activities within the Department. The plan also provides that the Federal Advisory Council, a group representative of labor, management and the public, authorized by the Wagner-Peyser Act, shall advise the Secretary and the Commissioner on the operation of both the unemployment compensation system and the United States Employment Service.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: Reorganization Plan 1 of 1948 is printed in House Document 499 (80th Cong., 2d sess.). It did not become effective.

11 The President's News Conference of *January* 22, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. I have no special announcements to make this morning, so if you want to start off with questions, why go ahead.

[1.] Q. Mr. President, this week a couple of major economic recommendations were made to the Congress by people outside the Government, which attracted a lot of attention. I wonder if you could give

us some comment on the Baruch recommendations,[1] and Mr. Hoover's recommendations? [2]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, most of Mr. Baruch's recommendations I was pleased to read, most of them. I have already made a specific recommendation to the Congress, and so far as Mr. Baruch's recommendations are in line with that recommendation, I am for what he said.

I am not for Mr. Hoover's recommendations.

[2.] Q. There is another economic recommendation that was made by President Wilson of General Motors, that was along the line of extending the workweek from 40 to 45 hours, as a compromise.

THE PRESIDENT. I think Mr. Wilson is living in 1890, I am sorry to say. There is another Mr. Wilson who doesn't believe that. He is the president of the General Electric Company.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, is Admiral Merrill [3] being considered for the CAB chairmanship?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. What was the name that he asked?

THE PRESIDENT. Admiral Merrill. I have never heard of him.

Q. He is either CAA or CAB. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. He is not being considered by me.

Q. Are there any considerations being given to the vacancies——

THE PRESIDENT. I have several men under consideration. I have asked several men to serve, and I have not yet succeeded in getting one to say yes. And the man whom I did get to say yes, the Congress didn't see fit to allow to serve. And that brought the salary proposition into it, which had nothing whatever to do with the proposition at all. I was merely endeavoring to find the man to do the job for me temporarily to get the thing going again. And I found out afterwards that General Kuter's salary was greater than the one that was paid by the chairmanship in the CAA. But they would have saved $10,000 anyway, because Kuter still draws his pay.

Q. Well, Mr. President, in view of the trouble you have had filling these different positions, do you think the pay of high-ranking jobs should be increased?

THE PRESIDENT. I think so, yes. I think they should be paid commensurate with their responsibilities. I have always said that. I think I had more to do with the raising of the pay of the Congress than anybody here.

Q. Can you tell us who declined the proffers—these posts?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I shall not.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, could you name some of the specific recommendations of Mr. Baruch which you endorse?

THE PRESIDENT. Just read it and compare it with my program which I took down, in the Message on the State of the Union. You can do it yourself. I am not working for newspapers! [*Laughter*]

[5.] Q. Mr. President, will you reappoint Mr. Szymczak of the Federal Reserve Board?

THE PRESIDENT. I will make an announcement on that at a later date.

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[1] On January 19 Bernard Baruch proposed an 11-point program which included postponement of tax reduction for 2 years; a world recovery program based on providing a market in the United States for raw materials from all nations; and an all-out production effort in the United States coupled with wartime controls on food, prices, wages, and profits.

[2] On January 22 former President Herbert Hoover was reported in the press as having challenged the administration's handling of the European recovery program, and as having urged that Congress limit appropriations for world relief and rehabilitation to $4 billion for the 15 months beginning April 1, 1948.

[3] Adm. Aaron Stanton Merrill.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, do you see any sign, or have any hope, that Mr. Wallace will follow the example of Mr. Whitney? [1] [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment on that.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, do you plan to reappoint Governor Gruening of Alaska?

THE PRESIDENT. I have that under consideration. I have not made up my mind on that, as yet.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment on the announced retirement of your old friend Mackenzie King of Canada?

THE PRESIDENT. I am very sorry to see the Prime Minister of Canada retire at this time, although he has given 20 of the best years of his life to Canada as Prime Minister, and in the meantime I think was still a Member of Parliament. He has been in public life a long time. He is 73 years old, but in very good physical condition. I had a very pleasant visit with him when I was in Canada, and he has visited here on several occasions. And Canada is really suffering a loss in a real public servant. I am a very great admirer of Mackenzie King.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, if we could go back a second to the Hoover recommendations, specifically he asked for a cut in the amount of funds for 15 months and then limitation of 15 months——

THE PRESIDENT. I just don't approve of Mr. Hoover's statement. That is as far as I care to go. Wouldn't go into details, because it speaks for itself.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, the St. Lawrence measure also comes up on the Senate floor Monday. Do you still plan to send a message or letter?

THE PRESIDENT. Probably won't require a message. I will probably send a letter to the Speaker and the President pro tem.[1]

Q. Is it still considered a vital national defense project?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, indeed. Not only that, it is a very good economic project for both Canada and the United States.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, since your last press conference, there have been some more presidential candidates come out in the open, even Governor Dewey. So far, there have been no Democratic candidates. [*Laughter*] Have you any idea when there will be any announcement?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't the slightest notion.

Q. Will there be any?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, eventually of course there will be one before the Democratic convention meets in Philadelphia, but I don't see that there is any hurry about any announcement. [*Laughter*]

Q. Just one, Mr. President?

Q. I notice you said one.

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't say that—everybody in the United States has a right to be a candidate for President if he wants to be, on either party ticket.

Q. Or a third party ticket?

THE PRESIDENT. Or a third party ticket. He would have a better chance, however, if he were on the ticket of the other old parties.

Q. Mr. President, do you imply that some don't have to pick a ticket until pretty late in the day?

THE PRESIDENT. Some of them don't—they vacillate. Could name a great many who are newcomers to both parties. But some of them, of course, will try to get back on the bandwagon and in the parties where they really belong.

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[1] On January 17 Alexander F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, resigned as vice chairman of the Progressive Citizens of America.

[1] See Item 12.

Q. Anyone particularly in mind, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. You can draw your own conclusions. [*Laughter*]

Q. Do you think that there will be an announcement before the Democratic National Convention?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, undoubtedly there will be, by someone. I know somebody will be a candidate on the Democratic ticket.

Q. Do you plan to do much traveling this year, sir? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't. I may go down to Key West again for a rest.

Q. Does that mean a back porch campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. It probably might, Miss May.[1] A front porch campaign. No, that's the front of the White House. [*Indicating*]

Q. Really. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT. That's the front of the White House. The Chesapeake and Potomac Canal used to run along down there [2]—[*indicating*]—and John Quincy Adams used to go down there and swim every morning. Some lady reporter had been trying to get an interview with him for a long time.

Q. Anne Royall.

THE PRESIDENT. She went down and sat on his clothes and let him talk to her. [*Laughter*] I thought you would be interested in that.

Q. Mr. President, you asked whether that meant a back porch campaign, I judge for you—you said "probably might." Could we have that a little more definite?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I wasn't speaking of myself. Anybody can have a porch campaign. Six or eight Republicans can start campaigning. Some of them are not on the front porch, however.

Q. Mr. President, there is only one involved in a back porch news item, however?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't say back porch. It's front porch—front porch. [*Laughter*]

[12.] Q. Mr. President, is there any arrangement being made to send other Marines to the Mediterranean?

THE PRESIDENT. No. Just filling up the quotas on the shifts in the Mediterranean.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, has the matter of censorship of military developments come to your attention since last week?

THE PRESIDENT. I have never heard of it. Nobody mentioned the subject to me at all. I don't think anybody is thinking about censorship. I told you the last time, you gentlemen are just as patriotic as all of the rest of the country in the protection of your own country, and its welfare is just as much in your hands as it is in mine.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, just to clarify the record, is it your stand that you will be absolutely against any tax reduction which cuts personal taxes but doesn't increase business taxes?

THE PRESIDENT. I have made that perfectly clear in my statement on the tax proposition. If you will just read that, that covers the ground entirely.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment on the German-Russian state papers published yesterday?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have no comment. Most interesting. I have been reading them. Just an historical document. The historians have been clamoring for secret documents and we are trying to give them the documents as fast as we can.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment on the Star's [1] editorial attack on the Office of the White House Architect?

[1] Mrs. May Craig of the Portland (Maine) Press Herald.

[2] Tiber Creek formed the southern boundary of the White House grounds until the early 1880's when it was filled in.

[1] Washington Evening Star.

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't know about it.

Q. They have almost a column which said it was an unnecessary office that paid almost the maximum, and so far as they could ascertain, he did nothing.

THE PRESIDENT. That is news to me. I never heard of it. He has just as much work to do as any other White House employee. That's the first I've ever heard of it. I haven't read that editorial. I am going to do it.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You're welcome.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and thirty-fourth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 10:35 a.m. on Thursday, January 22, 1948.

12 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Concerning the St. Lawrence Seaway. *January* 26, 1948

My dear————:

I should like to express again the hope that the Congress will soon enact legislation approving the agreement of March 19, 1941, between the United States and Canada for the development of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project.

This great engineering enterprise will develop one of the richest natural resources of the continent for the benefit of the whole United States. It will make deep draft ocean transportation available to the most highly industrialized area of North America. It will develop the largest potential hydroelectric power site of the Nation. It will strengthen and expand our industry, our agriculture, our domestic commerce, and our foreign trade. That is why every President during the past 25 years has given it his strong support. That is why it has been a measure strongly supported by both parties.

This momentous project will confer correspondingly great benefits on our friend and neighbor Canada. That is why every Canadian administration during the past 25 years has also strongly supported it.

Plans for this great international undertaking are now based upon the principle of making the new deep draft navigation features self-liquidating by a levy of reasonable tolls on shipping. The Government will also be reimbursed for the new power facilities. The application of the principle of self-liquidation to the navigational features as well as to the power phases of the Seaway should remove objections concerning the economic soundness of the enterprise.

The St. Lawrence project is an important measure of national defense in both its navigation and power phases. Our security rests in large measure on the development of our natural resources and our industrial potential. The transportation system and the power facilities which the St. Lawrence offers—if only we are willing to develop them—will generally strengthen our national economy and provide in particular cheap water power and water transportation facilities needed in peace as well as in a time of emergency. Our security depends also upon a vigorous and prosperous Canada, our ally in both World Wars. The St. Lawrence project will strengthen the economy and the defenses of Canada as it will our own.

I am convinced that the great majority of Americans realize that the St. Lawrence Seaway must be developed if we as a Nation are to continue to receive the fullest benefits from our natural resources. I am personally convinced of the need for this project,

both from the standpoint of our common economic welfare and of our national security. I therefore strongly recommend that the Congress enact legislation authorizing this great undertaking.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Arthur H. Vandenberg, President pro tempore of the Senate, and to the Honorable Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives.

On the same day the White House released the text of identical letters sent by the President to Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, Senator Wallace H. White, Jr., of Maine, Representative Sam Rayburn of Texas, and Representative Charles A. Halleck of Indiana. The letters transmitted copies of the letter printed above and closed with the following statement: "I consider this legislation of outstanding importance to this country and I hope that it will receive the support of both parties."

13 Letter to Marriner Eccles Asking Him To Remain With the Federal Reserve Board as Vice Chairman. *January 27, 1948*

Dear Mr. Eccles:

Shortly after I became President you offered to resign as Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and said it was your feeling that the Chairman, who is designated by the President, should serve at his pleasure. I told you then and on other occasions that there was no one I desired to appoint in your place.

You will have completed your present term as Chairman on February 1, your appointment as a member of the Board continuing until 1958. As I explained to you last week, it is now my preference to appoint a new member of the Board to fill the vacancy created by the death of Vice Chairman Ransom and, when confirmed by the Senate, to designate him as Chairman.

This decision, as I assured you, reflects no lack of complete confidence in you, or dissatisfaction in any respect with your public service, or disagreement on monetary or debt-management policies, or with official actions taken by the Board under your chairmanship. All who are familiar with your record recognize your devotion to the public welfare and the constructiveness that has characterized your leadership in the Federal Reserve System.

Therefore, I urge you to remain as a member of the Board and to accept the Vice Chairmanship so that the benefit of your long experience and judgment will continue to be available and so that you may carry forward legislative proposals now pending in Congress dealing with the important problems of bank credit as outlined in the President's Economic Report to Congress, as well as with other matters in the interest of a sound banking system and a sound economy.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable Marriner S. Eccles, Chairman, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: Mr. Eccles served as Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System from November 15, 1934, to February 1, 1948, and as temporary Chairman from February 1, 1948, to April 15, 1948. In his reply, dated January 27 and released with the President's letter, he agreed to remain with the Board as Vice Chairman. On May 25, 1948, Mr. Eccles asked that his name be withdrawn as Vice Chairman. He continued to serve as a member of the Board until July 14, 1951.

14 Special Message to the Congress Urging Extension of Curbs on Grain Used in Production of Ethyl Alcohol. *January* 29, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

Section 6(a) of Public Law 395, Eightieth Congress, first session, provides that whenever the President shall determine that there is or threatens to be a critical shortage of any raw material, commodity, or product which jeopardizes the health or safety of the people of the United States or its national security or welfare and that there is no prospect that such critical shortage may soon be remedied by an increase in the available supply without additional governmental action and that the situation cannot be solved by voluntary agreement under the provisions of that act, the President may prepare proposed measures for conserving such raw material, commodity, or product which he shall submit to the Congress.

Upon the basis of information furnished by the Secretary of Agriculture, I have determined that there is at present a critical shortage of grain which threatens to become even more serious during the next few months; that such shortage jeopardizes the national security and welfare of the United States; that there is no prospect that such critical shortage may soon be remedied by an increase in the available supply without additional governmental action; and that the situation cannot be solved by voluntary agreements under the provisions of Public Law 395. Therefore, pursuant to section 6(a) of that act, I am submitting a proposed measure for the conservation of grain. This proposed measure relates to the use of grain for the production of ethyl alcohol, including but not limited to distilled spirits and neutral spirits.

As a result of the devastation brought about by the war and extremely unfavorable weather conditions, the grain situation of most European countries is extremely grave. Careful studies have indicated that the United States should endeavor to export at least 500,000,000 bushels of wheat from the crop harvested in 1947.

The available grain supplies in the United States in relation to essential domestic and export requirements indicate a real need for conserving as much grain as possible, especially between now and the harvest of the wheat crop this summer and the corn crop this fall. There is attached hereto a table, prepared by the Department of Agriculture, which summarizes the current grain situation. Although the domestic wheat crop in 1947 was 212,000,000 bushels greater than the domestic wheat crop in 1946, the current domestic and foreign demands are so great that the Congress included a provision in the Foreign Aid Act of 1947 requiring a carry-over of reserve stocks of wheat as of June 30, 1948, of 150,000,000 bushels. It is now estimated that taking into consideration essential domestic needs and the carry-over required by law, approximately 450,000,000 bushels of wheat will be available for export. As indicated above, this is considerably below the minimum amount necessary to meet pressing needs in other countries.

In 1947 the crop of corn, which is the chief feed grain in the United States, was only 2,401,000,000 bushels as compared with 3,250,000,000 bushels in 1946. Production of oats was 282,000,000 bushels less in 1947 than in 1946. Changes in the production of barley, grain sorghum, and rye about offset each other. As a result the supply of feed grains is extremely short.

The grain situation can best be summarized by saying that every bushel of grain which can be saved between now and the

harvest of the new crops this summer and fall will exert an immediate and direct influence either on grain supplies available for feed and use in this country or on the amount of wheat which can be exported. The feed situation is so acute that a saving of corn will be in effect the equivalent of a saving of wheat. The amount of wheat which can be secured for export will depend considerably upon whether there are sufficient supplies of other grains available for feed. If other grains are not available for feed, farmers may find it necessary to feed greater quantities of wheat to livestock.

Under these circumstances, definite steps to conserve grain and reduce all nonessential uses of grain in the United States were, and are, required in the national interest. The Citizens Food Committee, which I appointed on September 25, 1947, to bring about voluntary food conservation, developed a number of voluntary grain-conservation agreements with industry, agricultural groups, and others.

In this connection, I am informed that brewers agreed to make a reduction of 25 percent in the quantity of corn used per barrel of beer, to use no wheat, table-grade rice, or feeding barley, and to make other economies for a 90-day period ending January 31, 1948; that the distilling industry agreed to close down for 60 days, beginning at midnight October 25, 1947; that bakers were urged to discontinue consignment selling and to practice other economies; that wet and dry corn millers agreed to conserve by making maximum use of perishable high-moisture corn; that the mixed-feed industry was requested to substitute, wherever possible, nonfood grains for wheat; that poultry producers agreed to cull flocks and to reduce the production of baby chicks and turkey poults; that farmers in general cooperated with the Government in grain conservation by feeding hogs to lighter weights, putting less finish on beef cattle, and culling dairy herds; and that restaurants and hotels agreed to make savings in the use of scarce commodities.

After the voluntary shut-down of the distilling industry became effective on October 25, 1947, it became apparent that a program for a continuing reduction in the use of grain by the distilling industry would be necessary to meet the critical emergency with respect to the supply of grain for authorized foreign-aid programs and essential domestic uses. Consequently, exhaustive efforts were made to effectuate a voluntary agreement with the distilling industry for the conservation of grain.

During the period of the voluntary shut-down of the industry, meetings of the Distillers Coordinating Committee, the membership being composed of representatives of the industry, labor and the Department of Agriculture, were held in an endeavor to work out a voluntary program which could be made effective after December 24, the termination date of the voluntary shut-down. The last of these meetings was held on December 9, 1947. At this meeting it became apparent that it was impossible to reach an agreement on any effective program which would result in the saving of grain.

Therefore, the Department of Agriculture prepared a program, proposing the allocation of 2½ million bushels of grain for the period to January 31, 1948, and monthly thereafter, based upon a formula giving weight both to historical use and capacity. A public meeting to consider this program was held on December 17. Notice of this meeting and the proposal to be considered was given through the press and by individual telegrams to every distilling plant. This meeting was presided over by the Secretary of Agriculture, and all members of the distilling industry were afforded an opportunity to express their views as to the

desirability of a voluntary program, the form that such program should take, if initiated, and the feasibility or practicability of the program suggested by the Government. The industry representatives present, after considering a variety of proposals including that suggested by the Government, were unable to reach agreement on any effective proposal for the conservation of grain by the industry, although they were informed by the Secretary of Agriculture that, in the absence of some voluntary agreement, he would feel called upon to recommend to the Congress the granting of authority for mandatory control.

Upon being informed by the Secretary of Agriculture of the impossibility of effecting a voluntary agreement to conserve grain by the distilling industry, I instructed him to recommend to the Congress the granting of authority to exercise mandatory control over the use of grain by distillers for beverage purposes. Thereafter, authority for the allocation of grain for the production of distilled or neutral spirits for beverage purposes was granted by section 4(b) of Public Law 395. This authority was delegated to the Secretary of Agriculture by Executive Order No. 9915, and the Secretary of Agriculture issued under such authority on December 30, 1947, an order, a copy of which is attached hereto, allocating grain to distillers for the period ending January 31, 1948.

Throughout all negotiations with the distilling industry, various factions of the industry have advocated different methods of allocation and there is apparently no possibility of reconciling their views and solving the situation by voluntary agreement. Therefore, further action will be required by the Congress to conserve grain and to reduce its nonessential use.

The attached order is self-explanatory. It sets forth a formula, by means of which the quota of each distilling plant is determined, together with the specific quota for each plant, and it also indicates the detailed procedure for administration. It is contemplated that if the present power to allocate grain is continued beyond January 31, 1948, substantially the same procedure as that provided for in the present order will be used, with such modifications as may be required should the Congress enlarge the grant of authority to include the control of additional uses as recommended in this proposal.

If the allocation powers with reference to grain are continued through October 31, 1948, the Department of Agriculture estimates that the sum of $52,000 will be required for administrative expenses, including the salaries of additional personnel. Of this amount $26,000 will be required for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1948, and $26,000 will be required for the following fiscal year.

The present order allocating grain to distillers contemplates the use of approximately 2,500,000 bushels of grain by the distilling industry for beverage purposes during the period ending January 31, 1948. If the allocation controls are extended by the Congress, it is now contemplated that the use permitted will be at the rate of 2,500,000 bushels of grain per month. However, the total amount to be allocated monthly will depend upon the amount determined to be available after considering all demand and supply factors.

During the 1947 fiscal year approximately 59,000,000 bushels of grain were used for beverage purposes by the distilling industry. However, a considerable portion of this amount was utilized by the industry to build up depleted stocks. The distilling industry was under control, as to the total amount of grain to be used, during the war and until November 30, 1946. As a result of this, stocks of whisky on hand were necessarily depleted below the average yearly stocks of

475,000,000 gallons which prevailed in the 5 years preceding the war. The total stocks reached a low point on June 30, 1945, of 307,000,000 gallons. These stocks were increased during the 1946 fiscal year by 67,000,000 gallons so that on June 30, 1946, the stocks were 374,000,000 gallons. During the fiscal year 1947 the stocks were further increased by 90,000,000 gallons to 464,000,000 gallons as of June 30, 1947. This increase took place at a time when the sales of bottled whisky were the highest in the history of the industry. The production of distilled spirits and neutral spirits during that year was the highest in the last 10 years.

The average stocks of whisky of 475,000,000 gallons which prevailed during the years preceding the war constituted a 4-year supply. The stocks of whisky on hand now are approximately equal in quantity to the stocks which were normally on hand prior to the war, but due to the greatly increased sale of blended whisky at the present time the stocks represent a 6-year supply even at the present high rate of consumption. No additional build-up in stocks, therefore, is justified, and the industry can withstand a substantial depletion of its present stocks without undue hardship.

In determining the amount of grain used in the normal production of distilled spirits and neutral spirits for beverage purposes during the fiscal year 1947, the amount of grain used in producing the 90,000,000 gallons of whisky which were added to the stocks on hand should be deducted from the total use of grain. Upon this basis, allowing for the full replacement of the gallonage depleted by the extremely high sales, the average monthly use during 1947 fiscal year would have been 3,250,000 bushels. Thus, the reduction in the average normal monthly grain consumption by the distilling industry as a whole brought about by this order, for all practical purposes, amounts to only 23 percent on a replacement basis. However, it should be recognized that, if there are no controls, it would be quite possible that the distilling industry would use an amount of grain equal to or even in excess of the amount used in the 1947 fiscal year.

The formula used in determining quotas for each distiller is set forth in paragraph (c) of the order. This formula is based two-thirds upon the use of grain by distilling plants during a base period and one-third upon the capacity of the plants, with a specific minimum provided for each distilling plant.

Various formulas have been suggested as a basis for allocating grain to distillers. Some have advocated distribution based entirely on use during a base period, others have advocated distribution entirely on a capacity basis, others have advocated a formula giving weight to both of these factors, and still others have advocated distribution based upon sales of bottled goods during a base period. In all past programs the formula for distribution has been based either upon the usage of grain by distilling plants during some past period or the capacity of the distilling plants for the use of grain based upon past operations, or a combination of both. The sale of bottled goods has never been used as a standard of allocation. In view of the diversified character of the industry, it has been considered that the use of bottle sales as a basis for allocation would result in an unworkable, unfair, and inequitable method of allocation.

The formula contained in the order of December 30, 1947, was arrived at after thorough consideration of all proposals and of the experience gained under previous allocation orders. It was considered to be the most equitable formula which could be used under the circumstances. It is contemplated that if the Congress continues the allocation authority beyond January 31, 1948, a formula

substantially in conformity with that contained in the present order will be used.

Public Law 395 revives and reenacts title III of the Second War Powers Act, 1942, with respect "to the use of grain for the production of distilled spirits or neutral spirits for beverage purposes." If the allocation authority is continued beyond January 31, 1948, it would be desirable for the legislation to grant such authority with respect to the production of ethyl alcohol from grain rather than use the language of the present act.

The same manufacturing process is required in connection with the production of distilled spirits or neutral spirits for beverage purposes and some kinds of industrial alcohol. Because of the nature of the industry it would be desirable to have an integrated control over the production of ethyl alcohol from grain regardless of the use to which the product is to be put.

In view of the fact that the authority granted by Public Law 395 was for a period of only 1 month, and that the practice of the industry is to make purchases of grain weeks ahead, it was impracticable to provide for inventory controls. However, if the allocation controls are continued beyond January 31, 1948, provision should be made for inventory controls.

Upon the basis of the foregoing information, I recommend that the Congress provide for the exercise, at least until October 31, 1948, of the powers, authority, and discretion conferred upon the President by title III of the Second War Powers Act, 1942, with respect to allocation and inventory control of grain for the production of ethyl alcohol regardless of the use to which the product is to be put.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The Secretary of Agriculture's order allocating grain to distillers is printed in House Document 512 (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

Executive Order 9915 "Delegating to the Secretary of Agriculture the Authority Vested in the President by Section 4(b) of the Joint Resolution Approved December 30, 1947" is dated December 30, 1947 (3 CFR, 1943–1948 Comp., p. 678).

See also Item 19.

15 The President's News Conference of *January 29, 1948*

THE PRESIDENT. I have no special announcements to make today, so if you want to ask questions I will try to answer them.

[1.] Q. Mr. President, what prompted you to replace Mr. Eccles [1] with this Philadelphia Republican?

THE PRESIDENT. That is my prerogative. I decided to make the change without anybody's request or influence.

Q. Was it because——

THE PRESIDENT. The President has a right to do that if he wants to do that.

Q. Do you prefer Mr. McCabe's fiscal policies to Mr. Eccles's?

THE PRESIDENT. That question I will not answer.

Q. Mr. President, on that same question, Senator Tobey yesterday remarked that he was anxious to get to the bottom of what "forces"—I quote his words—"forces" persuaded you to make the change? Would you care to comment on Senator Tobey's remarks?

THE PRESIDENT. The President, of course,

[1] Marriner S. Eccles, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (see Item 13). The President had nominated Thomas B. McCabe as Chairman.

hasn't the right to use his prerogative under the law, has he?

Q. People would like an explanation, though.

THE PRESIDENT. It has been thoroughly explained by Mr. Eccles and Mr. Snyder, and several of the——

Q. There will be no explanation?

THE PRESIDENT. There will be no explanation.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, does it look like meat rationing is imminent?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I can't tell you that. The meat situation is becoming very acute and requests have been made about the necessity for meat rationing by Members of the Congress. One of the Assistant Secretaries of Agriculture testified up there today, in answer to a question, that meat rationing undoubtedly would be imminent on account of the shortage of meat. The administration has not yet come to that conclusion.

Q. Well, that statement of the Assistant Secretary was his own?

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't see the statement. I don't know what he said.

Q. I thought you said that he had——

THE PRESIDENT. He had testified—I was told that he had testified up there that meat rationing was imminent. It may be true. I say that may be done—as soon as I get all the facts.

Q. Mr. President, would it be fair to say that meat rationing is being considered?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, it is. Meat rationing has been considered ever since last November, when the request was made for certain powers in a standby capacity.

Q. Mr. President, are you referring to Mr. Brannan?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Q. He said that rationing without price control would be extremely risky. Do you agree with that?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes indeed. Price control must come first. No use having rationing if you don't have price control.

[*After a pause in the questioning*] Are you finished already? [*Laughter*]

[3.] Q. No sir—what do you think about General Eisenhower getting out of the presidential——

THE PRESIDENT. Well, you know, General Eisenhower has the control of his own destiny, and if General Eisenhower thinks that was the best thing for General Eisenhower to do, I am for it. [*Laughter*]

[4.] Q. Mr. President, Governor Folsom of Alabama, who incidentally is 6 feet 8 inches tall——

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, he has been in here—we almost had to raise the doorjamb up.

Q. ——announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination the other day, and he was very critical of the administration. Have you anything to say about that?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I have no comment. Anybody that wants to get a headline can attack the President and get it.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, Chairman Wolcott of the House Banking Committee has charged that the administration is sanctioning the use of American corn abroad to make whisky. Have you any comment, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment. I know nothing about any such sanctions.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, you know there is a campaign on the Hill to lop that 2 billion 3 off the Marshall plan, or at least part of it. Do you have any comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. The matter was explicitly explained in the budget that, in order to get ready to put the Marshall plan into effect, it is necessary to make the—fill the pipeline, and that is what the 2 billion 3 is for. It is very clearly set out in the budget. And it is absolutely essential, if we are going to carry out the plan as it should be carried out.

Q. Do you think that lopping it off later would tend to make it a relief rather than a recovery program?

THE PRESIDENT. It would. The recovery program is what—we must have the recovery program, or there isn't any use starting it.

Q. On the same subject, I wonder would you care to comment as to whether if the figure should be lopped the bulk of Latin America would suffer as a result?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that. I can't answer that question because I don't know.

Q. I was just wondering; then you think the 6 billion 8 is essential?

THE PRESIDENT. It is absolutely essential. The program must be taken on as a whole over a period long enough to assure recovery in Europe. And that means peace in the world, if we can get recovery in Europe. And the plan was carefully thought out. It was worked on by the 16 nations that are interested in the matter. It was worked on in the State Department. It was worked on in the White House, and in the Cabinet. And the plan that we finally sent up to the Congress is one which we think will accomplish the purpose. And I think I told you once before that in 1945, along in October, after the Japanese had surrendered in August, I made a rescission of appropriations of 55 billions of dollars, and made a further rescission of some $7 billion—and a half, I think—in January or February, immediately following. That was for a 6-month period for war. That appropriation for 1946 fiscal year—from June 30, 1945, to June 30, 1946—was 103 billions of dollars.

Now it does seem to me that we can afford, over a 4-year period, to risk 17 billions of dollars for peace, which is less than one-fourth of the half-year that was made a rescission under war. It seems to me a very sane expenditure for peace. That is what we are after. And the recovery of Europe is essential before we can have peace.

I feel very strongly on the subject. I think the welfare of this country and the welfare of the world is at stake in this European recovery plan. I don't think I can be any stronger——

Q. Mr. President, in order to get clarification, as that might be subject to misinterpretation, you said we must have this whole recovery program or there's no use starting it?

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct. That is absolutely correct.

Q. Should be all or nothing, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. All or nothing. Just like throwing money down a rathole unless we go through with the program and follow it to a logical conclusion.

Q. A detail on that, sir. Many witnesses before the Foreign Relations Committee are for the plan in general, but many of them suggest that it will not be good—it will not be properly worked out by the State Department alone, and must have industrial and businessmen. Would you care to say anything about that?

THE PRESIDENT. We expect to get the very best advice possible in the administration of the plan, and General Marshall is in favor of that, and so am I. And the administrative setup that I requested of the Congress is a sound one and is in line with what General Marshall wants.

Q. Mr. President, on that line, Secretary Marshall yesterday said he was willing to accept the Brookings Institution——

THE PRESIDENT. There is no difference between the Brookings plan and the one I sent the Congress, except in small details.

Q. So it's all right with you?

THE PRESIDENT. So it's all right with me.

Q. Mr. President, what is your answer to the contention that the present Congress

cannot commit future Congresses to the appropriation of such funds——

THE PRESIDENT. That is not true. The Congress can make an authorization for contracts extending over a number of years. They do it all the time in reclamation and agriculture, and everything else.

Q. Mr. President, does your statement "all or nothing" mean that you would reject a bill that was less than 6.8 in authorizations?

THE PRESIDENT. I will attend to that when the bill comes up to me. It may be possible to reach a conclusion on the matter of a continuing program. And a continuing program is what I want. I don't want just a relief program for 1 year. We can talk about the money when it gets to me.

Q. How can this Congress assure you, sir, of a continuing program?

THE PRESIDENT. They can authorize the program, just as they authorize reclamation projects.

Q. Does that mean, Mr. President, that you want to go back to the plan that existed before Vandenberg wrote the letter to the State Department, in which he——

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't think that affects them at all.

Q. The $17 billion total?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think that affects them at all. I want a continuing program so that I know we are going to get the job done. The estimates are that it will take $17 billion to do it.

Q. For authorizations that you couldn't commit——

THE PRESIDENT. You can't commit more than one Congress on an appropriation, but you can commit the Congress on an authorization to carry out on a job. That is what I am after.

Q. Then that is kind of a wedge for the appropriation?

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly. That is what I want.

Q. Mr. President, may we quote the words "all or nothing"?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think you had better not. They have been said by General Marshall, and I approve of what he said.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, is Harry Woodring getting any consideration as civilian governor of Germany, when the State Department takes over on July 1?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not commenting on personalities for that program yet, because it isn't in effect.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with the "all or nothing" statement, does that apply to the 6 billion 8?

THE PRESIDENT. No, that applies to the continuing program, to the whole continuing program.

Q. $17 billion?

THE PRESIDENT. The $17 billion program. To the 4-year program, let's put it that way. It may not be $17 billion, if Europe recovers faster than we think it will. They made a remarkable advance this year. Their products were increased by more than a billion dollars this year.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, can I go back to an earlier question, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Sure.

Q. You said there would be no explanation on the Eccles thing?

THE PRESIDENT. That's right.

Q. Does that mean that you believe then that the public is not entitled to an explanation on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the President has a right to appoint the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board as the law requires, and appoint anybody he chooses.

Q. Then, Mr. President, would you object to a Senate Banking and Currency Commit-

tee investigation of that appointment?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I would have no objection. They can investigate anything they choose. They can't investigate the President.

Q. They cannot?

THE PRESIDENT. No — [*laughter*] — the only way a President can be investigated is by impeachment.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, the question of another big three conference came up at Secretary Marshall's press conference yesterday. He referred the matter to the President. Would you comment on——

THE PRESIDENT. What was it?

Q. ——the present plan—Mr. Marshall was told that Mr. Churchill had suggested again the need for another big three meeting, and would he comment, and he said to ask the President to comment on the subject.

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment, for I haven't seen Mr. Churchill's remarks. I saw the quotes in the paper, but I don't know exactly what Mr. Churchill said.

Q. But Mr. President——

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment.

Q. You did say if there was going to be one, it would have to be in Washington. Is that still in your mind?

THE PRESIDENT. Still in my mind. It ought to be here in Washington. [*Laughter*]

[11.] Q. Mr. President, back to this Marshall plan—the bill as it stands now, if I recall correctly, carries a 4-year authorization without any stated sum of money.

THE PRESIDENT. That's right. That's perfectly all right. That's what I want, a 4-year authorization to carry on the plan, and we will call appropriations from year to year as they come up. The Congress can't commit another Congress on an appropriation. They can commit one on an authorization.

Q. But you are still opposed to lopping 2 billion 3——

THE PRESIDENT. The 2 billion 3 should not come off.

Q. Do you think the 2 billion 3 is necessary over the 4.5 billions——

THE PRESIDENT. If I didn't think so, I wouldn't have put it in there. I asked for it in the first place. [*Laughter*]

Q. That's the only point of difference on the Hill at this point, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, yes—and I think that won't be a point of difference when it is analyzed properly. If you will read one or two editorials which I have just been reading, you will find the analysis very good. One is in Bert Andrews' paper,[1] and the other is in Joe Fox's paper.[2] Giving him another plug! [*Laughter*]

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and thirty-fifth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 4 p.m. on Thursday, January 29, 1948.

[1] New York Herald Tribune.
[2] Washington Evening Star.

16 Letter to the Administrator, Federal Security Agency, on Raising the Level of the Nation's Health. *January* 30, 1948

Dear Mr. Administrator:

The health of our people is of such importance to our national welfare and security that I wish to make certain that we are taking all possible steps to contribute to its improvement. I have, as you know, repeatedly re-

quested the Congress to enact legislation designed to expand basic health services and to bring them within the reach of all the people. While such legislation is of primary importance, its enactment alone will not assure that we shall reach the highest possible levels of health. The attainment of such a goal requires the cooperation of State and local governments, voluntary organizations, the medical and health professions, as well as all of our citizens working together.

Our people want good health and are willing to work to achieve it. Notable progress has already been made. But I am convinced that we have scarcely scratched the surface and that, as a Nation, we can make rapid progress in the immediate future.

I should like to ask you, therefore, to undertake a comprehensive study of the possibilities for raising health levels and to report to me, at your early convenience, upon feasible goals which might be realized by the American people in the next decade. I should appreciate further any suggestions you may wish to make concerning the most practicable methods of achieving such goals. In preparing this report, you will undoubtedly wish to confer with interested persons both in and out of the Government.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable Oscar R. Ewing, Administrator, Federal Security Agency, Washington 25, D.C.]

NOTE: Mr. Ewing's report "The Nation's Health: a Ten Year Program" (186 pp., Government Printing Office) was transmitted to the President on September 2, 1948. It was made public by the President during his news conference of that date (see Item 181 [2]).

17 Statement by the President on the Assassination of Mohandas K. Gandhi. *January* 30, 1948

THIS MORNING when I heard the tragic news of the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, I sent a message to Earl Mountbatten, the Governor General of India, expressing my condolences to him and to the people of India. Gandhi was a great Indian nationalist but at the same time he was a leader of international stature. His teachings and his actions have left a deep impression on millions of people. He was and is revered by the people of India, and his influence was felt not only in affairs of government but also in the realm of the spirit. Unhappily, he did not live to witness the full realization of those ideals for which he struggled, but his life and his work will be through the years to come the greatest monument to him. His selfless struggle for the betterment of his people will, I am sure, endure as an example for India's leaders, many of whom are his disciples. I know that not only the people of India but also all peoples will be inspired by his sacrifice to work with increased vigor toward the brotherhood and peace which the Mahatma symbolized.

NOTE: On the same day the White House released the text of the message from the President to His Excellency Earl Mountbatten of Burma, Governor General of India.

18 Radio Remarks on the 10th Anniversary of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. *January* 30, 1948

[Broadcast from the White House at 11:50 p.m.]

My fellow citizens:

On this 10th anniversary of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, it is well that we should pause for serious reflection on a problem that is close to the heart of every mother and father in America. This ruthless enemy, infantile paralysis, endangers a vital treasure—the health of our children.

Much has already been done toward conquering infantile paralysis, but much more remains to be done before this disease is completely banished from the earth. It may take many more years and many more millions of dollars. But it is our heartfelt hope that someday, thanks to unceasing research, we shall find the solution to one of the most baffling medical mysteries of all time.

Year after year, you have given to the March of Dimes. And year after year more barriers have been erected by your National Foundation to help protect American children from the ravages of infantile paralysis.

You have made it possible for thousands afflicted by this terrible disease to rise from their wheelchairs and return to normal, active lives. You have brought new courage to handicapped men and women who had long since given up hope of ever overcoming the deformities left by infantile paralysis. You have brought peace to troubled hearts of parents who could not afford medical care needed by a loved one.

Your generosity this year will decide the fate of thousands more. True, you may never hear the gratitude of all those you have helped and will help. But there will be abundant reward in the knowledge that you are doing so much to lift the yoke of suffering from your fellow man.

For the first time in medical history, authorities on infantile paralysis from every part of the world will meet in New York next summer to exchange and discuss information about polio. Our Department of State has already invited representatives from more than 60 nations to participate in this international conference being sponsored by the National Foundation.

Infantile paralysis has occurred in many other countries of the world, but, thanks to the vigilance of the National Foundation, no nation has been so well armed as ours to combat it.

When cases of infantile paralysis were reported among our occupation troops in Germany last year, your National Foundation went into action immediately. A complete unit of doctors, nurses, and technicians especially trained in the treatment of polio, was ready within a few hours to fly to the aid of our American soldiers.

The first line of defense in this war against infantile paralysis has been formed by your contributions to the March of Dimes. This line of defense is important to our national security. I say "national security" advisedly, because only a healthy nation can be a truly strong nation.

I ask you to give—and give generously—to the March of Dimes.

19 Statement by the President Calling on Distillers To Observe Voluntary Grain Quotas. *January* 31, 1948

SHORTAGES of food, resulting largely from the devastation of war and adverse weather conditions, have brought about acute distress and hunger in many countries.

In order to relieve hunger in food deficit areas, it is necessary for the United States to export large quantities of grain. Because of this it is necessary to limit the use of grain for nonessential purposes in the United States.

When millions face the threat of starvation, the use of grain for the production of whisky and other beverage spirits is a use which is clearly nonessential. This has been recognized by most of the distilling industry, which voluntarily suspended production for a period of 60 days, from October 24, 1947, until December 24, 1947. From December 30, 1947, until today, the use of grain for distilled spirits has been limited pursuant to the authority of Public Law 395, approved December 30, 1947. The authority granted for such purpose by that law expires today.

The limitations imposed upon the use of grain for distilled spirits under this authority are reasonable and have not caused undue hardship in the industry. The industry now has on hand stocks of whisky which represent a 6-year supply. Continued limitation of the use of grain for distilled spirits is necessary and proper in order to aid in relieving hunger and distress.

A bill which would extend the authority of the Government to curb the use of grain until February 29, 1948, has passed the Senate of the United States by unanimous consent and is now pending in a committee of the House of Representatives. I sent a special message to the Congress asking that the Congress extend this authority before it expired at midnight tonight. I sincerely regret the failure of the Congress to act in time. It is my earnest hope that the Congress will take favorable action on this legislation as soon as possible.

In the meantime, it is in the public interest for distillers to continue to observe reasonable limits in the use of grain.

Therefore, I now call upon all users of grain for the production of ethyl alcohol, including both distilled spirits and neutral spirits, to observe temporarily the same controls established by the Grain Conservation Order of the Secretary of Agriculture dated December 30, 1947.

Specifically, I ask them to use no wheat in the making of whisky. I ask them to use as a monthly basis of consumption those limited quantities of grain set forth by the Secretary's order as a quota for the month of January. I ask them not to disturb grain markets by rushing in and purchasing large quantities of cereals.

It is unthinkable that, at this time, when the need for grain as a food is so great, the distillers in this country should choose to use unlimited quantities of grain in the manufacture of whisky.

NOTE: The Grain Conservation Order of the Secretary of Agriculture is printed in House Document 512 (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

20 Special Message to the Congress on Civil Rights. *February 2, 1948*

To the Congress of the United States:

In the State of the Union Message on January 7, 1948, I spoke of five great goals toward which we should strive in our constant effort to strengthen our democracy and improve the welfare of our people. The first of these is to secure fully our essential human rights. I am now presenting to the Congress my recommendations for legislation to carry us forward toward that goal.

This Nation was founded by men and women who sought these shores that they might enjoy greater freedom and greater opportunity than they had known before. The founders of the United States proclaimed to the world the American belief that all men are created equal, and that governments are instituted to secure the inalienable rights with which all men are endowed. In the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, they eloquently expressed the aspirations of all mankind for equality and freedom.

These ideals inspired the peoples of other lands, and their practical fulfillment made the United States the hope of the oppressed everywhere. Throughout our history men and women of all colors and creeds, of all races and religions, have come to this country to escape tyranny and discrimination. Millions strong, they have helped build this democratic Nation and have constantly reinforced our devotion to the great ideals of liberty and equality. With those who preceded them, they have helped to fashion and strengthen our American faith—a faith that can be simply stated:

We believe that all men are created equal and that they have the right to equal justice under law.

We believe that all men have the right to freedom of thought and of expression and the right to worship as they please.

We believe that all men are entitled to equal opportunities for jobs, for homes, for good health and for education.

We believe that all men should have a voice in their government and that government should protect, not usurp, the rights of the people.

These are the basic civil rights which are the source and the support of our democracy.

Today, the American people enjoy more freedom and opportunity than ever before. Never in our history has there been better reason to hope for the complete realization of the ideals of liberty and equality.

We shall not, however, finally achieve the ideals for which this Nation was founded so long as any American suffers discrimination as a result of his race, or religion, or color, or the land of origin of his forefathers.

Unfortunately, there still are examples—flagrant examples—of discrimination which are utterly contrary to our ideals. Not all groups of our population are free from the fear of violence. Not all groups are free to live and work where they please or to improve their conditions of life by their own efforts. Not all groups enjoy the full privileges of citizenship and participation in the government under which they live.

We cannot be satisfied until all our people have equal opportunities for jobs, for homes, for education, for health, and for political expression, and until all our people have equal protection under the law.

One year ago I appointed a committee of fifteen distinguished Americans and asked them to appraise the condition of our civil rights and to recommend appropriate action by Federal, state and local governments.

The committee's appraisal has resulted in a frank and revealing report. This report

emphasizes that our basic human freedoms are better cared for and more vigilantly defended than ever before. But it also makes clear that there is a serious gap between our ideals and some of our practices. This gap must be closed.

This will take the strong efforts of each of us individually, and all of us acting together through voluntary organizations and our governments.

The protection of civil rights begins with the mutual respect for the rights of others which all of us should practice in our daily lives. Through organizations in every community—in all parts of the country—we must continue to develop practical, workable arrangements for achieving greater tolerance and brotherhood.

The protection of civil rights is the duty of every government which derives its powers from the consent of the people. This is equally true of local, state, and national governments. There is much that the states can and should do at this time to extend their protection of civil rights. Wherever the law enforcement measures of state and local governments are inadequate to discharge this primary function of government, these measures should be strengthened and improved.

The Federal Government has a clear duty to see that Constitutional guarantees of individual liberties and of equal protection under the laws are not denied or abridged anywhere in our Union. That duty is shared by all three branches of the Government, but it can be fulfilled only if the Congress enacts modern, comprehensive civil rights laws, adequate to the needs of the day, and demonstrating our continuing faith in the free way of life.

I recommend, therefore, that the Congress enact legislation at this session directed toward the following specific objectives:

1. Establishing a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights, and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.

2. Strengthening existing civil rights statutes.

3. Providing Federal protection against lynching.

4. Protecting more adequately the right to vote.

5. Establishing a Fair Employment Practice Commission to prevent unfair discrimination in employment.

6. Prohibiting discrimination in interstate transportation facilities.

7. Providing home-rule and suffrage in Presidential elections for the residents of the District of Columbia.

8. Providing Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska and a greater measure of self-government for our island possessions.

9. Equalizing the opportunities for residents of the United States to become naturalized citizens.

10. Settling the evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans.

Strengthening the Government Organization

As a first stop, we must strengthen the organization of the Federal Government in order to enforce civil rights legislation more adequately and to watch over the state of our traditional liberties.

I recommend that the Congress establish a permanent Commission on Civil Rights reporting to the President. The Commission should continuously review our civil rights policies and practices, study specific problems, and make recommendations to the President at frequent intervals. It should work with other agencies of the Federal Government, with state and local governments, and with private organizations.

I also suggest that the Congress establish a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights. This Committee should make a continuing study of legislative matters relating to civil rights and should consider means of improving respect for and enforcement of those rights.

These two bodies together should keep all of us continuously aware of the condition of civil rights in the United States and keep us alert to opportunities to improve their protection.

To provide for better enforcement of Federal civil rights laws, there will be established a Division of Civil Rights in the Department of Justice. I recommend that the Congress provide for an additional Assistant Attorney General to supervise this Division.

Strengthening Existing Civil Rights Statutes

I recommend that the Congress amend and strengthen the existing provisions of Federal law which safeguard the right to vote and the right to safety and security of person and property. These provisions are the basis for our present civil rights enforcement program.

Section 51 of Title 18 of the United States Code, which now gives protection to citizens in the enjoyment of rights secured by the Constitution or Federal laws, needs to be strengthened in two respects. In its present form, this section protects persons only if they are citizens, and it affords protection only against conspiracies by two or more persons. This protection should be extended to all inhabitants of the United States, whether or not they are citizens, and should be afforded against infringement by persons acting individually as well as in conspiracy.

Section 52 of Title 18 of the United States Code, which now gives general protection to individuals against the deprivation of Federally secured rights by public officers, has proved to be inadequate in some cases because of the generality of its language. An enumeration of the principal rights protected under this section is needed to make more definite and certain the protection which the section affords.

Federal Protection Against Lynching

A specific Federal measure is needed to deal with the crime of lynching—against which I cannot speak too strongly. It is a principle of our democracy, written into our Constitution, that every person accused of an offense against the law shall have a fair, orderly trial in an impartial court. We have made great progress toward this end, but I regret to say that lynching has not yet finally disappeared from our land. So long as one person walks in fear of lynching, we shall not have achieved equal justice under law. I call upon the Congress to take decisive action against this crime.

Protecting the Right to Vote

Under the Constitution, the right of all properly qualified citizens to vote is beyond question. Yet the exercise of this right is still subject to interference. Some individuals are prevented from voting by isolated acts of intimidation. Some whole groups are prevented by outmoded policies prevailing in certain states or communities.

We need stronger statutory protection of the right to vote. I urge the Congress to enact legislation forbidding interference by public officers or private persons with the right of qualified citizens to participate in primary, special and general elections in which Federal officers are to be chosen. This legislation should extend to elections for state as well as Federal officers insofar as in-

terference with the right to vote results from discriminatory action by public officers based on race, color, or other unreasonable classification.

Requirements for the payment of poll taxes also interfere with the right to vote. There are still seven states which, by their constitutions, place this barrier between their citizens and the ballot box. The American people would welcome voluntary action on the part of these states to remove this barrier. Nevertheless, I believe the Congress should enact measures insuring that the right to vote in elections for Federal officers shall not be contingent upon the payment of taxes.

I wish to make it clear that the enactment of the measures I have recommended will in no sense result in Federal conduct of elections. They are designed to give qualified citizens Federal protection of their right to vote. The actual conduct of elections, as always, will remain the responsibility of State governments.

Fair Employment Practice Commission

We in the United States believe that all men are entitled to equality of opportunity. Racial, religious and other invidious forms of discrimination deprive the individual of an equal chance to develop and utilize his talents and to enjoy the rewards of his efforts.

Once more I repeat my request that the Congress enact fair employment practice legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment based on race, color, religion or national origin. The legislation should create a Fair Employment Practice Commission with authority to prevent discrimination by employers and labor unions, trade and professional associations, and government agencies and employment bureaus. The degree of effectiveness which the wartime Fair Employment Practice Committee attained shows that it is possible to equalize job opportunity by government action and thus to eliminate the influence of prejudice in employment.

Interstate Transportation

The channels of interstate commerce should be open to all Americans on a basis of complete equality. The Supreme Court has recently declared unconstitutional state laws requiring segregation on public carriers in interstate travel. Company regulations must not be allowed to replace unconstitutional state laws. I urge the Congress to prohibit discrimination and segregation, in the use of interstate transportation facilities, by both public officers and the employees of private companies.

The District of Columbia

I am in full accord with the principle of local self-government for residents of the District of Columbia. In addition, I believe that the Constitution should be amended to extend suffrage in Presidential elections to the residents of the District.

The District of Columbia should be a true symbol of American freedom and democracy for our own people, and for the people of the world. It is my earnest hope that the Congress will promptly give the citizens of the District of Columbia their own local, elective government. They themselves can then deal with the inequalities arising from segregation in the schools and other public facilities, and from racial barriers to places of public accommodation which now exist for one-third of the District's population.

The present inequalities in essential services are primarily a problem for the District itself, but they are also of great concern to the whole Nation. Failing local corrective

action in the near future, the Congress should enact a model civil rights law for the Nation's Capital.

Our Territories and Possessions

The present political status of our Territories and possessions impairs the enjoyment of civil rights by their residents. I have in the past recommended legislation granting statehood to Alaska and Hawaii, and organic acts for Guam and American Samoa including a grant of citizenship to the people of these Pacific Islands. I repeat these recommendations.

Furthermore, the residents of the Virgin Islands should be granted an increasing measure of self-government, and the people of Puerto Rico should be allowed to choose their form of government and their ultimate status with respect to the United States.

Equality in Naturalization

All properly qualified legal residents of the United States should be allowed to become citizens without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. The Congress has recently removed the bars which formerly prevented persons from China, India and the Philippines from becoming naturalized citizens. I urge the Congress to remove the remaining racial or nationality barriers which stand in the way of citizenship for some residents of our country.

Evacuation Claims of the Japanese-Americans

During the last war more than one hundred thousand Japanese-Americans were evacuated from their homes in the Pacific states solely because of their racial origin. Many of these people suffered property and business losses as a result of this forced evacuation and through no fault of their own. The Congress has before it legislation establishing a procedure by which claims based upon these losses can be promptly considered and settled. I trust that favorable action on this legislation will soon be taken.

The legislation I have recommended for enactment by the Congress at the present session is a minimum program if the Federal Government is to fulfill its obligation of insuring the Constitutional guarantees of individual liberties and of equal protection under the law.

Under the authority of existing law, the Executive branch is taking every possible action to improve the enforcement of the civil rights statutes and to eliminate discrimination in Federal employment, in providing Federal services and facilities, and in the armed forces.

I have already referred to the establishment of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. The Federal Bureau of Investigation will work closely with this new Division in the investigation of Federal civil rights cases. Specialized training is being given to the Bureau's agents so that they may render more effective service in this difficult field of law enforcement.

It is the settled policy of the United States Government that there shall be no discrimination in Federal employment or in providing Federal services and facilities. Steady progress has been made toward this objective in recent years. I shall shortly issue an Executive Order containing a comprehensive restatement of the Federal non-discrimination policy, together with appropriate measures to ensure compliance.

During the recent war and in the years since its close we have made much progress

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toward equality of opportunity in our armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. I have instructed the Secretary of Defense to take steps to have the remaining instances of discrimination in the armed services eliminated as rapidly as possible. The personnel policies and practices of all the services in this regard will be made consistent.

I have instructed the Secretary of the Army to investigate the status of civil rights in the Panama Canal Zone with a view to eliminating such discrimination as may exist there. If legislation is necessary, I shall make appropriate recommendations to the Congress.

The position of the United States in the world today makes it especially urgent that we adopt these measures to secure for all our people their essential rights.

The peoples of the world are faced with the choice of freedom or enslavement, a choice between a form of government which harnesses the state in the service of the individual and a form of government which chains the individual to the needs of the state.

We in the United States are working in company with other nations who share our desire for enduring world peace and who believe with us that, above all else, men must be free. We are striving to build a world family of nations—a world where men may live under governments of their own choosing and under laws of their own making.

As a part of that endeavor, the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations is now engaged in preparing an international bill of human rights by which the nations of the world may bind themselves by international covenant to give effect to basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. We have played a leading role in this undertaking designed to create a world order of law and justice fully protective of the rights and the dignity of the individual.

To be effective in those efforts, we must protect our civil rights so that by providing all our people with the maximum enjoyment of personal freedom and personal opportunity we shall be a stronger nation—stronger in our leadership, stronger in our moral position, stronger in the deeper satisfactions of a united citizenry.

We know that our democracy is not perfect. But we do know that it offers a fuller, freer, happier life to our people than any totalitarian nation has ever offered.

If we wish to inspire the peoples of the world whose freedom is in jeopardy, if we wish to restore hope to those who have already lost their civil liberties, if we wish to fulfill the promise that is ours, we must correct the remaining imperfections in our practice of democracy.

We know the way. We need only the will.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The President's Committee on Civil Rights was established on December 5, 1946, by Executive Order 9808 (3 CFR, 1943–1948 Comp., p. 590). The Committee's report, entitled "To Secure These Rights," was made public October 29, 1947 (Government Printing Office, 178 pp.)

On July 2, 1948, the President signed a bill in response to his request for legislation dealing with evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans (62 Stat. 1231). On July 26 he issued Executive Order 9980 relating to fair employment practices in the Federal service, and Executive Order 9981 establishing the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services (3 CFR, 1943–1948 Comp., pp. 720, 722).

21 The President's News Conference of *February* 5, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. I have no special announcements to make this morning. If you want to ask some questions, I will try to answer them.

[1.] Q. Mr. President, what do you think of the reaction of some of your southern Democratic colleagues to your civil rights program?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment on that. The comments are being made in the press itself and over the radio. I have no comment.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, there has been quite a bit of inconclusive talk about a back balcony campaign, and just this last week there is some talk about an itinerary. I wonder if it's time to ask the——

THE PRESIDENT. They are both—I say they are both without foundation.

Q. I wonder if it's time to ask the jackpot question——

THE PRESIDENT. No, it isn't. [*Laughter*] You wouldn't get an answer.

Q. ——if you choose to run in '48?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I can't answer the jackpot question this morning.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, at this moment the Attorney General is discussing new laws with the House Un-American Activities Committee, and I wonder whether, in drawing up the message on civil rights, whether the White House considered protection of Americans against smearing and things of that sort that have been talked about commonly in some committees in Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. The Constitution, containing the Bill of Rights, was the only document considered in the writing of that message.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, have you considered appointing Mr. Pauley to the Munitions Board?

THE PRESIDENT. Which Mr. Pauley?

Q. Ed Pauley.

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have not.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, it has been suggested by several groups here that the Belasco Theatre be made available for theatrical productions in Washington on a nondiscriminatory basis. Have you given any thought to that?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I have.

Q. Will you tell us what——

THE PRESIDENT. No, I cannot. The Treasury is using it for a storehouse now. We haven't got any place to store the documents that are in there.

Q. If it should become available, would you favor——

THE PRESIDENT. I will discuss that question if, as, and when it becomes available.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, what do you think the proposed cut in your budget would do to it? The House and Senate subcommittee has recommended lopping $2½ billion off of it.

THE PRESIDENT. It seems to me that I heard a question like that last year, about what they were going to do to my budget. I asked for an expenditure of—I asked for an authorization for 37,500 millions, and then when the budget was finally wound up, it ended up with 37,700 million, which showed that it was a tight, well-organized budget. This budget is exactly the same sort. And it's the same line of conversation we had last year, and it will get nowhere exactly.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, there has been some talk about a southerner on the ticket for Vice President. Will you be in favor of that?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't discussed it with anybody.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, getting back to

this talk of an itinerary, you—— [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well now, you can't seem to get it off your mind. I will tell you what happened. I have countless invitations for appearances at various meetings in nearly every State in the Union. Every President has that. And the ones that we were discussing as to whether I should make an appearance were not political gatherings at all. And it was—no decision was reached as to whether I should appear at any of them or not. I have got more than I can do sitting right here at this desk, but sometimes we need a change of scenery, and the newspapermen need a ride—[*Laughter*]—so we have a party of that sort, once in a while.

Q. Mr. President, we are not going to have a revival of inspection trips, are we?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, there's nothing to inspect right now. If a war was going on and we needed inspection trips, we would take them. I took many a one during the war. I think I traveled one hundred thousand miles on inspection trips during the war, and they were necessary.

Q. But you are considering a number of actual speeches?

THE PRESIDENT. I always consider invitations when they are sent to me in good faith.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, during the past week, two individuals, one the State Democratic Chairman from New Hampshire and another Democratic leader from Massachusetts, I believe, have announced that they were to go back to their States and—well, first get a strong delegation for you in the New Hampshire primary, and the other person is going to announce—to run as delegate for you at the July convention. They said they had authorization from you to make those announcements.

THE PRESIDENT. Every American has a right to do as he pleases in a political campaign. The matter was not discussed with me.

Q. Mr. President, would you be available for a draft by the Democratic Party?

THE PRESIDENT. We will discuss that when it appears. [*Laughter*]

Q. Discuss that when what, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. When it appears. That is another if, as, and when problem.

Q. Will you support the party nominee? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly. I always have.

Q. Well, Mr. President, when we had Senator McGrath on the "Meet the Press," he slipped up and said that he was going to reelect Mr. Truman. We said how did he know, and he said he had a hunch.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that was a good hunch, I think.

Q. You have a hunch?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no hunches. [*Laughter*]

Q. You have no hunches?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no hunches.

Q. But his hunch is a good one?

THE PRESIDENT. It could be. [*Laughter*]

[10.] Q. Mr. President, what is your comment on the tax vote in the House—tax reduction bill——

THE PRESIDENT. I will answer that when the bill comes before me for consideration.

[11.] Q. What do you think about the behavior of the commodity and stock markets?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know enough about the situation, only just what I read in the papers. I can't make any comment on that at the present time.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, are you still hopeful for meat control or rationing of any sort?

THE PRESIDENT. I am still in the same frame of mind that I was when I sent the

anti-inflationary recommendations to the Congress. I feel just as I did at that time. That was in the message of November 17.[1]

Q. As to the necessity?

THE PRESIDENT. As to the absolute necessity. I think it's shown that—if you are interested in the situation, I have here a new—I just happened to get from the Budget a new table on the situation—[*showing them*]—which goes to show what has happened since that message went down. That message went down about—at this point here—[*indicating*]—and you see now they have had to put another block on this thing here, in order to get to the top.

Q. Is that on the price rise?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, that's the price rise. Notice, since they weakened rent control, what's happening to the rents. They have started on the same sort of a spiral that the rest of these things have taken, after controls were taken off.

Q. What are those lines, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. This black line here is on commodities. The dotted line is food, and the other is clothing. It is a most interesting study. Every month I get a rehash of this price situation, and it really is alarming.

Q. Mr. President, did the Budget Bureau put that out?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Yes. They prepared this for me in the Bureau—in conjunction with other bureaus interested in the question.

Q. Mr. President, the purpose of that chart shows, does it not, sir, that all prices—cost of living prices—have gone up since your message. Is that correct?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Yes. Very definitely.

Q. Is that food, clothing, and commodities?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, everything. Sure enough.

Q. Mr. President, does it show an increase in incomes, too?

THE PRESIDENT. No, this does not have anything to do with incomes. It is—I spoke of income, if you remember, in the Message on the State of the Union. The suggestion was made in the Budget Message on skimming off some of that cream at the top in profits.

Q. Are you going to make any new appeals to Congress on imposing price controls?

THE PRESIDENT. I am going to keep telling Congress just what the situation is, and the Congress will have to act itself. They have this information the same as I have. They know what is going on.

Q. Mr. President, the continuing argument against price control and rationing is that it will—kills production. Have you——

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think—I think that is a bad approach to the thing, because it didn't happen. It didn't happen when we had price control. Production was ample under price control to meet the situation. And I think that if we don't find some way to stop this awful spiral with which we are faced, we will go to the logical conclusion, which is to come down in a crash; and that we don't want to see.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, the British have been asked for no more wage increases or profits increases unless there are corresponding increases in production. Does that seem a good way to meet inflation?

THE PRESIDENT. I think if you will read my anti-inflation message of November 17, it will—your question will be answered.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, do you see merit in Henry Wallace's suggestion that all presidential candidates disavow support of par-

[1] See 1947 volume, this series, Item 224.

ties or individuals who advocate violent overthrow of the Government, or who advocate white supremacy?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment to make on that question.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You're welcome.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and thirty-sixth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 10:35 a.m. on Thursday, February 5, 1948.

22 Statement by the President on Cardiovascular Diseases. *February 7, 1948*

AMERICA'S first line of defense, the health of its citizens, is challenged by a formidable enemy which literally strikes a deadly blow at our national life. I have seen reports stating that diseases of the heart and blood vessels constitute the most frequent cause of death. One out of every three deaths in the United States is caused by them; indeed, deaths from cardiovascular disease are greater than the total resulting from the next five leading causes combined.

Heart disease is also a major cause of disability, and the resulting economic loss in manpower and productivity is appalling.

Contrary to popular belief, the effects of this group of diseases are not limited to the older age groups in our population. This ruthless killer, in the form of rheumatic fever and rheumatic heart disease, I am informed, kills more school children than any other one disease. It is the leading fatal illness between the ages of 5 and 19. In middle life, high blood pressure and the heart disease associated with it is a major cause of death. Coronary thrombosis frequently attacks those in their prime, at the peak of their productivity.

Heart disease seriously handicapped our Nation during the recent war effort, since it was one of the major causes of rejection of candidates for military service. Records show that among those who were admitted to the armed forces, approximately 40,000 were disabled from rheumatic fever and rheumatic heart disease.

Research on diseases of the heart and blood vessels is a most urgent need. Because of inadequate financial support, research in this field has lagged far behind the minimum necessary to enable the medical profession to deal effectively with these diseases. It has been recently estimated that only seven cents per death is being spent at the present time for research in the diseases of the heart and blood vessels. This was pointed out by the President's Scientific Research Board in Volume 5 of "Science and Public Policy" in which it was stated "Perhaps the most striking thing . . . is . . . the relatively low place of cardiovascular and kidney diseases in research and their high place as causes of death."

The medical profession alone cannot succeed in fighting this menace without the fullest cooperation of the general public. I call upon every citizen to realize and exercise his personal obligation in this vital public health effort. The duty of each American is to cooperate with his physician in protecting his health and that of his family, and to cooperate with his neighbor in supporting community efforts directed against this enemy of the people.

NOTE: Volume 5 of the report "Science and Public Policy" by the President's Scientific Research Board, entitled "The Nation's Medical Research," is dated October 18, 1947 (Government Printing Office, 118 pp.). For the President's statement making public the report, see 1947 volume, this series, Item 211.

23 Special Message to the Congress Requesting Extension of Certain Wartime Controls. *February 9, 1948*

To the Congress of the United States:

Last July, the Congress enacted the Second Decontrol Act of 1947 which extended certain limited wartime economic controls over key materials and facilities still in short supply as a result of the war. Specifically, it authorized distribution and use controls over tin and tin products, antimony, and cinchona bark, quinine and quinidine; import controls over fats and oils, rice and rice products, nitrogen fertilizer and pig tin; the power of granting priorities assistance under certain specified conditions where the prompt export of a material is clearly advantageous to the national interest; rail transportation controls; and export controls.

This Act expires on February 29, 1948. The export controls and rail transportation controls have already been extended for one year. I have already recommended, as a part of the broader allocation powers contained in the anti-inflation program submitted to the Congress on November 17, 1947, the enactment of provisions which will include the continuance of the other controls provided by the Second Decontrol Act.

It appears unlikely that a decision will be reached by February 29 on the broader aspects of this program. In the meantime, these limited controls over a few vital commodities, which are essential to the protection of our domestic economy and the carrying out of our international responsibilities, must not be permitted to lapse by default.

In extending these powers last July the Congress recognized that controls were still needed because of the continued world-wide shortage of many critical materials. This need has not diminished. On the contrary, supply shortages for some commodities in the coming year are expected to be as acute as at any time since the end of the war. This is particularly true in the case of some commodities for which we are heavily dependent upon foreign sources of supply not yet recovered from the war.

As required by the Second Decontrol Act, the Secretary of Commerce has already submitted to the Congress two quarterly reports describing operations under the Act, the policy framework under which controls are being administered, and the results which have been obtained by the actions taken. As provided by the Act, these reports contain specific recommendations as to whether or not these controls should be continued in effect, with a full statement of the considerations underlying these recommendations. The second report, dated January 30, 1948, recommends the continuation of all of these powers except the power to allocate quinine, which is no longer needed.

Some of the serious consequences which would result if these powers are not extended beyond February 29, 1948, are as follows:

1. The international arrangements under which the United States secures an equitable share of the world tin supplies would be disrupted, and it would be impossible to assure that an adequate supply of tin would be available in the United States for essential purposes, such as food preservation.

2. Our efforts to add to a stock pile of tin in the United States and to conserve tin for this purpose would be seriously handicapped.

3. It would be impossible to carry out the international allocations of fats and oils, rice and rice products, and nitrogenous fertilizer, planned on a cooperative basis by the Inter-

national Emergency Food Council, a United Nations body. Failure to meet these planned allocations would injure the economies of foreign countries and seriously hamper the attainment of United States foreign policy objectives.

4. It would be impossible to assure the export of minimum quantities of tinplate and nitrogenous fertilizer urgently needed abroad to increase food production and to prevent food from going to waste. The inevitable result would be greater suffering abroad and larger foreign requirements for basic foods grown in the United States.

I cannot believe that the Congress wishes to bring about the confusion both at home and abroad which would result from the expiration of these powers at this time. I, therefore, urge that prompt action be taken to continue the powers contained in the Second Decontrol Act of 1947 which are now scheduled to expire on February 29, 1948.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: On February 28 and June 4, 1948, the President approved bills "to continue for a temporary period certain powers, authority, and discretion conferred on the President by the Second Decontrol Act of 1947" (62 Stat. 58 and 342).

24 Special Message to the Congress on Highway Construction. *February* 9, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

The roads of this country have been improved tremendously in the past thirty years. Over the years we have developed an increasingly efficient highway network. This has been made possible by active cooperation between the states and the Federal government.

In this partnership the Federal government has contributed part of the funds, extensive technical assistance, and the means for unifying the state systems into a national network. The states and local subdivisions also have contributed funds, and have been primarily responsible for planning and actual construction. Working together, the Federal, State and local governments have developed the most efficient and extensive road system in the world.

Successive Congressional enactments were directed first toward improving rural roads and inter-city highways. More recently, a start has been made toward improving also the through highways in our cities. Today Federal aid is helping to develop an integrated traffic network to meet national, state and important local needs.

It is necessary for the Congress to consider new highway legislation during the present session because the existing authorization will be substantially committed by December 31, 1948. While construction under these commitments will be continuing for at least two years thereafter, it is necessary at this time to extend the authorization in order that the States may have adequate opportunity for the orderly development of further construction programs.

In recent years, our highway construction has not kept pace with the growth in traffic. When the war came, we sharply curtailed the highway building program, limiting ourselves to a minimum program of repair and permitting improvement and new construction only where urgently necessary for war purposes. After the war ended, construction was necessarily delayed still further as a result of shortages of material and high costs.

On the other hand, the volume of business

in the United States has grown more than 50 per cent since 1940. This is reflected in the fact that we are now using one-third more trucks which are carrying heavier loads and travelling more miles. There are also about one million more automobiles in use now than there were in 1941, despite the fact that the production of automobiles for civilian use was discontinued during the war. In all there are nearly three million more vehicles on the road than before the war.

By any reasonable standard our highways are inadequate for today's demands. Future demands will inevitably be greater as business traffic continues to expand, as our population grows, and as we build roads to reach needed resources now relatively inaccessible. Furthermore, we must reconstruct important stretches of road which were not built to carry heavy traffic safely and at reasonable speed. Modern automobiles, heavier trucks, greater pleasure and commercial travel all increase the need to improve our highways as a means of lowering the present shocking total of highway accidents.

To build the highways that will meet these needs will require continuous effort over a long period of time and on an extensive scale. For the immediate future, we must limit expenditures to avoid excessive costs resulting from over-taxing the capacity of the construction industry and to avoid inflationary pressure on the national economy. But we can and must continue to rebuild and modernize our highways where their present obsolescence results in excessive safety hazards and wasteful maintenance costs, and where present traffic capacity is most seriously inadequate.

Taking all of these factors into account, I recommend that the Congress enact legislation at this session continuing the Federal aid highway program for the fiscal years 1950 and 1951 at an annual rate of $500 million. Under the provisions of the basic highway law, the funds for the first of these fiscal years would become available for commitment not later than January 1, 1949. I have asked the Administrator of the Federal Works Agency to submit to the appropriate committees of the Congress proposed legislation to this end. The same legislation should continue the authorization for direct Federal construction of roads in public land areas, such as the National forests, National parks and Indian reservations, in an annual amount of $71 million.

Enactment of legislation at this session will permit continuity in planning and construction. Most of the State legislatures meet early in 1949. The States need a firm basis of Federal action in advance in order to determine the engineering and budgetary aspects of the State highway programs.

The program I am recommending now is a conservative one, necessary to maintain prudently our investment in highways. When conditions permit in the future, we should plan to accelerate our progress toward a highway system adequate to carry our expanding agricultural and business traffic, to accommodate with safety and speed the personal travel of our people, and to meet the needs of our national security.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: On June 29, 1948, the President approved the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1948 (62 Stat. 1105).

26-679—64——12

25 Veto of Bill for the Disposal of Submarginal Lands Within Indian Reservations. *February* 10, 1948

To the House of Representatives:

I return herewith without my approval H.R. 3153, "To provide for the sale or other disposal of certain submarginal lands located within the boundaries of Indian reservations in the States of Montana, North Dakota and South Dakota."

During the drought period of 1932 to 1938 the United States acquired in the drought areas, out of funds appropriated under the statutes referred to in H.R. 3153, approximately 10,000,000 acres of submarginal lands, much of which is suited only for carefully limited and controlled grazing use. Of the submarginal lands so acquired in the States of Montana, North Dakota and South Dakota, approximately 245,000 acres were in 1938 and 1939 placed by Executive Order under the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior in order to facilitate their use for the benefit of the Indian tribes occupying reservations in the same localities. The underlying purpose of H.R. 3153 appears to be that of making provision by law for the permanent disposition of these lands, through the transfer to Indian tribal ownership of those lands needed for and adapted to Indian grazing use, through the transfer to individual Indians of those lands needed for and adapted to Indian agricultural use, and through the transfer to individual veterans of the other agricultural or grazing lands upon appropriate conditions as to price and future use. While this underlying purpose is sound, the manner in which the bill attempts to provide for its accomplishment seems to me to be altogether unsound from several aspects.

First, the bill would grant to local disposal committees absolute authority, not merely to determine factual matters, but also to decide the entire policy question of how these submarginal lands should be disposed of, without any effective guidance in the form of statutory standards to channel and control the discretion of their members. Nor does the bill provide any means whereby the decisions of the local disposal committees may be reviewed. On the contrary, it expressly directs the Secretary of the Interior "to make such transfers of title as shall carry out the recommendations of the committee."

I cannot consider this a sound method of legislation. Local boards, having no real responsibility to either the legislative or the executive branch of the Government, should not be granted the authority to dispose of large tracts of land belonging to the United States, merely in accordance with their own opinions as to what would be the best manner of disposing of these lands. Yet this is what the bill would do. Local committees may serve a helpful purpose in the classification of lands for disposal, but certainly adequate standards to govern their actions should be prescribed by law, and adequate means for the review of their determinations should be provided. Yet this is what the bill does not do. Such broad policy issues as whether in a semi-arid country grazing land should be disposed of in the same manner as agricultural land, or whether individual applicants for grants of land should be required to pay or not to pay for the lands they receive, ought not to be left to the untrammeled and unreviewable judgment of local boards. Under the bill it would be possible for each local committee to decide these policy issues for itself, with the result that contradictory policies might be established for neighboring areas.

Second, H.R. 3153 would permit the disposition of the lands affected by its provisions in ways that would be decidedly con-

trary to the public interest. The primary purpose of the acquisition of these lands was to prevent over-grazing and other land use practices which had so accelerated the wind and water erosion of the soil in many drought areas as to produce dust-bowl conditions. A second purpose of their acquisition was the relief of the agricultural poverty which had been brought about through the subdivision of lands best adapted for grazing use into farm units far too small to support the families then attempting to draw a living from these lands. Notwithstanding the large expenditures made for the purchase of submarginal lands in order to prevent the recurrence of these conditions, H.R. 3153 would permit some of these lands to be returned to private ownership without any safeguards whatsoever against their use in ways that would tend to produce dust-bowl conditions and agricultural poverty.

Lands which should be retained permanently under Federal supervision could be given or sold by the local disposal committees to private individuals, and lands which can be economically used only under carefully worked out conservation programs might be disposed of without the imposition of necessary safeguards against mal-use and deterioration. The inevitable tendency would be to invite the plowing of lands which should be used only for grazing, the destruction of grass through over-grazing, and the resumption of other bad land-use practices. Such practices would, in turn, tend to produce the same conditions of soil depletion and accelerated erosion, and the same subdivision of ranch lands into unstable farm units, which were basic causes of the agricultural distress that beset the people of Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota, as well as of other States, during the period immediately prior to the acquisition of the submarginal lands.

We cannot prevent the recurrence of drought cycles, but we should not disregard their lessons. We should not reverse, even to the limited extent inherent in H.R. 3153, the policy of protecting submarginal lands against abuse, born out of the experience of the last great drought cycle, merely because a wet cycle has intervened. To do so, would be to throw away the money spent for the acquisition of the submarginal lands, and to intensify agricultural distress whenever drought reappears.

Third, H.R. 3153 substantially disregards the very real equity which the Indians of the localities where the submarginal lands are situated have in their continued utilization as a part of the otherwise sorely deficient land base of these Indians. While it is true that under the broad discretion conferred on the local disposal committees by the terms of the bill every single acre of these lands could be placed in Indian tribal ownership, it is also true that under the same broad discretion most, if not all, of the tracts involved could be granted by the local committees to non-Indians.

When the submarginal lands affected by H.R. 3153 were acquired, it was definitely contemplated that they would be used to assist the neighboring Indian tribes in consolidating their scattered land holdings, in creating economic range units which would support Indian families, in developing conservational land-use practices, and in establishing a better pattern of Indian land ownership and use. To this end, the Secretary of the Interior in 1938 and 1939 was directed to administer the lands for the benefit of the Indians, insofar as consistent with the uses for which the lands had been acquired. Since that time the Secretary, in cooperation with the tribes concerned, has developed and put into effect programs for the improvement of the Indian economy to which continued Indian use of at least large parts of the submarginal lands is essential. These

programs, and the legitimate Indian aspirations founded upon them, would be frustrated by many of the dispositions which could be accomplished under the terms of the bill. To cite but one example, many existing Indian range units are composed in part of Indian-owned lands and in part of Federally-owned submarginal lands, and in those units the Indian-owned home properties frequently could not be operated except in conjunction with the submarginal lands upon which they are dependent. The bill provides no safeguards for the protection of these established operations other than the judgment of the local disposal committees.

Thus, H.R. 3153 would open the door to disruption of the Indian economy built up, at no little labor and expense, in reliance upon the continued availability for Indian use of many of the areas covered by the bill. In addition, it would deny the Indians any immediate recompense for this disruption, since it provides that any receipts from the use or sale of the submarginal lands shall be deposited in the Federal Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

Fourth, a detailed examination of the bill reveals that a number of its provisions are either ambiguous or impracticable. For example, reference is made at various places to "the county in which the major portion of the Indian reservation lies." This reference does not fit several of the reservations involved which are so divided by county lines that no one county contains "the major portion" of the reservation.

For these reasons, I am constrained to withhold my approval from H.R. 3153.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

26 The President's News Conference of *February* 12, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. I have a few announcements to make.

[1.] Paul R. Rowen of Boston will be appointed to the Securities and Exchange Commission. He will fill the vacancy resulting from the resignation of James J. Caffrey, December 31. Rowen is a Government service career man since 1924. He has served in the various departments. Has had more than 9½ years' experience with SEC. Since November 1941 he has been Regional Administrator of the SEC for New England.

[2.] I am nominating John Thad Scott, Jr., of Texas, to be a member of the National Mediation Board, for the term expiring February 1st, 1951.

Q. Just a minute—be a member of what, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. The National Mediation Board.

Q. That term again, please, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Expires February 1st, 1951.

[3.] And I have a statement I want to read to you about the Treasury's bond drive: "The Treasury Department's plans for an intensified campaign for the sale of savings bonds have my complete support.

"In response to the widespread feeling of retailers, bankers, farm leaders, industrialists, heads of organized labor, and citizens, generally, in all walks of life that the savings bonds program can serve the Nation in peace as it did during the war, a special sales drive will begin April 15 and continue through June 30. It will be known as the Security Loan.

"I call upon Americans to participate in this Security Loan in every way possible, whether through the purchase of more sav-

ings bonds or by serving as volunteer bond sellers or both. I hope that several million men and women will become volunteers in selling bonds to their friends and neighbors—selling them from door to door, office to office, bench to bench. It was this sort of bond selling during wartime that helped forge the home front unity without which victory on the fighting fronts might not have been achieved. The same sort of effort is needed now.

"I said November 17 in my special message to Congress,[1] and I reiterate, that every dollar saved instead of spent is a dollar fighting against inflation.

"The Security Loan appeals to me as a family campaign. Every family should be a Security Loan team, contributing its maximum. This will safeguard the Nation's economic strength."

Q. What goal are they shooting at, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. The Treasury will announce that.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, does this mean that Mr. Rowen will be Chairman of the SEC?

THE PRESIDENT. No. The SEC elects its own Chairman. That is one of the few——

Q. How does he spell his own name?

THE PRESIDENT. R-o-w-a-n, I believe—wait, I'll look. R-o-w-*e*-n—Paul R. Rowen—*e*-n—from Boston.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, what about the CAB? There is a report today that Mr. Harold Jones of Pasadena, Calif., an attorney, is being considered for that job?

THE PRESIDENT. I will make an announcement on that as soon as I am ready. I can't make it today.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, is there any action in regard to the CAA Administrator's resignation—some speculation——

THE PRESIDENT. No. Action has not been taken. His date of leaving is some time in the future. Trying to have it worked out before he leaves.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, have you instructed Secretary Krug to the effect that if the Congress passes the enabling legislation the Interior Department will take over the administration of the Pacific areas of Guam, Samoa——

THE PRESIDENT. I can answer that better as soon as the legislation becomes effective. Then we'll see what the proper action is to take. The matter is pending in the Congress now.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, in view of your vigorous denunciation last June of section 304 of the Taft-Hartley law under which, or for violations of which, Mr. Philip Murray of the CIO was indicted yesterday, do you care to comment today on that indictment?

THE PRESIDENT. The only comment I have to make is the same comment that I made when the law became effective over the veto, that I am here to enforce the law, and it will be enforced. My comments you refer to are just as vigorous and in the same mood as I was then.

Q. May I ask, Mr. President, whether the White House communicated with the Justice Department during the time that investigation was going on?

THE PRESIDENT. The White House has not communicated. I only know what I saw in the paper. But the Justice Department is doing its duty—as set out in the law, as it always does.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, is there anything you can say now about this general controversy about the Palestine partition plan——

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have no comment.

Q. ——as to whether there is any disposition to soften that at all?

[1] See 1947 volume, this series, Item 224.

THE PRESIDENT. The United States Government is supporting the United Nations. That is as far as I can go.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, would you consider the bond drive is directed against inflation?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Q. Does that mean that the administration feels that that is a major economic problem at the present time, and not deflation?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Q. Do you think it is as large a problem, Mr. President, as it was last week?

THE PRESIDENT. I can answer that a little later on. Can't tell what the final report on this situation is, and I can't comment on that until I know more about it. We are keeping tab on the thing, and all the agencies of the Government are working on just what the situation means, and you will be informed as soon as I am ready to make a decision on it.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, do you feel that the recent recession in commodity prices has in any way answered your request to the Congress for your 10-point program of price and inflation control?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not. I do not. It hasn't affected that at all. Those were standby controls that were asked for.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, do you plan conferences with these southern leaders on the civil rights program?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I do not.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, do you think the recent turndown in food commodities is a step in the right direction?

THE PRESIDENT. Of course it is.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, Senator Scott Lucas is quoted as saying that the recession in commodity prices will force a tax cut this year, and on the contrary your economic advisers were quoted this morning as saying that they were going to recommend a very broad tax cut. Any comment?

THE PRESIDENT. Can't comment because I haven't talked to either one of those gentlemen.

Q. Do you think your $40 cut is still feasible?

THE PRESIDENT. I do. I certainly do.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, are you still hopeful that the Congress will take favorable action on your 10-point program?

THE PRESIDENT. I am. And I shall be hopeful until the Congress adjourns. [*Laughter*]

[16.] Q. Mr. President, has any decision been reached by the administration on meat reached by the administration on meat rationing, as to whether it is going to be necessary?

THE PRESIDENT. No. The 10-point program covered that situation.

Q. That was standby authority though?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Q. You said it still is as much a major threat today as it was a week ago?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is.

Q. To recapitulate, you do not think then, sir, that the drop in commodity prices has lessened the——

THE PRESIDENT. Now, you needn't put what I think into the question, because I can't answer it.

Q. I was trying to clear up my own mind——

THE PRESIDENT. All right then, ask it, and see if I can answer it or not.

Q. Do you feel that the danger of inflation is still a major economic threat, despite the recent break in commodity prices?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I do.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, would you comment on your reasons for visiting Puerto Rico?

THE PRESIDENT. Because I have been—several times in the past have attempted to make a visit to Puerto Rico and did not manage to get there. When a native Puerto

Rican was made Governor of Puerto Rico[1] by this administration, I was anxious to pay him a visit, and see just how the Puerto Ricans are getting along. And I understand that he has made a great Governor.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, do you feel that the Fine Arts Commission sort of misled you on the question of approving the balcony?

THE PRESIDENT. I told you some time past that I would give you a lecture on architecture and the balcony, and I will do that at a later date. [*Laughter*]

[19.] Q. Mr. President, do you know that Captain Gaston is now proposing that you have a goat farm in this yard out here?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that wouldn't be anything new. They used to have cows, pigs, and chickens in that yard. It isn't necessary nowadays.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, there is still a question sort of up in the air, out of this balcony affair, and that is whether the south side of the White House is now the front, or whether the north side is the front?

THE PRESIDENT. Well now, you will have to make up your own mind on that. Andrew Jackson had a fuss with the same Fine Arts Commission on putting a porch on the north side up, at that time.

Q. The south is the front?

THE PRESIDENT. The south is still the front.

Q. The south is still the front, officially?

Q. Mr. President, I didn't mean to bring up the balcony—[*laughter*]—but General Eisenhower says that his idea of retirement was to put a chair on the porch and sit still for 6 months, and then begin to rock slowly. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. That's what General Eisenhower told you, but I don't think General Eisenhower or anybody else can do it that has ever been in public life.

Q. Mr. President, you have no retirement plan involving a porch?

THE PRESIDENT. No—[*laughter*]—not on *this* porch.

Q. This is not a practice porch?

THE PRESIDENT. No. No, it is not.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You're welcome.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and thirty-seventh news conference was held in his office at the White House at 4 p.m. on Thursday, February 12, 1948.

27 Statement by the President Upon Appointing Members of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific Research and Development. *February* 14, 1948

THE RELATIONSHIP of the Federal research program to our national welfare and the money spent annually for research by the Government make the establishment of this Committee a matter of national importance.

The Committee will recommend to the President, and to the heads of the Federal agencies concerned, steps to make research and development programs most effective in the promotion of the national welfare. Among the specific assignments of the Committee will be a study of changes in the administrative policies and procedures to increase the efficiency of the Federal research and development programs.

The Committee has also been asked to report upon current policies and administrative practices relating to Federal support for

[1] Governor Jesús T. Piñero of Puerto Rico.

research such as grants and contracts for basic research.

In carrying on its functions, the Committee has been asked to obtain the advice of persons outside the Federal Government and to propose means by which information relating to the status and results of scientific research undertaken by the Federal agencies can be most effectively disseminated.

NOTE: The statement was issued as part of a White House release announcing that the President had appointed Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, as chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee, and Dr. Thomas B. Nolan, Assistant Director of the Geological Survey, as vice chairman. The release also listed the names of the twelve other members.

The Committee was established by Executive Order 9912 of December 24, 1947 (3 CFR, 1943–1948 Comp., p. 676).

28 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Second Report on Assistance to Greece and Turkey. *February* 16, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 75 (80th Congress, 1st session, 61 Stat. 103), I submit herewith the second quarterly report on aid to Greece and Turkey, covering the period from the inception of the program to December 31, 1947.

Since the last report submitted November 7, 1947, Greece has been subjected to ever-increasing pressure by the Communist minority, which, subservient to the foreign influences from which it draws support, would impose its will on the Greek people by force of arms. It is significant that the guerrilla warfare is directed not against the Greek Army but against the people of Greece. The deliberate and wanton destruction of Greek villages does not result from military engagements. It is determined and ruthless destruction intended to render people homeless and drive them from the soil; to force them into overcrowded urban centers where they become charges of an already overburdened state; and to create for them conditions of misery and hardship in the hope that this will make them susceptible to political agitation.

These bands which traffic in human misery and chaos are small, too small to claim any truly representative character. They total about 20,000, of which a large proportion are known to have been unwillingly impressed into the guerrilla ranks under threat of death to themselves and their families. There are members of the United States Congress who visited Greece during the past few months who know what horrible reprisals are taken against those unwilling to fight for the Communist guerrillas.

This policy is sapping the economic strength of Greece at the same time that the American Mission for Aid to Greece is seeking to build it up through reconstruction and economic assistance. This is, of course, the intent of the guerrillas, for a healthy Greece on the road to economic recovery would not be receptive to Communist ideology. Economic conditions in Greece have suffered from the continued military strife which has swelled the number of refugees in the north of Greece to over 420,000 and caused a greater share of the Greek national budget and of American aid funds to be spent on nonproductive undertakings. Only the most strenuous and determined efforts of the Greek Government and people will suffice to cope successfully with the present situation.

The American Mission is doing all in its power to assist, and its accomplishments have been considerable. Owing to the Communist obstruction it is increasingly clear,

however, that economic recovery in Greece must await the establishment of internal security. Although economic programs most effective under the circumstances will continue to be actively prosecuted, the benefits from them can be fully realized only when the warfare against the guerrillas has been successfully concluded.

To aid the Greek Government in the prosecution of the warfare against the guerrillas, the American Mission at the close of the year transferred an additional $14,000,000 of aid funds from the economic to the military program, making a total allocation to the military of about $172,000,000. These additional funds will be used to support the formation of an additional 58 National Defense Corps battalions, making a total of 100 as requested by the Greek Government; these battalions will take over the task of protecting the villages of the provinces from which they are recruited, thereby freeing the Greek National Army to conduct a more offensive warfare. If the guerrilla menace should increase as a result of greater outside assistance, a new situation would be created which would have to be dealt with in the light of circumstances prevailing at that time.

While recent developments are adverse, in that they have lengthened the time necessary for Greece's ultimate recovery, the situation is not without encouragement. Greece is still a free country. The recent anonuncement of a "government" by the Communist guerrillas, who do not effectively control territory in which to exercise any of the functions of government, appears to have been an act of desperation and not of strength. The transparent device of declaring the "free government" has not materially changed the existing situation, except to reveal more clearly to the Greeks and to the world the true character of Greece's enemy. The United States Government has already made known its view that recognition of this group by other governments would have serious implications and would be clearly contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter. The special United Nations Balkan Commission has passed a resolution that in its view any such recognition would constitute a threat to the peace.

I am pleased to be able to report that the Turkish aid program is proceeding in an orderly manner. Careful planning and procurement are now resulting in deliveries which can be expected to flow at a fairly uniform rate.

Continued economic assistance to Greece will be provided under the European Recovery Program, if that program is authorized by the Congress. The European Recovery Program will not provide, however, for any additional military assistance required for Greece and Turkey, which will, at the appropriate time, be sought from the Congress under Public Law 75.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The report is printed in House Document 534 (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

29 Special Message to the Senate Transmitting the International Telecommunication Convention. *February* 17, 1948

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a copy of each of the following instruments signed in the English and French languages at Atlantic City on October 2, 1947 by delegates of the United States of America and by delegates of certain other

countries represented at the International Telecommunication Conference and the International Radio Conference, Atlantic City, 1947:

(1) international telecommunication convention, with annexes;

(2) final protocol to the convention; and

(3) radio regulations annexed to the convention, with appendices.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report which the Secretary of State has addressed to me in regard to this matter, together with (1) the volume, enclosed therewith, containing the texts of the instruments above-mentioned and of other acts of the Atlantic City conferences, and (2) an excerpt from the report of the delegations of the United States to those conferences.

In the event that the Senate advises and consents to ratification of the convention, final protocol, and radio regulations, it is requested that the Senate do so with the understanding that such ratification will be subject to the declarations which were made by the delegates of the United States in signing the convention and which are set forth in the final protocol to the convention, namely:

"Signature of this Convention for and in the name of the United States of America constitutes, in accordance with its constitutional processes, signature also on behalf of all territories of the United States of America.

"The United States of America formally declares that the United States of America does not, by signature of this Convention on its behalf, accept any obligation in respect of the Telegraph Regulations, the Telephone Regulations, or the Additional Radio Regulations referred to in Article 13 of the Atlantic City Convention."

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The convention was favorably considered by the Senate on June 2, 1948, and after ratification entered into force on January 1, 1949.

The convention and related documents are printed in Senate Executive B (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

30 Remarks at the Opening Session of the Women's Bureau Conference. *February* 17, 1948

Mr. Secretary, Miss Miller, and members of the Women's Bureau Conference:

It is certainly a pleasure for me to be over here this morning. When I told Admiral Leahy and the aides that I was coming over to address a conference of good-looking women, you should have seen them run to get into the car!

When Miss Miller opened her remarks, she started off by saying that you represented workers, homemakers, citizens. I want to reverse that order. I want to say homemakers, workers, citizens. If it were not for the homemakers, we would have neither the citizens nor the workers.

Not often is there a meeting in Washington of a body of women as widely representative in their interests as the group gathered here today. The occasion is an especially happy one for me because it permits me to speak of some of the things that are close to my heart and that I know are close to yours as well.

First, let me say how delighted I was to learn that the Department of Labor was planning this conference of women leaders to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention, where the movement for women's rights and women's social freedom was launched. I feel that I am

among friends of the most valued kind—those whose hearts and minds are devoted to making this country a better place to live in, for all our people. That is the true patriotism.

I am proud that under my administration women are serving in a number of positions of influence in international affairs. The speaker who will address you this evening, Dean C. Mildred Thompson of Vassar College, was twice governmental delegate to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. That is what UNESCO stands for. If anybody wants to take it down, they will know what UNESCO means now. Miss Dorothy Kenyon, a member of your Thursday morning panel, is the United States member on the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt heads the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. And I want to say to you she is doing a wonderful job. Mrs. Roosevelt has made a wonderful contribution to the welfare of this Nation since the President died. He is the only President I ever think of as President.

These outstanding women are your ambassadors to the international world; they are there because of the long, hard, devoted work of women like yourselves and those you represent. You women come from many walks of life; you have varying backgrounds and interests. But you have joined together—and this is the great contribution you are making—in giving form and substance to the social, political, and economic aspirations of our country.

You are all bringing your talents and experience to serve a common purpose—to carry out a program in which you could join together, sinking minor differences because of your vital common objectives. There should be monuments to the successes that have crowned these common efforts during the hundred years you are celebrating—successes like women's suffrage, social legislation, greater economic opportunities for women, the opening up of higher education to women, the successful battle for civil and political rights. We are working for those very same things for a large number of our population.

You have still before you many unfinished tasks. Not all of them can or need be enumerated here. You have been studying them and seeking remedies that will increase the dignity and usefulness of women in our society. These things cannot be accomplished all at once, or all by the same means. Some of them are now before the Congress, like equal pay for equal work, and the ending of specific discriminations against women, such as limitations on the right to serve on Federal juries. It is within your strength to accomplish these things in which you believe, but only if you make your goals known and persist in demanding action. There isn't a single man in Government can resist you, if you really want him to do so.

Women's organizations have at hand a ready weapon which they have not yet used to its full capacity—the power of the consumer. It has been said over and over again that women control the bulk of the Nation's wealth; they certainly channel its day-to-day spending for food, for clothing, for education, for all the things that make for better living. This is a weapon which you can use together to combat one of the enemies that now threaten us—the high cost of living. And I think you are having some effect on it right now.

Women have learned the arts of peace. They have discovered ways of making peace exciting and full of challenge. They know, better than men, that the war against poverty and fear and disease and hunger is the war to which we can, as yet, see no end. Even

in the United States, where the standard of living is higher than anywhere else in the world, much remains to be done.

It is your special responsibility to carry on this fight, to persuade the men to support you in it, so that the United States can push on toward the goal of a better life for all our people.

In this task I wish you all Godspeed.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:35 a.m. at the Departmental Auditorium in Washington. In his opening words he referred to Lewis B. Schwellenbach, Secretary of Labor; Frieda S. Miller, Director of the Women's Bureau, Department of Labor; and Fleet Adm. William D. Leahy, Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Armed Forces. Representatives of more than 100 civic and women's organizations attended the conference.

31 Special Message to the Congress on the Need for Assistance to China. *February* 18, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

On several occasions I have stated that a primary objective of the United States is to bring about, throughout the world, the conditions of a just and lasting peace. This is a cause to which the American people are deeply devoted.

Since V–J Day we have expended great effort and large sums of money on the relief and rehabilitation of war-torn countries to aid in restoring workable economic systems which are essential to the maintenance of peace. A principle which has guided our efforts to assist these war-torn countries has been that of helping their peoples to help themselves. The Congress is now giving careful consideration to a most vital and far-reaching proposal to further this purpose—the program for aid to European recovery.

I now request the Congress to consider the type of further assistance which this country should provide to China.

A genuine friendship has existed between the American people and the people of China over many years. This friendship has been accompanied by a long record of commercial and cultural association and close cooperation between our two countries. Americans have developed a deep respect for the Chinese people and sympathy for the many trials and difficulties which they have endured.

The United States has long recognized the importance of a stable Chinese nation to lasting peace in the Pacific and the entire world. The vast size and population of China make her an important factor in world affairs. China is a land with rich tradition and culture and a large and energetic population. It has always been our desire to see a strong progressive China making a full contribution to the strength of the family of nations.

With this end in view, we have supported the National Government of China since it first came to power 20 years ago. China and the United States were allies in the war against Japan and as an ally we supported China's valiant war efforts against the Japanese. Since the Japanese surrender we have provided a great deal of additional assistance. Military aid was given the Chinese Government not only to help defeat the Japanese invaders but also to assist in reoccupying Japanese-held areas. The United States contributed the major share of the extensive aid received by China under the program of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. We made available to the Chinese Government

at minimum cost large quantities of surplus goods and equipment of value to China's economy. We are currently extending further aid to China under our foreign relief program.

Nevertheless, the Chinese Government and people are still laboring under the double and interrelated burden of civil war and a rapidly deteriorating economy. The strains placed upon the country by eight years of war, and the Japanese occupation and blockade have been increased by internal strife at the very time that reconstruction efforts should be under way. The wartime damage to transport and productive facilities has been greatly accentuated by the continued obstruction and destruction of vital communications by the Communist forces.

The civil warfare has further impeded recovery by forcing upon the Government heavy expenditures which greatly exceed revenues. Continual issuances of currency to meet these expenditures have produced drastic inflation with its attendant disruption of normal commercial operations. Under these circumstances China's foreign exchange holdings have been so reduced that it will soon be impossible for China to meet the cost of essential imports. Without such imports, industrial activity would diminish and the rate of economic deterioration would be sharply increased.

The continued deterioration of the Chinese economy is a source of deep concern to the United States. Ever since the return of General Marshall from China, the problem of assistance to the Chinese has been under continuous study. We have hoped for conditions in China that would make possible the effective and constructive use of American assistance in reconstruction and rehabilitation. Conditions have not developed as we had hoped and we can only do what is feasible under circumstances as they exist.

We can assist in retarding the current economic deterioration and thus give the Chinese Government a further opportunity to initiate the measures necessary to the establishment of more stable economic conditions. But it is and has been clear that only the Chinese Government itself can undertake the vital measures necessary to provide the framework within which efforts toward peace and true economic recovery may be effective.

In determining the character and dimensions of the program which might be suited to this purpose, we have had to take into account a number of diverse and conflicting factors, including the other demands on our national resources at this time, the availability of specific commodities, the dimensions and complexities of the problems facing the Chinese Government, and the extent to which these problems could be promptly and effectively alleviated by foreign aid. United States assistance to China, like that provided to any other nation, must be adapted to its particular requirements and capacities.

In the light of these factors, I recommend that the Congress authorize a program for aid to China in the amount of $570 million to provide assistance until June 30, 1949.

The program should make provision for the financing, through loans or grants, of essential imports into China in the amount of $510 million. This estimate is based upon prices as of January 1, 1948, since it is impossible at present to predict what effect current price changes may have on the program. Revised dollar estimates can be presented in connection with the request for appropriations if necessary. The essential imports include cereals, cotton, petroleum, fertilizer, tobacco, pharmaceuticals, coal and repair parts for existing capital equipment. The quantities provided for under this program are within the limits of available supplies.

The financing of these essential commodity imports by the United States would permit the Chinese Government to devote its limited dollar resources to the most urgent of its other needs.

The program should also provide $60 million for a few selected reconstruction projects to be initiated prior to June 30, 1949. There is an urgent need for the restoration of essential transportation facilities, fuel and power operations, and export industries. This work could be undertaken in areas sheltered from military operations and could help in improving the supply and distribution of essential commodities.

As in the case of aid to European recovery, the conduct of this program of aid should be made subject to an agreement between China and the United States setting forth the conditions and procedures for administering the aid. The agreement should include assurances that the Chinese Government will take such economic, financial and other measures as are practicable, looking toward the ultimate goal of economic stability and recovery. The United States would, of course, reserve the right to terminate aid if it is determined that the assistance provided is not being handled in accordance with the agreement or that the policies of the Chinese Government are inconsistent with the objective of using the aid to help achieve a self-supporting economy.

Pending establishment of the agency which is to be set up for the administration of the European Recovery Program, the assistance to China should be carried forward under the existing machinery now administering the foreign relief programs. Legislation authorizing the Chinese program should make possible transfer of the administration of the Chinese program to the agency administering our aid to European recovery. The need for authority in the administering agency to make adjustments in the program from time to time will be as great here as in the European Recovery Program.

The proposed program of aid to China represents what I believe to be the best course this Government can follow in the light of all the circumstances. Nothing which this country provides by way of assistance can, even in a small measure, be a substitute for the necessary action that can be taken only by the Chinese Government. Yet this program can accomplish the important purpose of giving the Chinese Government a respite from rapid economic deterioration during which it can move to establish more stable economic conditions. Without this respite the ability of the Chinese Government to establish such conditions at all would be doubtful. The achievement of even this limited objective is of such importance as to justify the proposed program of aid.

I recommend, therefore, that this program be given prompt and favorable consideration by the Congress.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The President approved the China Aid Act of 1948 (title IV of the Foreign Assistance Act) on April 3, 1948 (62 Stat. 158). He signed the Foreign Aid Appropriation Act, which included provisions for assistance to China, on June 28 (62 Stat. 1054).

For the President's statement upon signing the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, see Item 64.

32 Address at the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner. *February* 19, 1948

Mr. Chairman, fellow Democrats:

It is a great experience to be present at this gathering this evening. I appreciate your generous welcome and the evidence of your friendship. Our meeting here is only one of many similar meetings that are being held throughout the country in tribute and in celebration. To all I send the warmest and most sincere greetings.

We meet tonight, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Democratic National Committee, to honor two great Americans. These men early in our history inspired the people of this country to assert their rights against privilege. They endowed the United States with a liberal philosophy and tradition. At the same time they were practical men, able to translate liberal philosophy into law and political fact.

I speak of the father of American liberalism—Thomas Jefferson.

I speak also of the man who later gave American liberalism new and even richer meaning—Andrew Jackson.

Although these meetings tonight are political gatherings, the things I shall talk about are important to every citizen in the Nation no matter what political affiliation he or she may have.

The party system prevails in this country. I believe in it and I have confidence in it. It constitutes the most effective means of presenting the issues of the day to the American people.

The party of progressive liberalism in the United States, the party that carries on the traditions of Jefferson and Jackson, the party that has four times in succession received the people's mandate—is the Democratic Party.

This year its mandate must again be considered by the people for renewal.

This is a year of challenge. I propose that we meet that challenge head on.

The people will again decide whether they want the forces of positive, progressive liberalism to continue in office, or whether, in these challenging times, they want to entrust their government to those forces of conservatism which believe in the benefit of the few at the expense of the many.

This is the choice that Americans have had to make since the earliest years of the Republic: a choice between a parcel labeled progressive liberalism and a parcel labeled reactionary conservatism. This being true, it is highly important to know what the American people have found in each of these parcels.

Our Constitution made no provision for government by political parties. But political parties were not long in developing in the early years of the Republic. Sharp differences of opinion arose in George Washington's Cabinet over the powers and purposes of the new Government. And I can say right here that George Washington wasn't the only President that had differences in his Cabinet!

Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, frankly affirmed his belief that government should be controlled by the rich and the well born. He believed that government should be aristocratic and that it should operate primarily in the interest of wealth and privilege.

Fortunately for the people, there was also in Washington's administration a powerful man, Thomas Jefferson, who believed just as strongly that government should be *by* the whole people and *for* the whole people. He was convinced that true democratic progress could be attained only by extending

political and economic liberty, religious freedom, and educational opportunity. Jefferson passionately believed that the genius of America rested in the ranks of the ordinary men, and that they must control the government.

There could hardly have been a sharper cleavage than that between Hamilton and Jefferson.

The supporters of Jefferson organized a political party of progressive liberalism that has continued in American political life down to the present day. That party is today known as the Democratic Party.

The followers of Alexander Hamilton also banded themselves together as a political party. This, the party of conservatism, the party of rule by the privileged few, has its counterpart in our national life today.

I have long been impressed by the continuity of these two political philosophies throughout American history.

I have been impressed because the policies of their disciples are such faithful images of the philosophies themselves. The parcel of reactionary conservatism may be wrapped in bright colors and gay tinsel, but when you open it, you always find party rule for the benefit of the privileged few. Inside the parcel of progressive liberalism, however, you always find government for the benefit of all the people—true democratic government.

Jefferson was elected President in 1800. He and his party promptly swept away laws that restricted citizenship and threatened freedom of speech and the press. The judiciary, which had been rigged against popular rule, was reformed. Perhaps most important of all for the common man was Jefferson's success in arranging the Louisiana Purchase.

This purchase was strongly opposed by the conservatives, who rightly foresaw that the acquisition of this tremendous domain would diminish the political influence of wealthy men in the East. They also foresaw that it would cut down their supply of cheap labor.

The years following Jefferson were years of growth. Industries rose in the East and with them a new class of industrial workers. The States of the West grew rapidly in population and strength.

The votes of vigorous common men of eastern factories and western farms brought Andrew Jackson to the Presidency in 1829. During the next 8 years, that illustrious son of the frontier carried out a second social and economic revolution in America. Jeffersonian liberalism thus gave birth to and was carried on by Jacksonian democracy.

When I consider the problems that confronted Andrew Jackson in the 1830's, I am struck by how little our national problems change. Most of the issues tackled by Jackson were merely new phases of issues that had earlier confronted Jefferson. And they were substantially the same problems that confronted the Nation a hundred years later, when one of the greatest Americans of all time came to the Presidency—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

One of these great national problems has been the undue influence of concentrated wealth.

Jackson abolished the United States Bank, which gave a few bankers an inside track in Washington and a powerful hold on the Federal Government. Jefferson before him, and Woodrow Wilson much later, fought the same evils. Franklin Roosevelt continued the same fight and succeeded in bringing the national capital from Wall Street back to Washington.

A second problem, important in Jackson's day and in ours, is the proper use of the Nation's resources for the benefit of all.

Jackson, in his fight to open up the western land for settlement, was opposed by self-

ish men who profited by cheap labor and who tried to obstruct new opportunities for the ordinary man.

The land problem exists today, but its character has changed. There are vast new acreages throughout the Nation that could be made productive and fit for settlement by means of reclamation, conservation, and irrigation. The struggle for new opportunities for the ordinary citizen has thus shifted to the building of dams, the generation of power, the irrigation of deserts, the control of flood waters, and the prevention of erosion. These are the modern aspects of the land problem. They are just as vital to our democracy now as Jackson's fight for cheap land was a hundred years ago.

The forces that fought Jefferson—and the forces that Jackson fought—and that progressive liberals have had to fight throughout our history have been the forces of selfish wealth and special privilege.

The party of progressive liberalism—the Democratic Party—believes today, as it has always believed, that it is the duty of popular government to protect and promote the interests, not of just the privileged few, but of all the groups and individuals in our Nation.

The Democratic Party believes today, as it has always believed, that vigilance and action are needed not only to protect the people from concentrations of wealth and power, but to keep concentrated wealth and power from destroying itself, and the Nation with it.

It is easy to see why the Democratic Party knows that concentrated wealth and power must be held in check.

One might have supposed that those who dictated the policy for 12 years after the First World War would have followed economic measures beneficial to the real and continuing welfare of the country. But no! In their reckless pursuit of immediate profits they encouraged economic policies that drained off so much in profits at the top—and allowed so little in wages to run out at the bottom—that the whole system broke down in 1929.

A second example: Billions of dollars were loaned to foreign countries after the First World War and a vigorous foreign trade was developed. So far, so good. But those in control then proceeded to erect high tariff barriers that prevented those countries from paying back our loans by shipping us their products. The inevitable result was that our foreign loans and investments went down the drain and our flourishing foreign trade was cut down in its prime. We had the worst depression in history.

These experiences of the past teach us practical lessons:

Government run for the benefit of the few will inevitably destroy all.

Government run for the good of all will benefit all.

These lessons point out the course we must follow in building for tomorrow.

In my State of the Union Message on January 7, I spoke to the Congress, and to all the people of the Nation, about our great goals—goals which can mean a glorious future for the United States. I set forth, in outline form, the production that our people can accomplish; the prosperity that they can enjoy; the improvements in social justice and social security, in education and in housing, that they can achieve.

I said in that message that there are some people in this country who look with fear and distrust upon planning for the future. I said that there are some who are afraid to look ahead despite the obvious fact that our great national achievements have been attained by men with vision—men who planned—men like Jefferson and Jackson, Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt.

The cries from reactionary quarters after the State of the Union Message only prove

the truth of my statement that some people are afraid to look ahead.

These men who live in the past remind me of a toy I'm sure all of you have seen. The toy is a small wooden bird called the "Floogie Bird." Around the Floogie Bird's neck is a label reading: "I fly backwards. I don't care where I'm going. I just want to see where I've been."

These backward looking men refuse to see where courageous leadership can take this Nation in the years that lie ahead. These men of small vision and faint hearts have set up their familiar cry, "Of course it's fine, but it can't be done."

How history repeats itself! How familiar all this must sound to those who study the story of Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase, or Jackson's efforts to open up the West!

The men who ridiculed Jefferson and Jackson were men of small courage and big fears. Their political descendants are to be found among those who were afraid to attempt recovery in the 1930's and who are now afraid to make farsighted preparations for American prosperity.

Let the farmers and the workers and the average businessmen of today—the kind of people in whom Jefferson and Jackson had such faith—ponder where they would be now if the timid men with little ideas had gained mastery during the more recent crises in our history.

In the depths of the great depression of the 1930's, when agriculture was in ruins, business in collapse, and labor in despair, these timid men could not generate the forces of recovery. They said that the required measures would imperil the Nation's credit. Their philosophy of government, running true to form, blinded them to the fact that the Nation's credit rests always on the welfare and prosperity of the people.

But how wrong they were! Through the efforts of the people, with the aid of the party of progressive liberalism to which the people turned, farm income increased from less than $2 billion in 1933 to almost $5 billion in 1940. In 1947, farm income stood at more than $18 billion. That is the highest farm income in history.

But these accomplishments of a free people and their Government have not changed the defeatists one iota. When I say—as in my recent State of the Union Message—that we can steer between farm prices that are dangerously high and farm prices that are ruinously low; when I say that we can save the fertility of our farms through soil conservation; when I say that we can bring electricity and labor-saving devices to every farm; when I say that we can increase the agricultural output by 10 percent over the next 10 years; when I say that good wages and general prosperity will provide the demand for this increased farm output—when I say these things now, we hear from the customary quarters, "It *can't* be done."

I know that it *can* be done, and we of the forward-looking faith must dedicate ourselves to the proposition that it *will* be done.

And where did the American worker find himself in 1932? He was either unemployed or expecting to be unemployed. His home was saddled with debt. His children were drawn into the sweatshops. The unions which he had formed for his self-protection were disintegrating. The only thing left to him was an unswerving faith that, somehow, the American system would find a way to lift him out of the depths of despair and desolation.

That way was found, under the leadership of the party of progressive liberalism—the Democratic Party.

Employment increased from 39 million jobs in 1933 to a peak of 60 million jobs in 1947. The average weekly earnings of workers in manufacturing industries rose from $15 a week to $51 a week. Wages and

salaries rose from $28 billion in 1933 to $49 billion by 1940. They stood at more than $120 billion in 1947.

Yet, when I say that we should enact a 75-percent minimum wage now; when I say that we can reach 64 million jobs within the next 10 years; when I say that we can lift our standard of living by another 27 percent within that time—when I say these things, again we hear that same old refrain, "It *can't* be done."

I know that it *can* be done, and we of the forward-looking faith must dedicate ourselves to the proposition that it *will* be done.

Now what happened to business under the tender custody of a reactionary administration, which some of the older statesmen of the stock exchange politely called "conservative and prudent"?

In 1932, thoughtful businessmen were wondering how long life could remain sacred or how property could be safe when hungry men could not secure food for their families. Some of them even had their yachts steamed up to leave the country.

I know a small minority of businessmen, who are profoundly mistaken, harbor the thought that a liberal-minded government is hostile to them.

What are the facts?

In 1933, corporations went into the red to the tune of $400 million, after taxes. By 1940, they were earning $6½ billion, after taxes. By 1947, they earned $17 billion, after taxes.

Looking at the record, I should think businessmen would want more of *that* kind of hostility!

When I speak of increasing our national output by one-third over the next 10 years, every person in his right mind knows that this will be beneficial to business. Under our system of enterprise, an expanded economy always means more opportunity for individual initiative. I want business earnings to grow as our whole economy thrives and prospers. But we know from experience that profits based upon excessive prices and inflation are built upon sand. The structure will crumble if the foundation is not made firm.

In the interest of business as much as any other group, we must win the fight against inflation to avoid disaster. In the interest of business as much as any other group, we must make the next 10 years a period of extraordinary achievement.

The timid people say it *can't* be done.

I say it *can* be done, and we of the forward-looking faith must dedicate ourselves to the proposition that it *will* be done.

Under our American system, the political party is the device around which men and women rally to a cause in which they believe. Progressive liberals will rally to the Democratic Party, even though they do not happen to be members of that party, because they know that the Democratic Party is the best fighting force for the triumphant achievement of worthy goals.

The Democratic Party, throughout its history, has served as the rallying point because it has remained true to its faith, and because its programs run true to the aspirations of the American people.

The 10-year program that I have outlined for American prosperity is founded on our faith in the ability of the American people to plan their future boldly and to move forward steadfastly toward their goals.

If anyone chooses to call this politics, then it is the politics of Jefferson and Jackson, Woodrow Wilson and Roosevelt—and it is good enough for me.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 p.m. at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington. His opening words "Mr. Chairman" referred to Wilson W. Wyatt who served as chairman of the dinner. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

33 Letter to the Chairmen of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees on Retirements for Physical Disability. *February* 20, 1948

Dear ————:

A Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee recently has been studying the matter of physical disability retirements. On January 29, 1948, the Secretary of Defense expressed his views concerning the need for revision of statutes governing retirement for physical disability of personnel in the Armed Services in a letter addressed to the Honorable Charles H. Elston, Chairman of the Subcommittee.

This is a subject which I have discussed with Secretary Forrestal on several occasions. I agree with him that the present statutes should be revised along the lines suggested in his letter to Mr. Elston. I hope that the Armed Services Committees will develop the needed corrective legislation for action by the Congress during the present session.

Secretary Forrestal is thoroughly acquainted with my views on the matter. I have asked him to act as my representative and to work in conjunction with your Committee and with the other appropriate committees of the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Chan Gurney, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and to the Honorable Walter G. Andrews, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee.

In his letter of January 29, 1948, Secretary Forrestal recommended the reexamination of officers and enlisted men retired since 1939 for physical disability, with periodic future examinations. He also proposed that pensions be commensurate with disability.

34 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report on U.S. Participation in the United Nations. *February* 20, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith to the Congress, pursuant to the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 (section 4, Public Law 264, 79th Congress, 59 Stat. 620), my second annual report on the activities of the United Nations and the participation of the United States therein covering the calendar year 1947.

The problems of international relations arising this past year in the meetings of the United Nations were met neither by evasion nor by meaningless compromises. The decisions and recommendations on the large number of problems noted in this Report are straightforward expressions of the judgment held by the overwhelming majority of the Members on the right and effective course to follow. The small minority holding opposing views on certain important problems, however, have presented to the organization a new question of disturbing character through their nonparticipation in carrying out the recommendations with which these Members have disagreed.

By its recommendations, the United Nations is acting to maintain the independence and integrity of Greece, to bring independence to Korea, and to place the question of Palestine on the way to settlement on the basis of two independent states, one Arab and one Jewish. The General Assembly has been equipped to bring its full weight to bear on the maintenance of good relations between states during this next year, through

the new Interim Committee. As decided upon by the General Assembly, remedies will be sought, through consultation among the great powers and by study among all Members, to improve the functioning of the voting provisions of the Charter and hence to strengthen the organization by increasing the effectiveness of the Security Council.

Every principal organ of the United Nations is at work, and most of the necessary committees, commissions, and subcommittees have been established. In its handling of fundamental international problems during the past year, the United Nations has felt the profound changes in world relationships and the difficulties which we still face in all aspects of international relations. Naturally, therefore, its work is not free from disappointments. This is especially true in regard to the establishment of international control of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and to various political, economic and other problems that directly or indirectly affect progress toward attaining international security. But, whatever the disappointments, the United Nations is making headway.

The United States will continue as heretofore to carry its full share of responsibility and of leadership in the United Nations. We hope this will encourage every Member, in the same spirit, to help the United Nations to achieve the purposes that gave it birth and to give its principles realistic effect in the problems that come before it. Our faith in the United Nations is ever-constant. We shall seek to demonstrate that faith both by energetic support and by the spirit of our participation.

The accompanying Report describes the efforts made by this Government to contribute to constructive achievement in the United Nations during the past year through the policies stated by United States representatives and through important proposals initiated in the various organs. These efforts were directed above all to assuring that the principles of the United Nations would be given full effect. The aim of our policy in matters not falling within the United Nations, but rather within direct United States relations with other governments, was to uphold the same basic principles. These principles are fundamentally those to which we have traditionally given allegiance.

It continues to be the intention of the United States to foster throughout our relations with other nations the fulfilment of the Charter in its entirety. We realize that nothing less than fidelity to the principles and faithful effort to achieve the purposes of the Charter will meet the genuine needs of any nation, whether large or small. Accordingly, the strengthening of the United Nations continues to be a cornerstone of the foreign policy of the United States.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The report is printed in House Document 548 (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

35 Address Upon Arrival at the Airport in San Juan, Puerto Rico. *February* 21, 1948

Governor Piñero, friends and fellow citizens:

I am very happy to visit Puerto Rico at last. As you know, I planned to come here last year, and had to give it up. Now I am making the trip I have anticipated with so much pleasure. For a brief time—almost too short a time, I am sorry to say—I can enjoy the beauty of your island, your rich cultural traditions, and your gracious hospitality, and I can see for myself the great

progress you are making in improving the welfare of your people.

I am anxious, too, to talk with Governor Piñero, President of the Senate Muñoz-Marín, and others of your able leaders. One of my great satisfactions was the nomination of my good friend Señor Piñero to be the Governor of Puerto Rico. I believe very strongly in local self-government, and the nomination of an island-born Governor was a significant step toward the increasing measure of self-government in Puerto Rico to which we are all committed.

I have been keenly interested in Puerto Rico for many years. I know of the many strides you have made and something about the problems you face and have overcome. In these efforts, the people of the continental United States and of Puerto Rico have been allied as partners. The Federal Government has supplied financial help. But your own efforts, especially during the past few years, have enlarged the economic opportunities of your people, have attracted new industries, and have improved your educational and health facilities.

This is a relationship which is mutually beneficial. It is the democratic way of collaboration between friendly peoples. It represents what the American people are trying to encourage in the world at large. It is a relationship in which we take pride because the services we perform for each other are directed toward raising the standards of living of all your people.

Your program of industrial and agricultural development, your inducements to agricultural enterprise, your program of training and placement for young men and women who wish to go to the mainland are all highly resourceful and give to the continental United States and to all the world an example of American democracy working effectively to meet and solve its problems.

I want to say to you parenthetically that we are very lucky to have at this time our able and efficient Secretary of the Interior, who is cooperating in all these things.

What has been accomplished so far is only a beginning. Cooperation between insular governments and the Federal Government can and should increase. It should have the form of friendly help from the continent. It should also be based on the capability of the people of Puerto Rico to help themselves. The progress made on the island in the past few years demonstrates beyond question your ability to do so.

Within this framework, the peoples of Puerto Rico and the mainland have a unique demonstration for the world. Differing languages and differing cultural backgrounds are not an obstacle to democratic unity. Such differences can provide the basis for a richer and stronger democracy. "Freedom" is a word which is found in every language. "Equality" means more than mere political emancipation. I have said to the Congress several times—and I repeat it here—that the Puerto Rican people should have the right to determine for themselves Puerto Rico's political relationship to the continental United States.

Too often we have had our attention directed to Puerto Rico's problems. We have heard all too little of your achievements. In less than half a century you have raised your wages and standard of living, have developed universal free schooling, highways, hospitals, utilities, and all the other institutions of modern society. More than that—today, under the leadership of Governor Piñero and President of the Senate Muñoz-Marín—you are presenting an example to the world of modern democracy acting through your elected representatives to better your living conditions, to provide employment, education, health, and economic security for yourselves and your children.

In both Puerto Rico and the mainland, we Americans are seeking and finding the solution to these problems in the democratic, American way—by courage, imagination, cooperation. Imagination gives us the vision to see our problems clearly. Courage makes us bold—bold to act as the needs of the people require, cooperation keeps us working together so that our united strength overcomes all obstacles.

This is the democratic approach to the problem of national existence in the modern world. It is the effort of your people to use the instrument of government to better each person's way of life, which identifies Puerto Rico and its people with the continental United States.

We have a great common heritage. We are trying to solve similar problems in a similar way. My message to you today is one of good will, of pride in your achievements as a part of our national family, and of optimism for the future. As you go on to an ever increasing measure of participation in the guidance of your own destiny, I bring you the greetings and best wishes of all our fellow Americans, who share your problems and rejoice in your success.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. In his opening words he referred to Jesús T. Piñero, Governor of Puerto Rico. Later he referred to Luis Muñoz-Marín, President of the Puerto Rican Senate.

36 Remarks in St. Thomas on a Visit to the Virgin Islands. *February* 22, 1948

Governor Hastie, fellow citizens and friends:

I am indeed happy to be here visiting these beautiful islands. The harbor here at Charlotte Amalie surely must be one of the most beautiful in the world.

I am particularly glad to come here to call upon my friend, Governor Hastie, and see the many fine things he is doing for you and for all of us. He is a very unusual Governor. I wonder how many Governors have drafted an Organic Act, then served as a Federal judge interpreting the act and finally served as Governor administering the act?

We are celebrating a significant historical event today. One hundred years ago, the man who was then Governor issued a declaration which freed the slaves in what was then the Danish West Indies. It was an enlightened document in more ways than one, for it provided for housing and care of the freedmen for an interim period.

We can all learn from this episode in history. Freedom has many forms and it has been won and lost many times. The Emancipation Proclamation in the Virgin Islands was dated 15 years before the Emancipation Proclamation in the United States; but it was 72 years after the Declaration of Independence. The struggle for freedom is unending and documents alone do not conclude it.

Here in the Virgin Islands the continuing effort to expand freedom is going on with the cooperation of the Federal Government and your own Insular Government. We are trying to stabilize and develop the economy and improve living conditions. An increased measure of self-government and better living conditions should go hand in hand.

Now that postwar travel conditions are improving, I hope that more and more continental Americans will discover and come to enjoy the beauty of the Virgin Islands. I know they will enjoy themselves and bring you prosperity and continued happiness.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. at Emancipation Park in Charlotte Amalie. In his opening words he referred to William H. Hastie, Governor of the Virgin Islands.

37 Special Message to the Congress on Housing. *February* 23, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

In the next few weeks legislation authorizing rent control and emergency financial aids for housing construction will expire. The Congress should extend and improve this essential legislation, and at the same time should enact urgently needed new housing legislation. The objective should be an integrated program to assist in obtaining more housing at lower cost, both in the immediate future and for the long run.

This program should be based on the needs of all our people for housing, the ability of the housing industry to meet those needs, the most practical and effective method of giving Federal assistance, and the urgent necessity for reducing costs and prices in the housing field. I am glad that the Congress through several of its Committees has been making an extensive study of these matters.

Today, far too many of our families are living in sub-standard housing, in painfully cramped quarters, or doubled up with friends or relatives. Over five million of our present homes are below minimum standards. About two and one-half million married couples live with other families, a 50 percent increase since 1940. Large numbers of families do not have enough space to give their children decent accommodations. These conditions cannot help but be reflected in unsatisfactory home life and lowered standards of health. Their impact is greatest on our low income families, minority groups and new families started by veterans.

These are some of the symptoms of our long-range housing problem. To provide better homes for families now in sub-standard or cramped housing, to meet the increased needs of a growing population, and to replace our supply of housing as it wears out we must look ahead to a long period of high volume construction. It will be necessary to produce an annual average of more than one million new houses and apartments in urban areas during the next ten years, and in addition a substantial amount of housing in rural areas, if we are to have the housing this Nation needs and can afford. This will require the joint strength and effort of management and labor in the building industry, of private financial institutions and of Federal, state and local governments.

As we make progress toward this goal, we will overcome the critical housing shortage by providing enough dwellings at prices which families who need them can afford. At the same time, we can also stabilize the housing industry and thus make a contribution toward preventing the violent fluctuations of the business cycle in general.

The expansion of housing production is necessary in this inflationary period, just as it is necessary to expand the production of other articles in short supply which are vitally needed by our people. The critical housing shortage is contributing to the upward pressure on the selling price and rental price of housing. While we need rent control until this shortage can be overcome, the basic problem is to increase housing production to eliminate the shortage.

The long-range and immediate aspects of the housing problem are intermingled. We must now take steps both to increase the immediate volume of housing construction and to achieve progressively better housing at lower cost over the years ahead. Without measures to achieve both these objectives we shall be in danger of a serious drop in housing production. Such a drop in production,

whether now or later, would affect and injure the stability of our whole economy. This happened when housing production declined after 1925—and it would happen again. We must take steps now to assure stable housing production at high levels, as an essential part of our determination to maintain an economy of maximum employment and production.

During 1947 nearly one million housing units were added to our housing supply. About 835 thousand of these were new houses or apartments and an additional 150 thousand were obtained by conversion or temporary construction. This volume of construction was an excellent accomplishment.

In other respects the 1947 achievement was not so satisfactory. Not enough of the housing produced was for rent. Too much of it was priced beyond the means of those who needed it most.

Less than 15 percent of the new housing built in 1947 was rental housing. This was well below the average for the past thirty years, and falls far short of present needs. The evidence is clear that the shortage of housing for rent is far more acute than that of housing for sale.

The housing made available in 1947 was too high-priced for millions of our people to buy or rent. Some progress was made toward building houses which the middle-income groups could afford. But almost no housing at all was built for low-income families.

These facts should guide us as we lay out our program for this year and the years ahead.

I recommend that the Congress enact at the present session legislation directed toward five objectives.

1. To continue and strengthen rent control.

2. To stimulate a higher volume of home building on a sustained basis, with special emphasis on rental housing, and with proper safeguards against possible inflationary effects.

3. To reduce building costs.

4. To assist communities in providing low-rent housing for families in the lowest-income groups.

5. To aid cities in rebuilding and modernizing run-down areas.

This program will help to combat those elements of the inflation which stem from the housing shortage. By concentrating more upon the housing needs of middle-income and low-income families, it will broaden the market for housing and thus safeguard us against a serious drop in housing production in the years ahead. And it will advance us far toward the goal of a decent home for every American family.

Rent control

The acute shortage of rental housing makes it imperative to continue emergency rent control.

The want-ad sections of metropolitan newspapers still contain desperate pleas by families seeking apartments. On the average those rents which were eliminated from control by the present law have risen more than 60 percent. Tenants in many parts of the country have been receiving notices from landlords that their rents will be substantially raised if rent control legislation is allowed to expire on February 29th.

On numerous occasions, I have pointed out the serious effect that large increases in rents would have upon the excessively high cost of living for millions of our families. Rent accounts for nearly one-fourth of the budget of low-income families—the families most seriously affected by the high cost of living.

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The recent declines in certain prices in the commodity markets cannot be regarded as a valid reason for failing to continue and strengthen rent control. The cost of living is still so much higher than it should be that we cannot allow price reductions that may be achieved in some elements of the cost of living to be cancelled out by increases in rents.

I recommended therefore that rent control legislation be extended at least through April 30, 1949.

In extending this legislation it is essential that the Congress provide vitally needed enforcement authority which is now lacking. The enforcement provisions of the present law are so inadequate that it is virtually impossible for the Government to enforce rent ceilings or for most tenants to protect themselves.

The Office of the Housing Expediter estimates that in twelve cities surveyed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the period from June 15 through November 15, 1947, rents were raised illegally on from 6 to 21 percent of the units. In the city of Boston, for example, 14 percent of the rental units had illegal rent increases.

The large number of over-ceiling violations under the present law is due primarily to the elimination of the authority which the Housing Expediter previously had to bring treble damage suits and to protect tenants from being evicted for refusing to pay over-ceiling rents.

Most tenants do not have the knowledge or funds to bring effective legal action in their own defense. Even those who could bring suit hestitate to do so for fear of blacklisting or other forms of retaliation by landlords.

The new legislation, therefore, should provide adequate authority to enable the Government to enforce the law, and appropriations should be sufficient for an adequate enforcement staff.

The legislation also should protect those tenants—more than a million and a half in number—who have agreed to the so-called voluntary 15 percent increases provided for under the present law. These families have no protection beyond December 31, 1948. They should be given protection at their present rents for the duration of the new law.

Provisions should, of course, be continued for adjusting rents to correct inequities and to compensate for increased operating costs. It is important also to continue to provide for the orderly decontrol of rents in individual communities as local shortages are relieved. During the past year a number of areas have been decontrolled as conditions permitted. This orderly transition should be continued as rapidly as feasible.

Higher volume housing construction with special emphasis on rental housing

To achieve an increased volume of construction in 1948, and a higher proportion of rental housing, the Government should continue its financial aids, with appropriate modifications, and should assist in the expansion and proper distribution of the supply of building materials.

For the last fourteen years the Federal Government has given incentive and support to the construction of housing through assistance to private loans for home building. These credit aids have been temporarily modified and liberalized in recent years to fit the housing needs of the war and postwar periods, and especially to aid veterans.

These aids have been signally successful in stimulating a high volume of home building. They should be continued and modified to assist in meeting current needs and at the same time to move toward a sound

long-run system of Government assistance to housing credit. In particular they should be revised to provide relatively more incentive during the next year for the construction of rental housing than for the construction of housing for sale. In addition, careful safeguards should be provided against inflationary impacts.

My recommendations with respect to credit aids fall into three groups. First, I recommend the extension and revision on a transitional basis of Title VI of the National Housing Act, containing the principal emergency credit provisions.

Title VI should be extended, with modifications, for one year to March 31, 1949, with an increase of $2 billion of insurance authorization. Half of this amount should be specifically allocated for insuring loans for rental housing. To increase the proportion of rental housing, the statutory basis for insuring loans should be made less liberal on housing built for sale while the present basis for rental housing projects should be retained subject to provisions which would prevent giving support to further cost increases.

Second, I recommend that Federal support for home mortgage loans in the form of a secondary market be continued, but modified to introduce adequate safeguards against inflationary effects.

For this purpose I recommend the further consolidation of Government housing activities in the Housing and Home Finance Agency by placing the secondary market authority in that Agency. The Housing and Home Finance Agency would continue the present secondary market for loans guaranteed by the Federal Housing Administration and would reestablish a secondary market for those guaranteed by the Veterans' Administration.

The purchases of mortgages by the Government should be limited to local situations where the absence of sufficient credit is endangering home production or availability of houses to veterans, and where government support will not result in higher costs and prices or unsound credit standards.

This standby secondary mortgage market will give assurance to lenders of a source of liquidity in time of need and thereby contribute substantially to the stability of interest rates and the supply of necessary credit.

Third, I recommend that the Congress provide a sound incentive for the construction of rental housing in the form of Government insurance of an adequate return on direct investment in large-scale rental projects with supervised rent schedules. Such a yield insurance plan should encourage substantial investment of private capital in well planned rental housing.

The long-range housing legislation which has been before the Congress for some time contains additional proposals for stimulating large-scale rental housing which should be enacted.

In addition to these various forms of credit assistance, the Government can encourage a high volume of home building by improving the distribution of scarce raw materials to building materials manufacturers.

As part of the anti-inflation program, I recommended last November that the Congress enact legislation to permit the allocation of important materials, including housing materials, in extremely short supply. In the absence of such legislation the Secretary of Commerce is attempting to develop voluntary industry-wide agreements to channel more raw materials into the production of scarce housing items, such as nails and cast iron soil pipe. I am still convinced that allocation authority to supplement these voluntary measures would make an essential contribution to the rapid and effective ex-

pansion of the supply of building materials.

In addition, it is clear that the supply of many building materials must be permanently expanded to make possible a continuous high volume of construction at lower costs. As a practical measure toward this end the Department of Commerce, in cooperation with other government agencies, will regularly prepare long-range estimates of building materials requirements.

All these measures are designed to assure a high volume of housing construction. But this high volume cannot be maintained, nor can we produce housing that the bulk of our families can afford, unless building costs are lowered.

Lower building costs

To obtain good housing at reasonable prices requires broad-scale efforts to reduce building costs. The basic problem facing the housing industry in this regard is to achieve the constant improvements in productive efficiency characteristic of other great industries of our country.

Considerable progress has been made in the last few years, as labor and management alike have begun to realize the possibilities for long-run efficiency inherent in stabilized housing production at high levels. Large-scale operations, both on the building site and in factories, have demonstrated possibilities for significant reductions in cost. In addition, some coordination has been achieved in the sizes of materials and household equipment. This permits small-scale builders as well as large to lower costs through simplified assembling of houses.

We can expect further progress as these advances are more widely adopted and as further innovations are developed. The Government can assist in a number of ways.

The vigorous program of research to develop new building materials and more efficient building methods, on which the building industry has made an encouraging start, can be aided by the Government, particularly through such research agencies as the Bureau of Standards and the Forest Products Laboratory. In addition the Government can assist the industry through a sound program of research concerning the housing market and related community development problems. I recommend that the Congress provide authority and funds for an integrated program of building research, recognizing the paramount interest of the Housing and Home Finance Agency in the housing field and related interest of the Department of Commerce and other agencies in the more general field of construction, and using the best research facilities available throughout the Government.

The use of modern methods and materials, large-scale operations, and improved working techniques are hampered in some communities by obsolete and restrictive requirements embodied in local building codes. These codes should be rapidly modernized to permit the prompt use of proved and safe technical advances.

Many communities have already made substantial improvements in their codes. The Federal Government's research program should assist further improvement by testing building materials and methods and determining proper performance standards. Agencies of the Government will also continue to promote better building codes by working with state and local officials and with representatives of labor and management.

The full development of large-scale operations, both on-site construction and prefabrication, has been delayed by serious gaps in financing methods. In the case of on-site construction I recommend that the Government be authorized to guarantee loans for working capital during the period before regular mortgage loan financing is available.

In the case of prefabrication I recommend that the Government's present power to guarantee production loans should be extended to cover the entire period between the time the house is started in the plant and its erection on the site.

Cooperatives have been effective in lowering costs in many parts of our economy. Farm cooperatives are a notable example. I recommend that special provision be made by the Congress for insuring loans to housing cooperatives.

Another promising means for reducing costs of construction is to improve the marketing system for building materials, which in many respects is now unduly complicated and costly. This problem presents a challenge to the industry to establish a system adequate to distribute at low cost the large volume of materials required to meet our housing needs.

The Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice has been attacking unlawful obstacles to free competition in the housing industry. Restraints on channels of distribution, price-fixing, and other practices in violation of the antitrust laws add to the cost of housing. More vigorous enforcement of these laws depends upon the appropriation by the Congress of additional funds that have been requested for the Antitrust Division.

There are also possibilities for cost reduction through higher labor productivity as the skill of building workers is increased and efficient methods are more rapidly adopted. As in other industries, labor costs per unit can be reduced by these means without lowering the annual earnings of workers. I am sure that labor and management understand and accept these principles and recognize that their effectiveness depends upon uninterrupted high volume production of housing. I am confident that they will cooperate fully with each other to achieve these ends.

A complete housing program must deal with rural housing. Financial aids should be developed for rural housing as well as city housing. In addition, the technical building services provided by the Department of Agriculture to farmers should be expanded. This will enable farmers to do more of their own building, and reduce the high costs necessarily incurred when city builders are asked to do the relatively small-scale work involved in building or remodelling farm houses. I again recommend the enactment of the provisions for rural housing contained in the comprehensive housing legislation which has long been before the Congress.

All of these measures will result in progressively lower cost and higher quality housing. Some should be effective in the near future, such as the standardization of design, dimensions and methods of assembly of home building materials and equipment. Others will take longer to be fully developed. All should be strongly encouraged by the Government.

Low rent housing for families in the lowest income groups

The measures for cost reduction which I have recommended—even when they become fully effective—will not provide adequate housing within the reach of our lowest income families. The private housing industry cannot in the foreseeable future provide decent housing for these families. Their incomes are far too low to cover the cost of new housing of any adequate standard. They are too low to cover even the cost of decent second-hand housing.

We have a national responsibility to assure that decent housing is available to all our people. We should replace present housing which is a menace to health and safety with simple but adequate housing at rents which low-income families can afford. To do this

we must resume the program of public aid to low-rent housing, first authorized under the United States Housing Act of 1937.

Under this program, tested by experience, local public agencies construct and operate the housing, and the Federal Government contributes funds necessary to permit low rents. Communities also contribute by providing exemption from local taxes. The costs to the Federal and local governments have been modest in comparison with the benefits achieved, not only for low-income families but also for the community as a whole.

I recommend that the Congress authorize sufficient Federal funds to permit construction by local housing authorities of 100,000 public housing units each year for the next five years.

The limits on the cost of construction per unit set by present law would not permit the development of low-rent housing projects under any cost level likely to be achieved in the post-war period. The law should be amended to adjust these cost limitations to post-war conditions, and also to strengthen the provisions of the law which restrict the use of the housing to low-income families, to encourage the construction of units for families of larger size, and to extend certain preferences to veterans.

Public housing is an essential element in our total program. Even when these 500,000 units have been built, we will still have far to go to rehouse our lowest income groups.

Urban redevelopment

The redevelopment of the central areas of our cities, now too often blighted and decaying, is of primary importance for our housing program. Housing does not exist in a vacuum. In planning residential areas, consideration must be given to such items as transportation, shopping centers, schools and playgrounds. Some sections of our cities must be replanned and rebuilt to be fit places for modern living.

To make it possible for the cities to start this work and to encourage participation by private capital, we should now make adequate provision for a program to assist in the elimination of slums and blighted areas. The task of assembling and clearing land in these areas and making it ready for rebuilding is great, and the need is urgent. The costs will be beyond the financial means of most cities. I recommend the enactment of legislation to give Federal assistance, to be combined with local resources, to permit the assembly and clearance of land in such areas. Federal aid for this purpose is one of the features of the comprehensive housing legislation which I have previously recommended.

While major expenditures of this type should be deferred at present, I recommend that the Congress now authorize the Housing and Home Finance Agency to enter into the necessary financial arrangements so that cities may proceed with their plans and be ready to undertake their projects as rapidly as economic conditions and local situations permit.

Conclusion

The program of action I have recommended is designed to meet the immediate housing needs of the Nation and at the same time to lay a sound basis for the years ahead. It is a comprehensive program, each part of which is necessary.

Many of the proposals which I have recommended are contained in housing legislation which has long been before the Congress. These proposals have received long study by many committees of the Congress. In recent months the other proposals that I have here made, as well, have been carefully studied and their need demonstrated. The

way has therefore been paved for speedy action on the entire housing program that I here recommend and most of which I have recommended before.

Unfortunately, some of the elements of this comprehensive housing program which are most urgently needed—such as the provision of publicly-aided low-rent housing—have been subject to opposition based upon unfounded fears and upon errors about the facts. These elements of the program should not be put aside. Such action would result in a fragmentary housing program which would not meet the needs of the American people.

In the past, we have proceeded separately on short-range and long-range proposals. Now we must recognize the need for shaping the long- and short-range legislation with reference to each other. We must adopt them together so that they may work together. We must make orderly progress, not a staggering uncertain series of starts and halts.

We have learned much in the last decade about the ways to meet the housing needs of our great Nation. We should now act on this knowledge through farsighted legislation by the Government and farsighted planning by all who work in the building industry.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: For the President's statements upon signing the Housing and Rent Act of 1948 and the Housing Act of 1948, see Items 58 and 172.

38 Remarks at Government House, St. Croix, Virgin Islands. *February* 23, 1948

Governor Hastie, Administrator Taylor, fellow citizens and friends:

I am very happy to be here today to have this opportunity to visit St. Croix and to see for myself what this part of our American family is doing to meet our common problems. I have heard a great deal about the beauty of this island, and I am glad to say that the enthusiasm of my friends is more than justified.

Here, I know, our American way of working together toward peace and prosperity will bring results we can all enjoy. Governor Hastie and the Federal agencies are working together both here and in Washington to improve the use of St. Croix's many assets, and to develop new ones.

The Virgin Islands Company is our greatest hope for the stabilization of the economy of St. Croix, and I sincerely hope the Congress is going to recharter it. The new era of air travel should mean much to the islands, particularly to St. Croix with its splendid airport possibilities. Vacationists and tourists will travel more and more to the Caribbean, and to our own American soil in the Virgin Islands.

We must all be ready with enterprise and courage to make the most of these new developments, and through them to reach the higher standard of living we all strive for.

I bring you greetings from your fellow Americans, who watch with constant interest your efforts to meet problems which are familiar to them, too.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12 noon in Christiansted. In his opening words he referred to William H. Hastie, Governor of the Virgin Islands, and Harry E. Taylor, Administrator of St. Croix.

39 Statement by the President on Palestine. *February* 24, 1948

THE PALESTINE problem has been, and is, the deep concern of this Government. It has been given the most careful consideration by me, the Cabinet, and other responsible Government officials. The U.S. position has been developed through long and exhaustive study and many consultations. This position has been accurately presented by Ambassador Austin in his speech before the Security Council today.

NOTE: Ambassador Austin's speech before the Security Council of the United Nations is printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 18, p. 294).

40 Radio Remarks Opening the Red Cross Fund Campaign. *February* 29, 1948

[Broadcast from Key West, Fla., at 10 p.m.]

My fellow citizens:

I am speaking to you tonight not about affairs of state, but about that good friend of humanity—the Red Cross.

As the honorary chairman of the Red Cross, I have made it my business to examine its program and its financial requirements.

Its greatest strength lies in the fact that it belongs to the people. It reaches into every community of our land. An average of one person in every family in the United States now holds a junior or a senior Red Cross membership. Such widespread acceptance by the people tells its own story.

It is inspiring just to review the role of this farflung organization. With the Red Cross it is not a question of doing merely one job well. Its program has many important parts. The Red Cross must be ready at all times to move and act simultaneously on widely varying programs. In all it does, service to humanity is its main objective as well as its sole reward.

An example of how the Red Cross operates along so many fronts is revealed in one of its reports to me. Recently it launched a national blood program, and the first regional blood center to be opened in this new service was dedicated last January 12th. During the same week the Red Cross was aiding the victims of six separate disasters in widely scattered sections. Some had just occurred. Work on others was in the final stages. These catastrophes included a gulf coast hurricane, a flood in Oregon, New England forest fires, a plane crash in Georgia, a southeastern tornado. At the same time aid was being given to distressed Navajo and Hopi Indians in the Far West.

As always, the families caught in these emergencies were dealt with on an individual basis. Yet the Red Cross was able to carry out all these assignments without the slightest interruption in launching its new blood program.

When catastrophe strikes, the Red Cross moves with the precision of a well-trained army to bring order out of chaos. It provides aid to stricken people without weakening their self-respect. Altogether, it has handled 3,650 disasters in its time. These errands of mercy represent a shining chapter in the annals of relief-giving.

The 1948 campaign objective totals $75 million. The results, however, should be limited only by the generosity of the Amer-

ican people. Certainly, no price tag can be fixed upon the comforts given or the hopes relit by the Red Cross. Its services, particularly in these days, are priceless to our way of life.

So, even when we add up the dollars needed, even when we add up the pints of blood required, even when we add up disaster cases handled each year, all of us realize that the Red Cross service cannot be measured accurately by any known yardstick.

What we *can* do when the campaign gets under way is to remember the organization's deeds. Perhaps we can picture the light on the faces of the bewildered hurricane sufferers upon learning that the Red Cross would rebuild their wrecked homes. Perhaps we can see, as the Red Cross workers have seen, the gratitude of the New Englander upon being assured that he would live after nearly 100 blood transfusions, or the relief of thousands of veterans when they realized the Red Cross would lend them a hand. Thousands of times in the year ahead the Red Cross will be called upon to meet similar situations.

In this great cause it matters not how we may differ on the pressing issues of the day. Beneath the flag of the Red Cross we are a united people.

In this spirit, I ask you, my fellow citizens, to give the Red Cross your wholehearted support.

41 The President's News Conference at Key West. *March* 1, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, good morning. I thought maybe you might feel inclined to ask a few questions. I have no statements to make to you, or anything of the sort. Maybe I had better stand up. You can all sit down.

Q. We had better stand up, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. I would much rather you just sat down because I can see you better. [*Laughter*]

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Give the photograph boys a chance now. Well, if you have any questions—sit down—sit down now.

[1.] Q. Well, Mr. President, can we ask you first if there is any circumstance under which American troops might go to Palestine?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that question.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us about your talk yesterday with former Governor Cox? [1]

THE PRESIDENT. Had a very pleasant visit with Governor Cox. He came down to pay a personal call on me. The first time I had ever seen him, except as one of the audience which listened to him speak in 1920, and I wasn't very deep in politics at that time.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment to make on the so-called revolt in the South?

THE PRESIDENT. No comment.

Q. What do you think of Governor Tuck's plan? [2]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think this. Every State has a perfect right to decide on the

[1] James Cox, former Governor of Ohio and Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1920.

[2] Governor William M. Tuck of Virginia had proposed a new election law providing for unpledged presidential electors and limiting political parties on the 1948 ballot to those which were listed in 1944.

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manner in which it wants to carry on its elections, provided they are fair, and provided they give everybody a chance to express his opinion at the polls.

Q. Provided they give everybody the right to vote?

THE PRESIDENT. To express his opinion at the polls. Everybody who is entitled to vote should have the right to vote. If you remember—I will give you a lecture on the Constitution—the electoral college was set up with the idea in mind that the presidential electors would be elected as free agents, and that they would meet in Washington and elect the President. Since 1836 that has not been the case. They have been elected and instructed by the States to cast the ballot a certain way. I think the Virginians want to try to restore the old constitutional approach to the thing. Originally it didn't work very well.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, Czechoslovakia and perhaps Finland seem to be going down the drain in the classic style. Do you think the time may have come for the Western powers to form a military alliance?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't comment on that at this time.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, speaking of lectures, you have been promising to give us a lecture on architecture.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. I am saving that up for you, Eddie.[1] When you get back, I have a very, very erudite lecture on architecture that I think you will like. Your paper may not like it. [*Laughter*]

Joseph A. Fox, Washington Evening Star: Mine, too, won't like it!

THE PRESIDENT. I put you in the picture before. Now I think Eddie ought to have a chance. [*Laughter*]

[6.] Q. Mr. President, have you had any kind of report on the steel investigations?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have not.

Q. Do you feel you need the anti-inflation program more than ever?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I do.

Q. Take the steel increase as a good argument for it?

THE PRESIDENT. I do.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, what Paul Leach [1] calls the jackpot question—is it time to ask it? [*Laughter*] Is it time?

THE PRESIDENT. Go ahead.

Q. What can you tell us about your candidacy in 1948?

THE PRESIDENT. I have nothing to say about it. I am so darned busy with foreign affairs and domestic affairs and other situations that have developed that I haven't had any time to think about any presidential campaign, or anything else, except that the presidential year is having a very bad effect on all approaches to the settlement of the difficulties with which we are faced.

Q. Mr. President, do you believe our Senator Pepper would fit in your ticket as vice presidential candidate?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment to make on vice presidential candidates?

Q. Mr. President, this question may be rather puerile—but if nominated by the Democratic convention, would you serve?

THE PRESIDENT. I will answer that question when it happens—if it does.

[8.] I would like to ask *you* some questions. I always sit in the frying pan, and am perfectly willing to do it, and I enjoy it about as much as you do. Have you been well taken care of, and well fed, and are you comfortably situated where you live?

Q. Yes, sir.

Q. Everything is perfect.

Q. Been wonderful.

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[1] Edward T. Folliard of the Washington Post.

[1] Paul R. Leach of the Chicago Daily News.

Q. Been a wonderful trip.

THE PRESIDENT. Who is the banker? I want to interview him. [*Laughter*]

Q. Joe Short.[1]

THE PRESIDENT. Joe Short?

Q. He has all the money—as usual.

THE PRESIDENT. All the money in the bank, as usual. [*Laughter*]

Q. Nevertheless, he has hired a bodyguard to go around with him.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, might we have permission to quote that statement, that the presidential year is having a very bad effect on all approaches to—then I stop there——

THE PRESIDENT. All approaches to the settlement of both foreign and domestic affairs; it can't help but do that. It's a situation which we have to face and meet as well as we can.

Q. Mr. President, you are not quarreling with the situation?

THE PRESIDENT. Not at all—just makes it more difficult to meet, that's all, because we have so many candidates for President in the Senate and out of it, and in various other places that it is difficult for them to have an unbiased and nonpartisan approach to these matters. You can't blame them for that.

Governor Cox and I discussed that same situation. In the 1920 campaign we were faced with exactly the same situation—almost exactly the same situation.

Q. In that year, Mr. President, weren't there a number of candidates in the Senate on Capitol Hill?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't think so. I can't remember. I was not, as I said, as deeply interested in politics then as I am now. I had just returned from the war.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, is there any comment that you could make on the new developments in central Europe?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I prefer not to make any at this time. I may comment on it later.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, have you been in touch with General Marshall since you have been down here?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I have. Every day.

Q. Every day?

THE PRESIDENT. Every day, except when we were at sea.

Q. You mean you talked to him by telephone?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't talked to General Marshall himself, but I have been in touch with the State Department every day since we have been away, and every other department nearly in the Government. I have talked personally to nearly every member of the Cabinet since I have been away. The only thing in connection with this that is different from the White House is just the change of scenery. We have direct wires that go there, and I get a pouch nearly every day, and sign just as many documents and make just as many decisions as if I were sitting at the desk in the Executive Office.

[*At this point the President spoke off the record.*]

[12.] Q. Did you give us permission to quote that phrase on——

THE PRESIDENT. The effect of the presidential year on the situation in the Government? Sure. Everybody knows that. No harm in quoting it.

[13.] Q. Talking about another ship of state, do you think you might get a new yacht now?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I am perfectly happy with this one.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, there have been reports out of Europe that the Russians have made overtures to you to meet with Premier Stalin. Anything to those reports?

THE PRESIDENT. I never heard of them. No overtures have been made to me or to

[1] Joseph H. Short of the Baltimore Sun.

the State Department or to any other branch of the Government officially—or unofficially, either.

Q. They were supposed to have been from Stockholm. Somebody had a story out of Paris and Berlin that it was suggested you meet with Stalin?

THE PRESIDENT. I saw that in the paper, but that is the only place.

Q. In that connection, Mr. President, you have told us in the past that if there is to be a meeting between you and Mr. Stalin, that it will have to be in Washington?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, that is correct. My position on that hasn't changed a bit.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, Jim Farley was down as a guest of the Jefferson Day dinner. I want to ask you, from this time on do you think that he will take a more active part in the party's affairs than he has in the last few years?

THE PRESIDENT. You had better ask Mr. Farley that. He will know and can give you the answer.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, there has been talk of a $200 million loan to Spain. Has that come to your attention?

THE PRESIDENT. Haven't heard about it.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us some of the problems that—on which the approach has been made more difficult because of the presidential year?

THE PRESIDENT. The foreign situation in general, and the housing program in particular at home, and several other domestic matters that are pending that should have only a nonpartisan approach.

[*At this point there was a pause in the questioning.*]

I made a dangerous mistake by letting you sit down! [*Laughter*]

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and thirty-eighth news conference was held on the lawn of the President's quarters at the Submarine Base, Key West, Fla., at 10 a.m. on Monday, March 1, 1948.

42 Special Message to the Congress Requesting Extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act. *March* 1, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

I recommend that the Congress extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act in its present form for 3 years, until June 12, 1951. This act authorizes the President, under well-defined procedures and limitations, to conclude agreements with other countries for the reciprocal reduction of tariffs and other obstacles to international trade.

For 14 years the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act has been an essential element of United States foreign policy. It was first enacted in 1934 and has been extended by the Congress four times, on each occasion after thorough study of its operation and results. It is well known to the American people and has drawn their constant and increasing support, regardless of party affiliation.

The basic reason for this constant popular support and repeated congressional approval is that the act has provided a sound method for increasing world trade through progressive lowering of trade barriers, to the benefit of living standards both here and abroad.

The importance of the act is greater today than it has ever been. Together with other nations, we are engaged in a mighty endeavor to build a prosperous and peaceful world. The financial assistance we have already contributed, and the further aid we shall give to nations in Europe and elsewhere, constitute a tremendous investment toward world economic recovery. The Re-

ciprocal Trade Agreements Act, by stimulating an increasing flow of trade between nations, will contribute strongly to the achievement of this objective. Its extension is essential if we are to complete the work we have begun.

The trade-agreements program contributes not only to the restoration of a prosperous world economy; it also contributes directly to the welfare and prosperity of the people of the United States. Our people need to import many commodities from abroad; we need equally to export many of our products. Both needs are served by agreements which reduce or eliminate obstacles to commerce between the United States and other countries.

These agreements recognize the fundamental fact that trade is a two-way business and that our foreign commerce depends upon a balanced relationship between imports and exports. Foreign countries must be able to sell to us if they are to have the dollars to pay for our exports and to repay our loans. Adequate markets for our agricultural and industrial producers depend upon the lowering of trade barriers by other countries. Imports of goods needed in this country improve the standard of living of our people as consumers at the same time that they make possible the maintenance of markets for our people as producers.

Currently, we are exporting far more than we are importing. But this is a temporary condition made necessary by considerations of overriding importance. The trade-agreements program is a sound method for achieving a more balanced relationship in the future within the broader framework of the expanding world trade so necessary to economic reconstruction.

In addition, by contributing to the lowering of trade barriers the United States can support the expansion of private trading as distinct from Government trading. The existence of trade restrictions is too often accompanied by Government participation in trading operations—extending even to trading by Government agencies. The preservation of our private enterprise system at home is closely bound up with the reduction of trade restrictions and the encouragement of private international trade.

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act is a proven instrument for achieving these objectives. Prior to 1945 the United States had concluded agreements with 29 countries, affecting about one-half of our foreign commerce. These agreements helped greatly to reduce trade barriers and to stimulate the foreign commerce of the United States and the other countries concerned.

Since 1945 we have continued our efforts to reduce the strains imposed upon the world economy by narrow concepts of economic nationalism. Last summer at Geneva the United States and 22 other countries concluded the most important and comprehensive trade agreement in history. By this agreement these 23 nations agreed to reduce their tariffs, or to maintain low tariffs or none at all, on a wide variety of products. The products affected accounted in 1938 for over half the world's international trade. In addition, the Geneva agreement included commitments to curb the use of other trade restrictions, such as import quotas and preferential treatment of imports from one country as against those from another.

This agreement is a landmark in international economic relations. Never before have so many nations combined in such an intensive effort to reduce barriers to trade. While it will be some time before the benefits of the agreement can be fully felt, it is clear that it will make a substantial contribution to the expansion of world trade and to the recovery of the world economy.

We expect that many other countries will wish to join the Geneva agreement. The

continuance of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act is necessary to enable the United States to play its part in extending this reduction of trade barriers to these other countries. Furthermore, we shall need the authority of the act to make appropriate revisions in the Geneva agreement as they are made necessary by changing world conditions.

The trade-agreements authority will also be needed to enable us, in concert with other nations, to carry out the International Trade Organization charter, now being completed at Habana. The United States has actively sponsored the creation of this Organization to encourage the conduct of trade between nations on fair and liberal principles and to provide a forum where nations can consult on points of economic difference and on cooperative measures to solve common economic problems. The proposed charter, which will be presented to the Congress at a later date, includes as one of its cardinal points the undertaking that all member countries will stand ready to negotiate for the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers on a reciprocal and mutually advantageous basis. The extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act will enable us to carry out this undertaking.

For all these reasons I am convinced that we should continue the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. The positive benefits to world trade, to United States export industries and agriculture, and to our domestic consumers are beyond question. Furthermore, we need have no fear of serious harm to any domestic producer. An expanding foreign trade promotes the most efficient use of our productive resources and contributes to the growing prosperity of the whole Nation.

In addition, the interests of domestic producers are carefully protected in the negotiation of each trade agreement. I assured the Congress, when the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was last extended in 1945, that domestic producers would be safeguarded in the process of expanding trade. That commitment has been kept. It will continue to be kept. The practice will be continued of holding extensive public hearings to obtain the view of all interested persons before negotiations are even begun. The practice will be continued whereby each agreement before its conclusion will be carefully studied by the Departments of State, Treasury, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, the National Military Establishment, and the United States Tariff Commission. Finally, each agreement will continue to include a clause which will permit withdrawal or modification of concessions if, as a result of unforeseen developments and of the concessions, imports increase to such an extent as to cause or threaten serious injury to domestic producers.

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act is a tested and practical means, which has wide bipartisan support, for achieving the benefits of expanding world commerce for the United States and for other countries. It is a continuing evidence of the determination of the United States to contribute its full share to the reconstruction of a sound and growing world economy as the basis for enduring peace. As such, I strongly recommend that the act be extended for an additional 3 years.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: For the President's statement upon signing the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1948, see Item 141.

43 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Requesting Legislation on Behalf of the Civilian Member, Permanent Joint Board on Defense, U.S.-Canada. *March* 2, 1948

Dear Mr. President:

I recommend that the Congress enact legislation to exempt the civilian member of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense, U.S.–Canada, from certain statutory restrictions on the prosecution of claims against the United States by Government employees.

On October 7, 1947, I appointed Mr. Dean G. Acheson as civilian member and chairman of the United States Section of the Board to fill the vacancy caused by the death of former Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia, who was appointed to the position by President Roosevelt in 1940.

The Permanent Joint Board on Defense, U.S.–Canada, was established by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Mackenzie King on August 18, 1940, to "consider in the broad sense the defense of the north half of the Western Hemisphere". The Board is wholly an advisory body which makes recommendations to the two Governments concerning measures that should be taken for the joint security of Canada and the United States against attack from abroad. Practically all its recommendations, many of them of fundamental significance, have been adopted.

Membership of the U.S. Section of the Board since 1940 has been composed of a civilian chairman, a representative of the Department of State who acts as secretary, and representatives of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. The civilian member and chairman serves without compensation and at the pleasure of the President; his position is not a statutory one and is not subject to Senate confirmation. His service requires about two weeks' work a year.

It was recently brought to Mr. Acheson's attention, and he promptly brought it to mine, that this advisory, uncompensated service might fall within the provisions of certain statutes (specifically Sections 109 or 113 of the Criminal Code or Section 19(e) of the Contract Settlement Act of 1944) restricting the activities of officers or employees of the United States in cases in which the Government might be involved. Following his resignation as Under Secretary of State on June 30, 1947, Mr. Acheson returned to the practice of law. I believe the Congress will agree that his service on the Board is far indeed from those situations where the Congress feared there might be divided loyalty or the use of "inside" information for private purposes. Nevertheless, in view of the possible technical bearing of the statutes in question, Mr. Acheson has quite properly submitted to me, and I have accepted, his resignation as civilian member and chairman of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense.

The civilian member and chairman of the U.S. Section of the Board represents me but also in a much larger sense the broad civilian interest in joint U.S.–Canadian defense plans. I know that the Congress will agree with me that we should find for this position a man of outstanding character, qualifications, and national reputation. I also venture to hope that the Congress will agree with me that Mr. Acheson fulfills these requirements, and will therefore understand my desire to reappoint him to the position of civilian member and chairman. However,

the problem which arises is broader than the appointment of any particular individual and will continue to be a serious impediment in the filling of this position. I therefore earnestly hope that the Congress will enact appropriate legislation which will exempt the position from the above-mentioned statutory restrictions. I enclose a draft of a proposed bill which would achieve this end.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Arthur H. Vandenberg, President pro tempore of the Senate, and to the Honorable Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives. A copy of the proposed bill was also released.

44 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission. *March* 3, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting herewith the annual report of the United States Civil Service Commission.

This report deals with the men and women who, as Federal employees, are serving the people of the United States. The strength of our Government is in direct proportion to the character of those employees, and with knowledge of that strength, we can take just pride in our Federal workers and the job they are doing. I know them to be hard working and sincere in their efforts to contribute to the well-being of the United States.

I desire to express my deep appreciation of the splendid service they have rendered during the very difficult transition from war to peace. The quality of this service has been such that I can say with emphasis that the investment we have made in the development of a career civil service over the last 65 years has paid, and is paying, real dividends in the form of loyal and efficient service to the citizens of this Nation. The advancement of those in the career service to positions of increased responsibility and highest rank on the basis of merit is ample evidence of the value of their service. I shall continue to see to it that the civil service system is constantly strengthened and that merit and efficiency are rewarded by advancement.

I am convinced that if the Congress puts into effect the recommendations which are included in the Civil Service Commission's report it will be taking action which will serve to further strengthen the civilian career service.

The complete revision of the Classification Act as recommended by the Civil Service Commission is long overdue. The recommendations of the Commission in this regard if put into effect will correct the dislocation and many inequities in salary rates resulting from the enactment of piecemeal pay laws in the past. In addition, their recommendations will simplify the administration of the Classification Act. In my opinion, the Congress should enact these recommendations into law irrespective of what the final decision may be as to further pay increases for Federal employees generally. Any further patchwork amendments to the Classification Act will stand in the way of efficient salary administration.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The 64th annual report of the United States Civil Service Commission is printed in House Document 455 (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

45 Letter to the Administrator, Federal Works Agency, on the Disaster Surplus Property Program. *March* 4, 1948

[Released March 4, 1948. Dated March 3, 1948]

My dear General Fleming:

Thank you for your timely letter pointing out the danger that the Disaster Surplus Property Program may not provide adequate relief to stricken communities in the future.

This matter has been on my mind as I have watched the disposal of surplus property held by the War Assets Administration.

I am gratified to know that you are studying this problem and I want to thank you for your consistent efforts to coordinate disaster relief. We should now give consideration to making a permanent arrangement for disaster relief.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Major General Philip B. Fleming, Administrator, Federal Works Agency, Washington 25, D.C.]

NOTE: General Fleming's letter, dated March 1, 1948, was released with the President's reply. The letter described the operation of the Disaster Surplus Property Program in nine stricken areas. Conceding that the American Red Cross "continues to do its magnificent job of providing, as far as its resources permit, for the alleviation of personal hardship and suffering," General Fleming stated that a broad field remained where aid must be channelled through governmental agencies.

"The Disaster Surplus Property Program has proved its worth," the letter added, "in many areas where equipment and materials were not locally available to fill the unforeseeable gaps. This approach is in contrast to a long record of improvised and often inadequate disaster relief. Both my own experience and the nature of the problem lead me to believe that the time has come to consider a national policy for Federal aid in these situations. . . . Looking to the not-distant future when our pool of War Assets resources is disposed of, the Nation may be ill-prepared to aid stricken areas . . . unless we have adopted a sound program of mobilization for disaster."

46 Special Message to the Congress on the Need for a Modern System for the Management of Government Property. *March* 5, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Government's settled policy of eliminating temporary war agencies as soon as practicable, I recommend that the Congress now provide for the liquidation of the temporary arrangements for disposing of surplus war property and for the completion of the remaining disposal activities within the permanent Federal establishment. At the same time, the Congress should provide for a number of improvements in the permanent system for the procurement, use and disposal of Government property.

For a number of years the Federal Government has needed a better system of property management. The present arrangements, which have been developed under piecemeal legislation dating as far back as 1870, are inadequate to meet the present requirements of the Government. That legislation contains many obsolete provisions and does not provide for the central leadership and direction necessary to coordinate the complex activities concerned with the procurement, use and disposal of Government property.

The Congress has considered basic revisions in the Government's system of property management in the past. The 77th and 78th Congresses devoted much attention to this subject. This work was interrupted, however, by the more urgent need for emergency

legislation to provide for the disposal of surplus war property.

The Surplus Property Act of 1944 was enacted for this purpose. The War Assets Administration and its predecessor agencies have been responsible for the disposal of surplus war property at home. The Department of State has been responsible for disposing of surplus property located abroad.

The Surplus Property Act was not designed to be permanent property management legislation. Rather, its purpose was to achieve a number of special objectives which would make the disposal of the huge war surpluses a constructive force in demobilization and reconversion.

An effective job has been done in achieving these objectives. Disposal operations have been carried on without the uncontrolled dumping of surplus stocks which would have created hazards to business and employment. Many thousands of veterans have been assisted in establishing or improving their own business, professional, and agricultural enterprises. The competitive position of small business has been protected and strengthened. State and local governments and schools throughout the country have received substantial benefits. Our surplus property abroad has been disposed of in a manner which would make the greatest contribution to world recovery efforts.

The critical period in disposing of war surpluses is now drawing to a close. By June 30, 1948, the total amount of war property declared surplus, both at home and abroad, will have reached nearly $40 billion, in terms of original cost. By that date, it is expected that all but about $6 billion in property will have been disposed of.

Of the original $40 billion total, property costing about $11 billion was located abroad, of which about $600 million will be left next June. This small remaining inventory, which is widely dispersed, can be liquidated most efficiently by transferring responsibility for its disposal from the Department of State to the owning agencies—primarily the Departments of the Army and Navy. Where appropriate, the disposal of this property would continue to be conducted so as to assist our international programs.

About $29 billion, of the $40 billion total, represented property located in the United States and its Territories and possessions.

The greatest number of buyers has been interested in consumer and producer goods which constitute the main types of surplus personal property useful in a peacetime economy. It is estimated that on June 30 only about $500 million of a total of almost $10 billion of such goods will remain. Much of this small remainder will have limited sales appeal and all of it will face increasingly stiff competition from the record output of our industries. As inventories of surplus goods decline, unit costs of disposal will necessarily rise. Furthermore, disposal costs are held at high levels by the rigid priority and preference provisions of the present law. Unless the law is changed, we will soon reach the point at which it will cost the Government more to dispose of these goods than it receives from their sale. We should therefore simplify the disposal procedure and make possible reduced costs by providing for the elimination of these cumbersome provisions when the remaining quantities of this property are no longer of sufficient size to justify their maintenance.

The same considerations apply to aircraft, aircraft components, electronic equipment, and other miscellaneous items, of which about $1.2 billion, mainly aircraft components, are expected to remain on June 30 from a total of nearly $10 billion. No useful purpose would be served by retaining the

present priority and preference provisions of the law for these items, for which there is very limited demand.

A different situation exists with respect to surplus real property. Of a total of somewhat more than $9 billion of such surplus there will remain on June 30 a substantial amount—some $2.6 billion of property awaiting disposition and an additional $1.1 billion under lease. A long-range program will be required for the ultimate disposition of this property. Removal of preferences and priorities applying to this type of property would not result in substantial economies but would, on the other hand, confuse a large number of current negotiations for the orderly sale of important assets.

The War Assets Administration has served well as an emergency agency for the disposal of surplus war property. It would not be suitable, however, to maintain a large independent agency to liquidate the remaining personal property and to deal with the longer range disposal of real property. The War Assets Administration, therefore, should be terminated at the end of this fiscal year and the remainder of the war surplus property disposal program transferred to a permanent agency.

At the same time that these actions relating to surplus war property are taken, we should improve our permanent system for the procurement, use and disposal of property. The problem of providing for orderly liquidation of the surplus war property program and the problem of establishing a new and better system for administering the property management functions of the Government are intimately related. Both should be considered together.

Efforts to achieve permanent improvement should be directed toward two main objectives. First, such procurement, disposal and other property management functions as can best be performed at a central point should be consolidated in a single Government agency. Second, adequate provision should be made for the coordination throughout the Government of those property management activities which are not to be performed by this central agency.

Government supply activities with respect to personal property, such as procurement and warehousing, are now centralized to a considerable extent in the Bureau of Federal Supply of the Treasury Department. Certain exemptions from these central supply activities are made, as in the case of the National Military Establishment for reasons of national security. Moreover, some items are purchased for the Government not by the Bureau of Federal Supply but by other agencies with special competence. Appropriate exceptions for such cases as these should, of course, be continued.

At the present time, Government procurement and disposal functions are not in the same agency. They should be brought together. Common direction of purchasing and disposal activities will permit the establishment of an efficient system to insure that equipment no longer needed by one agency is made available to other agencies and to prevent the purchase of new equipment when surplus equipment is already available.

Furthermore, the centralized services concerned with personal property are closely related to centralized services concerned with real property and they should be brought together in the same agency. At the present time, central services with respect to real property are primarily the responsibility of the Public Buildings Administration of the Federal Works Agency.

Taking all these considerations into account, I am convinced that the Federal Works Agency should be made the central property management agency of the Govern-

ment, by transferring to it the Bureau of Federal Supply and the remaining war surplus disposal functions of the War Assets Administration. Placing the Bureau of Federal Supply and the surplus disposal functions of the War Assets Administration in the same agency will make possible common direction of purchasing and disposal operations, thus presenting obvious opportunities for economies. Placing the Bureau of Federal Supply in the same agency with the Public Buildings Administration will facilitate the procurement of utility services, the operation of repair shops, and the provision of other common services affecting both real and personal property.

To improve the administration of those property management activities which are not centralized, each Executive agency should be required by law to maintain an adequate inventory control of its property, to shift property which has served its original purpose to other uses within the agency when appropriate, and to report to the Federal Works Administrator any property no longer needed. Furthermore, the Federal Works Administrator should be given authority to establish a uniform system of identifying and classifying property, to make surveys of Government property management activities, and to prescribe uniform policies.

To accomplish these objectives, I recommend that the Congress enact legislation for the following purposes:

1. To terminate the War Assets Administration and transfer to the Federal Works Agency the function of liquidating the remaining domestic surplus war property. The priorities and preference requirements of the Surplus Property Act applying to personal property should be eliminated in the near future. Those applying to real property should continue in effect until December 31, 1949.

2. To transfer the responsibility for liquidating the remaining surplus war property abroad from the Department of State to the owning agencies.

3. To transfer the Bureau of Federal Supply and its functions to the Federal Works Agency.

4. To provide on a permanent basis for the orderly and economical procurement, use and disposal of Government property, under the central leadership and direction of the Federal Works Administrator. It is especially important that the Federal Works Administrator be given responsibility for developing improved methods, and that sufficient flexibility be provided in the law to permit the adoption of new methods without delay.

I have requested the Federal Works Administrator to submit to the appropriate committees of the Congress proposed legislation to carry out this program.

The enactment of such legislation will abolish our largest remaining war agency and provide for an orderly liquidation of the present war surplus disposal program. It will establish an improved system for managing the Government's property, and mark a major advance toward the development of a central service agency for the Federal Government. These steps will make an important contribution to the efficient and economical conduct of the Government.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: On June 30,1948, the President approved the Supplemental Independent Offices Appropriation Act of 1949 (62 Stat. 1196), which included provisions relating to the termination of the War Assets Administration and the disposal of remaining surplus property. On June 30, 1949, he approved the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 (63 Stat. 377).

47 Remarks at the First Meeting of the National Capital Sesquicentennial Commission. *March* 8, 1948

THE ARRIVAL of the city of Washington at the venerable age of 150 years in 1950 will be a matter of importance to all the citizens of the United States, and a symbol to freedom-loving people everywhere. I am happy to serve with the distinguished members of this Commission in planning a celebration of this anniversary in keeping with the high importance of the occasion.

The Capital of the United States belongs to all the citizens of the United States—as much to the men and women of Maine or California, Minnesota or Georgia, as to any of us here. The sesquicentennial of the city of Washington should be celebrated not just within the confines of the District of Columbia, but all over the Nation.

In a larger sense, we hope that all friends of democracy everywhere will join with us in marking the birthday of a city which has grown great as the capital of our democratic Nation.

NOTE: The President served as ex officio chairman of the Commission which was established by an act of Congress on July 18, 1947 (61 Stat. 396). The other members of the Commission included the President pro tempore of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, three Senators appointed by the President pro tempore, three Representatives appointed by the Speaker, and six residents of the District of Columbia appointed by the President.

48 Letter to Lincoln MacVeagh on His Appointment as Ambassador to Portugal. *March* 9, 1948

My dear Mr. MacVeagh:

On the occasion of your appointment as Ambassador to Portugal, I would like to make some personal expression of appreciation for the high services you have already rendered your country.

During the past fifteen critical years you have served with distinction as Chief of the United States Missions to Iceland, the Union of South Africa, Yugoslavia, and Greece. In this last post especially—as Minister from 1933 to 1941 and as Ambassador since 1943—your scholarly statesmanship and diplomatic judgment have been of the utmost value.

Your broad and farsighted understanding of international developments with respect to Greece helped crystallize American determination to uphold the vital principles at stake in the present Greek situation. Through your knowledge of Greece, and by the exercise of tact, patience and geniality, you were able to adjust many practical difficulties and assure ever closer friendship and cooperation between the Greek and American peoples, thereby laying an indispensable groundwork for our common efforts to preserve Greek independence.

Your assignment to Greece has been an exceptionally long and trying one. It involved the most arduous duties as well as physical hardship and danger, and was saddened towards the end by the loss of your wife who was a devoted partner in all of your activities.

In thanking you for a job well done under these most difficult circumstances, I extend also my very best wishes in connection with the important new responsibilities you are about to assume.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable Lincoln MacVeagh, Department of State, Washington, D.C.]

49 The President's News Conference of *March* 11, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] First, I want to pay attention to a vicious statement that was made by a columnist in a New York gossip paper, in which he said I had made the statement to an editor of a New York paper here that the Jews in New York were disloyal. I had thought I wouldn't have to add another liar's star to that fellow's crown, but I will have to do it. That is just a lie out of the whole cloth. That is as emphatic as I can put it.

Now I am ready for questions.

Q. May we quote you on that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Verbatim, if you like.

Q. What is the name of the gentleman, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. You know him as well as I do. I am not going to name him. Get the article out of the Daily Mirror in New York and read it.

Q. He said that you had made the statement that Jews were disloyal?

THE PRESIDENT. Disloyal.

Q. All Jews? The Jews?

THE PRESIDENT. Jews. Jews in New York are disloyal, which is a lie out of the whole cloth. It makes good reading in a political year.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, are you ready to announce the names of the American delegation to the Geneva Freedom of Information Conference?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I am not.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, a year ago tomorrow you enunciated the Truman doctrine to contain communism, and in view of the fact in the past year that communism actually has expanded, I wonder if you would comment generally, particularly as to whether you feel the doctrine should now be expanded or strengthened——

THE PRESIDENT. It does not need expansion. The so-called doctrine is part of the foreign policy of the United States. It is preliminary to the European recovery program which is a part of the same program. If the European recovery program is carried out promptly, it will answer the purpose for which it was—the so-called doctrine was set up. It has been successful, however, in what it was intended to do to date.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, last December, and several times recently, you expressed confidence in ultimate world peace. In view of recent events, particularly events in Europe, is your confidence still as strong as it was, or has it suffered——

THE PRESIDENT. It has been somewhat shaken, but I still believe that eventually we will get world peace. We must have it, because we can't afford to destroy the whole world in another world war.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, the key word in that statement which you just made was "promptly," I imagine?

THE PRESIDENT. Promptly—that's right. Promptly—that's correct.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, do you have anything to add to Senator McGrath's statement on your candidacy?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I think he stated me clearly. Quoted me correctly.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, do you care to make any comment on Mr. Masaryk's death? [1]

THE PRESIDENT. I, of course, was well acquainted with Mr. Masaryk, and feel very badly, and am very sorry that he is dead, and shall express my sympathy to his family. I cannot make any official statement on his

[1] Jan Masaryk, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia.

death or its cause, because we have had no official comment on it. I think, though, that we should be careful, as General Marshall said, not to let any passions get the better of us until we know the facts.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, do you plan to send Congress any bills to carry out your civil rights message——

THE PRESIDENT. Congress never feels very happy when the Executive sends them bills and says "this is it." When I was in the Congress it was customary for the Congress to write its own bills. If they request me for suggestions, I will be glad to make them.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, I believe the term of Governor Gruening of Alaska is about up. Do you plan to reappoint him, or anyone—or appoint anyone else?

THE PRESIDENT. Is that the Governor of Alaska you are asking me about? I will make an announcement on that very shortly.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, there is a report, which Secretary Anderson has not denied, that he plans to quit the Cabinet to run for the United States Senate, in New Mexico. Have you any comment?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't seen Secretary Anderson, and I expect to see him tomorrow at the Cabinet meeting, and I will comment on it then.

Q. Would that be agreeable to you, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. It would not. I hope Secretary Anderson stays in the Cabinet. He is a good Secretary of Agriculture, and has done an excellent job.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, have you decided yet who it is you will appoint to those two vacancies on the CAB?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't. I will make an announcement on that just as quickly as I can.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, when will you get that steel report?

THE PRESIDENT. It is in preparation now, and I hope it will be ready for release very shortly. Just as soon as it is ready, it will be released.[1]

[13.] Q. Mr. President, do you expect to see Michael of Rumania[2] while he is here?

THE PRESIDENT. I have not been approached for an appointment as yet. If he asks to see the President, of course I will be courteous to him.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, there has been a revival of rumors of the possibility of a meeting between yourself and Generalissimo Stalin. Is there anything new you can say on——

THE PRESIDENT. No, I know nothing about such rumors. There has been no official approach to me on the subject.

Q. What was the question?

THE PRESIDENT. The question was that there has been a revival of rumors that there would be a meeting between the Premier of Russia and myself. I said there is no foundation for any such rumors as I have not been approached on the subject at all.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, at the Capitol, when I left there a half-hour ago, it was full of rumors that you were going to make some tremendous foreign policy statement at the conference. I haven't heard any yet.

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't heard anything about it. [*Laughter*]

[16.] Q. Mr. President, a week ago you were asked if the time had arrived for the United States to join the other Western nations in some sort of military alliance, in view of the actions of Russia. You answered that you were not prepared to answer the question at that time——

THE PRESIDENT. I am not prepared to an-

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[1] The report on steel prices by the Council of Economic Advisers, dated March 10, 1948, was released by the White House on March 13.

[2] Michael I, former King of Rumania.

swer now. I have no comment to make on that question.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, on the subject of United States policy toward China, is it still the policy of this Government to favor the inclusion of Chinese Communists in the Chinese Government?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know that that was ever the policy of this Government. If it was, it's news to me. The United States wanted—is already on friendly relations with the Government of China. It recognizes the Government of China. We have been trying to help the recognized Government of China to maintain peace in the Far East.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, do you expect to make any major speech on St. Patrick's Day in New York, or will there be——

THE PRESIDENT. That will be a matter of judgment.

Q. Could you tell us whether it will be on foreign policy, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I can't tell you. I haven't got it ready yet. When I have it ready, I will give you a copy of it.[1]

[19.] Q. Mr. President, returning to the Chinese question, you did make a statement in December 1945,[2] advocating a broadening of the base——

THE PRESIDENT. I still stick to the statement. That statement is just as good today.

Q. Can't hear those questions over here.

THE PRESIDENT. The question was that in 1945 I did make the statement that I believed in the broadening of the base of the Chinese Government. That doesn't change my position a bit. I still do it that way.

Q. You mean the broadening does not include taking Communists into the National Government?

THE PRESIDENT. It does not. It does not.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, what did you and Mr. de Valera [1] talk about yesterday?

THE PRESIDENT. Social things.

Q. What sort?

THE PRESIDENT. The welfare of the people of Ireland and the hope that he would have a very pleasant visit in the United States.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, when that December 1945 statement was made, did it then include the possibility of including Communists——

THE PRESIDENT. It did not include Communists at all.

Q. Mr. President, along that line, could you amplify for us now a little bit what was the purpose of sending General Marshall to China at the time?

THE PRESIDENT. In an endeavor to assist the Chiang Kai-shek government to meet the situation with which it was confronted.

Q. In that connection, Mr. President, will the Wedemeyer report be released?

THE PRESIDENT. It will not.

Q. Mr. President, Secretary Marshall, just before he became Secretary of State, in his report on China,[2] did recommend the broadening of the base of the Chinese Government, that Communists be included?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think General Marshall intended to take any Communists into the Chinese Government. We don't want a Communist government in China, or anywhere else, if we can help it.

Q. Mr. President, is it not possible they were using the word "Communist" in a different sense?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, that is possible.

Q. What was the question, please?

THE PRESIDENT. The question was that maybe the questioners were using the word "Communist" in an entirely different sense

[1] See Item 53.

[2] See 1945 volume, this series, Item 216.

[1] Eamon de Valera, former Prime Minister of Ireland.

[2] The statement by Gen. George C. Marshall, released to the press on January 7, 1947, is printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 16, p. 83).

than the one in which I am talking about it.

Q. Well, Mr. President, could you tell us what sense you are using it in?

THE PRESIDENT. Let the questioners tell me the sense in which they were using it, and then I will explain it to you.

Q. I would like to hear both versions.

Q. Mr. President, a great many people, I believe, thought that "broadening the base" meant taking in Communists, or at least Chinese liberals.

THE PRESIDENT. Chinese liberals. There is a very great difference between the liberal element in China and the Communists. The Chinese Communists are those people who believe in government from the top—the totalitarian state. There are a great many liberals in China. I talked to one of them just the day before yesterday. There are a great many of them who have been educated in this country, and they are the intelligentsia, really, of China. They are the people in whom we are interested principally. We would like to see them included in the broadening of the base of the Chinese Government.

Q. Mr. President, the distinction between liberals and Communists would also apply in this country too?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. That is a very good definition. Same difference exactly.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You're welcome.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and thirty-ninth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 4 p.m. on Thursday, March 11, 1948.

50 Directive on the Need for Maintaining the Confidential Status of Employee Loyalty Records. *March* 15, 1948

[Released March 15, 1948. Dated March 13, 1948]

Memorandum to all officers and employees in the executive branch of the Government:

The efficient and just administration of the Employee Loyalty Program, under Executive Order No. 9835 of March 21, 1947, requires that reports, records, and files relative to the program be preserved in strict confidence. This is necessary in the interest of our national security and welfare, to preserve the confidential character and sources of information furnished, and to protect Government personnel against the dissemination of unfounded or disproved allegations. It is necessary also in order to insure the fair and just disposition of loyalty cases.

For these reasons, and in accordance with the long-established policy that reports rendered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other investigative agencies of the executive branch are to be regarded as confidential, all reports, records, and files relative to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees (including reports of such investigative agencies), shall be maintained in confidence, and shall not be transmitted or disclosed except as required in the efficient conduct of business.

Any subpena or demand or request for information, reports, or files of the nature described, received from sources other than those persons in the executive branch of the Government who are entitled thereto by reason of their official duties, shall be respectfully declined, on the basis of this directive, and the subpena or demand or other request shall be referred to the Office of the President for such response as the President may determine to be in the public interest in the particular case. There shall be no relaxation of the provisions of this directive except with

my express authority.

This directive shall be published in the Federal Register.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: On the same day the White House released a statement concerning the President's directive. The statement traced the development from Washington's day of the principle that the President may refuse to divulge or to permit the divulgence of confidential information outside the executive branch. Among the precedents cited was a letter from Attorney General Jackson, dated April 30, 1941, refusing to furnish certain FBI reports to the House Committee on Naval Affairs. Stating that the letter was written with the approval and at the direction of President Roosevelt, the Attorney General said that disclosure of the reports could not do otherwise than seriously prejudice law enforcement. "Counsel for a defendant or prospective defendant could have no greater help than to know how much or how little information the Government has, and what witnesses or sources of information it can rely on." The Attorney General added that the courts had repeatedly held that they would not and could not require the Executive to produce such papers when in the opinion of the Executive their production is contrary to the public interest.

For Executive Order 9835, see title 3 to the Code of Federal Regulations, 1943–1948 Compilation, page 627.

51 Statement by the President on the Order Transferring Vessels to Italy. *March* 16, 1948

FOURTEEN of the ships transferred to Italy today are Italian vessels seized by the United States during the war. The other 15 are the equivalent tonnage of Italian ships which were seized by the United States and lost during the conflict or reduced to such a condition that they could not be returned.

The Italian vessels seized by the United States during the early years of the war played an important part in the victory against dictatorship to which the Italian people contributed so much after their own liberation from fascism. They are returned now to rejoin the Italian Merchant Marines and work again for the rebuilding of peace and the restoration of a prosperous Italy.

In making this transfer, I am happy to express again the feeling of friendship and admiration of the American people for the Italian people who, in these brief years since the war ended in Europe, have made such courageous strides forward in the democratic faith and repeatedly shown the world that, supported with courage and wisdom, this faith cannot and will not falter or fail.

NOTE: The text of Executive Order 9935, "Directing the Transfer of Certain Vessels to the Government of Italy" (Mar. 16, 1948; 3 CFR, 1943–1948 Comp., p. 692), was released with the President's statement.

A White House release of the same date stated that, following the signing of the Executive order, an agreement transferring the vessels was signed by Ambassador Tarchiani of Italy and by Attorney General Tom Clark and Vice Adm. W. W. Smith, Chairman of the Maritime Commission, acting for the United States.

52 Special Message to the Congress on the Threat to the Freedom of Europe. *March* 17, 1948

[As delivered in person before a joint session]

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress:

I am here today to report to you on the critical nature of the situation in Europe, and to recommend action for your consideration.

Rapid changes are taking place in Europe which affect our foreign policy and our national security. There is an increasing threat

to nations which are striving to maintain a form of government which grants freedom to its citizens. The United States is deeply concerned with the survival of freedom in those nations. It is of vital importance that we act now, in order to preserve the conditions under which we can achieve lasting peace based on freedom and justice.

The achievement of such a peace has been the great goal of this nation.

Almost 3 years have elapsed since the end of the greatest of all wars, but peace and stability have not returned to the world. We were well aware that the end of the fighting would not automatically settle the problems arising out of the war. The establishment of peace after the fighting is over has always been a difficult task. And even if all the Allies of World War II were united in their desire to establish a just and honorable peace, there would still be great difficulties in the way of achieving that peace.

But the situation in the world today is not primarily the result of natural difficulties which follow a great war. It is chiefly due to the fact that one nation has not only refused to cooperate in the establishment of a just and honorable peace, but—even worse—has actively sought to prevent it.

The Congress is familiar with the course of events.

You know of the sincere and patient attempts of the democratic nations to find a secure basis for peace through negotiation and agreement. Conference after conference has been held in different parts of the world. We have tried to settle the questions arising out of the war on a basis which would permit the establishment of a just peace. You know the obstacles we have encountered. But the record stands as a monument to the good faith and integrity of the democratic nations of the world. The agreements we did obtain, imperfect though they were, could have furnished the basis for a just peace—if they had been kept.

But they were not kept.

They have been persistently ignored and violated by one nation.

The Congress is also familiar with the developments concerning the United Nations. Most of the countries of the world have joined together in the United Nations in an attempt to build a world order based on law and not on force. Most of the members support the United Nations earnestly and honestly, and seek to make it stronger and more effective.

One nation, however, has persistently obstructed the work of the United Nations by constant abuse of the veto. That nation has vetoed 21 proposals for action in a little over 2 years.

But that is not all. Since the close of hostilities, the Soviet Union and its agents have destroyed the independence and democratic character of a whole series of nations in Eastern and Central Europe.

It is this ruthless course of action, and the clear design to extend it to the remaining free nations of Europe, that have brought about the critical situation in Europe today.

The tragic death of the Republic of Czechoslovakia has sent a shock throughout the civilized world. Now pressure is being brought to bear on Finland, to the hazard of the entire Scandinavian peninsula. Greece is under direct military attack from rebels actively supported by her Communist dominated neighbors. In Italy, a determined and aggressive effort is being made by a Communist minority to take control of that country. The methods vary, but the pattern is all too clear.

Faced with this growing menace, there have been encouraging signs that the free nations of Europe are drawing closer together for their economic well-being and for the common defense of their liberties.

In the economic field, the movement for

mutual self-help to restore conditions essential to the preservation of free institutions is well under way. In Paris, the 16 nations which are cooperating in the European recovery program are meeting again to establish a joint organization to work for the economic restoration of Western Europe.

The United States has strongly supported the efforts of these nations to repair the devastation of war and restore a sound world economy. In presenting this program to the Congress last December, I emphasized the necessity for speedy action. Every event in Europe since that day has underlined the great urgency for the prompt adoption of this measure.

The Soviet Union and its satellites were invited to cooperate in the European recovery program. They rejected that invitation. More than that, they have declared their violent hostility to the program and are aggressively attempting to wreck it.

They see in it a major obstacle to their designs to subjugate the free community of Europe. They do not want the United States to help Europe. They do not even want the 16 cooperating countries to help themselves.

While economic recovery in Europe is essential, measures for economic rehabilitation alone are not enough. The free nations of Europe realize that economic recovery, if it is to succeed, must be afforded some measure of protection against internal and external aggression. The movement toward economic cooperation has been followed by a movement toward common self-protection in the face of the growing menace to their freedom.

At the very moment I am addressing you, five nations of the European community, in Brussels, are signing a 50-year agreement for economic cooperation and common defense against aggression.

This action has great significance, for this agreement was not imposed by the decree of a more powerful neighbor. It was the free choice of independent governments representing the will of their people, and acting within the terms of the Charter of the United Nations.

Its significance goes far beyond the actual terms of the agreement itself. It is a notable step in the direction of unity in Europe for the protection and preservation of its civilization. This development deserves our full support. I am confident that the United States will, by appropriate means, extend to the free nations the support which the situation requires. I am sure that the determination of the free countries of Europe to protect themselves will be matched by an equal determination on our part to help them to protect themselves.

The recent developments in Europe present this Nation with fundamental issues of vital importance.

I believe that we have reached a point at which the position of the United States should be made unmistakably clear.

The principles and the purposes expressed in the Charter of the United Nations continue to represent our hope for the eventual establishment of the rule of law in international affairs. The Charter constitutes the basic expression of the code of international ethics to which this country is dedicated. We cannot, however, close our eyes to the harsh fact that through obstruction and even defiance on the part of one nation, this great dream has not yet become a full reality.

It is necessary, therefore, that we take additional measures to supplement the work of the United Nations and to support its aims. There are times in world history when it is far wiser to act than to hesitate. There is some risk involved in action—there always is. But there is far more risk in failure to act.

For if we act wisely now, we shall strengthen the powerful forces for freedom, justice, and peace which are represented by the United Nations and the free nations of the world.

I regard it as my duty, therefore, to recommend to the Congress those measures which, in my judgment, are best calculated to give support to the free and democratic nations of Europe and to improve the solid foundation of our own national strength.

First, I recommend that the Congress speedily complete its action on the European recovery program. That program is the foundation of our policy of assistance to the free nations of Europe. Prompt passage of that program is the most telling contribution we can now make toward peace.

The decisive action which the Senate has taken without regard to partisan political considerations is a striking example of the effective working of democracy.

Time is now of critical importance. I am encouraged by the information which has come to me concerning the plans for expeditious action by the House of Representatives. I hope that no single day will be needlessly lost.

Second, I recommend prompt enactment of universal training legislation.

Until the free nations of Europe have regained their strength, and so long as communism threatens the very existence of democracy, the United States must remain strong enough to support those countries of Europe which are threatened with communist control and police-state rule.

I believe that we have learned the importance of maintaining military strength as a means of preventing war. We have found that a sound military system is necessary in time of peace if we are to remain at peace. Aggressors in the past, relying on our apparent lack of military force, have unwisely precipitated war. Although they have been led to destruction by their misconception of our strength, we have paid a terrible price for our unpreparedness.

Universal training is the only feasible means by which the civilian components of our armed forces can be built up to the strength required if we are to be prepared for emergencies. Our ability to mobilize large numbers of trained men in time of emergency could forestall future conflict and, together with other measures of national policy, could restore stability to the world.

The adoption of universal training by the United States at this time would be unmistakable evidence to all the world that our determination is to back the will to peace with the strength for peace. I am convinced that the decision of the American people, expressed through the Congress, to adopt universal training would be of first importance in giving courage to every free government in the world.

Third, I recommend the temporary reenactment of selective service legislation in order to maintain our armed forces at their authorized strength.

Our armed forces lack the necessary men to maintain their authorized strength. They have been unable to maintain their authorized strength through voluntary enlistments, even though such strength has been reduced to the very minimum necessary to meet our obligations abroad and is far below the minimum which should always be available in the continental United States.

We cannot meet our international responsibilities unless we maintain our armed forces. It is of vital importance, for example, that we keep our occupation forces in Germany until the peace is secure in Europe.

There is no conflict between the requirements of selective service for the regular forces and universal training for the reserve

components. Selective service is necessary until the solid foundation of universal training can be established. Selective service can then be terminated and the regular forces may then be maintained on a voluntary basis.

The recommendations I have made represent the most urgent steps toward securing the peace and preventing war.

We must be ready to take every wise and necessary step to carry out this great purpose. This will require assistance to other nations. It will require an adequate and balanced military strength. We must be prepared to pay the price for peace, or assuredly we shall pay the price of war.

We in the United States remain determined to seek peace by every possible means, a just and honorable basis for the settlement of international issues. We shall continue to give our strong allegiance to the United Nations as the principal means for international security based on law, not on force. We shall remain ready and anxious to join with all nations—I repeat, with all nations—in every possible effort to reach international understanding and agreement.

The door has never been closed, nor will it ever be closed, to the Soviet Union or to any other nation which genuinely cooperates in preserving the peace.

At the same time, we must not be confused about the central issue which confronts the world today.

The time has come when the free men and women of the world must face the threat to their liberty squarely and courageously.

The United States has a tremendous responsibility to act according to the measure of our power for good in the world. We have learned that we must earn the peace we seek just as we earned victory in the war, not by wishful thinking but by realistic effort.

At no time in our history has unity among our people been so vital as it is at the present time.

Unity of purpose, unity of effort, and unity of spirit are essential to accomplish the task before us.

Each of us here in this chamber today has a special responsibility. The world situation is too critical, and the responsibilities of this country are too vast, to permit any party struggles to weaken our influence for maintaining the peace.

The American people have the right to assume that political considerations will not affect our working together. They have the right to assume that we will join hands, wholeheartedly and without reservation, in our efforts to preserve the peace in the world.

With God's help we shall succeed.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. His address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

For the President's statement upon signing the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, see Item 64.

On June 24, 1948, the President approved the Selective Service Act of 1948 (62 Stat. 604).

53 St. Patrick's Day Address in New York City. *March 17, 1948*

Mr. President, Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, fellow Americans:

It is a great honor to be a guest of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick tonight. I have been attempting to keep this engagement for 3 years. This is my first opportunity to accept the invitation which was extended to me 3 years ago. I am deeply grateful for the hospitality of a society with such a noble history. A few days ago a friend in Washington sent me a history of this society and I read with interest and pride of the chari-

table and educational work it has done for over 160 years. May you be as prosperous and as successful in the next 160 years as you have been until now!

I wish I could talk with you tonight about some of the great Americans—sons of St. Patrick—whose deeds have brightened the pages of history. Commodore John Barry—Andrew Jackson—Sergeant Mike Donaldson—Captain Colin Kelly—Admiral Dan Callaghan. We all know their stories, and we are proud of these Americans of Irish descent who defended the United States in time of peril.

I know something about how the Irish fight. I had a Battery in the First World War made up of Irishmen. When you called the roll of that Battery, it sounded as if the Ancient Order of Hibernians were having a meeting on the battlefront!

The ideals for which these men fought are under attack again. And so, instead of speaking about their brave deeds in the past, I shall speak tonight about the present and the future.

As you know, at noon today I addressed a joint session of the Congress. I described the current situation in Europe which is giving all of us so much concern. In the light of this situation I made three recommendations to the Congress.

First, I recommended that the Congress complete its action speedily on economic aid to Europe under the Marshall plan.

Second, I recommended that the Congress enact a program of universal training to provide the reserve of trained citizens which is so essential to the security of the United States.

Third, I recommended that the Congress enact temporary selective service legislation in order to build our armed forces up to their authorized peacetime strength. It is necessary that we call into service enough men to bring our armed forces up to the strength required to safeguard the United States and to meet our foreign commitments at this unsettled time.

It is important for every citizen to understand the reason for these three recommendations.

These recommendations to the Congress have one fundamental purpose.

The purpose is to prevent war.

I know that every loyal American citizen desires lasting peace based on freedom and justice for all men.

The United States has been working steadily and diligently for such a peace.

We took a leading part in establishing the United Nations. We hoped all the nations in the world would work together in the United Nations to solve international problems and to preserve the peace.

As you know, one nation has blocked action in the United Nations by using the veto time and time again. But we have not lost faith in the United Nations. We still believe that it is the foundation for a world order based on law and not on force. And we are going ahead in our efforts to strengthen the United Nations.

Last fall, under the leadership of the United States, the so-called Little Assembly was organized to meet in continuous session to handle international problems as they arise. Our delegates to the Little Assembly are now working with representatives of many other nations, in order to strengthen the mechanism of the United Nations within the framework of the Charter by reducing the excessive use of the veto.

We are taking many other actions toward peace.

Let me give you one example.

Nearly a year ago Secretary of State George Marshall suggested that the nations of Europe work out a cooperative plan to recover from the effects of war. Sixteen nations took up that suggestion and agreed

upon a realistic plan which forms the basis for the European aid program now being adopted by the Congress.

But here again one nation has obstructed cooperative effort. That one nation prevented its weaker neighbors from joining in the Marshall plan, and it is doing everything in its power to prevent the plan from succeeding.

This is not all. That nation has steadily expanded its control over its neighbors. It is a tragic record. Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia. Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria. Yugoslavia, Albania, Hungary. And now Czechoslovakia. One after another they have been brought under the domination of one nation.

Nor is this the whole story. For that nation is now pressing its demands upon Finland. Its foreign agents are fighting in Greece and working hard to undermine the freedom of Italy.

Free men in every land are asking: "Where is this leading?" "When will it end?"

I can bring you tonight no simple or easy answer.

But I can express my firm conviction that, at this moment in history, the faith and strength of the United States are mighty forces for the prevention of war and the establishment of peace.

Our faith and our strength must be made unmistakably clear to the world.

So long as democracy is threatened in the world, and during the period in which the free nations of Europe are regaining their strength, this country must remain strong in order to give support to those countries of Europe whose freedom is endangered.

Universal training is the best means of building up a large pool of trained civilians who could be called upon in times of emergency. The presence, within this country, of a strong, well-trained group of our young men would be of great importance in preventing future conflicts.

The adoption of universal training by this nation at this time would serve notice on the world that our pleas for peace were not mere idle words, but that we had the strength to back up our will for peace.

Even after we adopt universal training, however, it will take a substantial period of time before the pool of trained reserves can be developed. In the meantime our armed forces lack the necessary men to maintain their authorized strength. Voluntary enlistments have been dropping, and each month we fall further under our authorized strength.

This is why we must have a selective service law.

Our armed forces have to be kept up at the authorized level if we are to meet our international responsibilities and maintain a minimum force in the continental United States.

Selective service would be used only as an interim measure until the solid foundation of universal training can be established.

That is the meaning of my recommendations to the Congress today.

The United States is not alone in its determination to achieve peace with freedom. Many nations and millions of people all over the world share our devotion to liberty and justice.

The continuing cooperation of 16 European nations working together to help themselves and to help each other is evidence of that fact.

Even more significant is the action of five free nations of Europe who signed at Brussels a few hours ago an agreement under which they will work toward economic unity and common defense of their liberty. It is important to note that this agreement is in full conformity with the Charter and is

within the framework of the United Nations. The willingness of free nations, with long histories of past differences, to join together in the present union, is the most encouraging sign in Europe today.

The willingness of the people of the United States to accept our new position of world responsibility is equally encouraging. It was hard for some people to realize at the close of World War II that we could never again retire behind the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans and rely on friends abroad to protect democracy and freedom.

But the swift movement of events has made our new role plainly evident. With few exceptions, our people now understand that the United States has become the principal protector of the free world.

To carry out that responsibility we must maintain our strength—military, economic, and moral. And we must join our strength with the strength of other free men the world over who believe as we do in liberty and justice and the dignity of man.

That, too, is the meaning of my recommendations to the Congress today.

In the present world situation, understanding and agreement among our people strengthen our influence for peace. The bipartisan support of the Marshall plan in the Congress and throughout the country is compelling evidence of the unity of purpose of our people. It is of central importance to the preservation of peace that this unity be maintained.

We must beware of those who are devoting themselves to sowing the seeds of disunity among our people. The age-old strategy of divide and conquer can be as effective now as it was in the day of the aggressors of old.

We must not fall victim to the insidious propaganda that peace can be obtained solely by wanting peace. This theory is advanced in the hope that it will deceive our people and that we will then permit our strength to dwindle because of the false belief that all is well in the world.

I do not want and I will not accept the political support of Henry Wallace and his Communists. If joining them or permitting them to join me is the price of victory, I recommend defeat. These are days of high prices for everything, but any price for Wallace and his Communists is too much for me to pay. I'm not buying.

We must not be confused about the issue which confronts the world today.

The issue is as old as recorded history.

It is tyranny against freedom.

Tyranny has, throughout history, assumed many disguises, and has relied on many false philosophies to justify its attack on human freedom. Communism masquerades as a doctrine of progress. It is nothing of the kind. It is, on the contrary, a movement of reaction. It denies that man is master of his fate, and consequently denies man's right to govern himself.

And even worse, communism denies the very existence of God. Religion is persecuted because it stands for freedom under God.

This threat to our liberty and to our faith must be faced by each one of us.

We will have to take risks during the coming year—risks perhaps greater than any this country has been called upon to assume. But they are not risks of our own making, and we cannot make the danger vanish by pretending that it does not exist. We must be prepared to meet that danger with sober self-restraint and calm and judicious action if we are to be successful in our leadership for peace.

The people of the United States have learned that peace will not come in response to soft words and vague wishes. We know

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that we can achieve the peace we seek only through firm resolution and hard work.

We can have confidence in the righteousness of our course. The great ideals of liberty and justice are powerful forces in the hearts of men in every country. The faith in God which sustains us, also sustains men in other lands. Together we can erect an enduring peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Astor. His opening words referred to John A. Coleman, president of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York and chairman of the dinner. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

54 Statement by the President on the Signing of the Charter of the International Trade Organization. *March* 24, 1948

I AM deeply gratified that representatives of more than 50 nations are signing today in Havana the Charter for the International Trade Organization. This Charter will now be sent to the government of each nation for ratification.

The Charter for the International Trade Organization is a code of fair dealing in international trade. Member nations agree to work out mutually beneficial employment policies and ways of promoting economic development. The Charter provides for limitations upon cartels and defines the proper scope of intergovernmental commodity agreements. It establishes standards for the conduct of international trade. The Charter thus deals comprehensively with economic problems which heretofore have been dealt with piecemeal, if at all, in international agreements.

The Charter has immediate significance to the efforts of the nations now working to repair the devastation and dislocation caused by World War II. Acceptance of the Charter, in the spirit in which it has been framed, will stimulate the expansion of international trade upon which world prosperity depends. By supporting the growth of a prosperous international trade, this code of fair dealing will contribute greatly to our efforts for a just and lasting peace.

The development of this Charter is an example of the finest type of international cooperation. The action in Havana today marks the conclusion of one of the most difficult and important tasks ever undertaken at international conferences.

This achievement demonstrates that many countries can work together through the United Nations to reach sound agreement on complex international issues.

55 The President's News Conference of *March* 25, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. I have a short statement I want to read to you to begin with. Then we will have questions, if you feel like it.

[1.] [*Reading*] "It is vital that the American people have a clear understanding of the position of the United States in the United Nations regarding Palestine."

This will be mimeographed and ready for you when you leave.

"This country vigorously supported the plan for partition with economic union recommended by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine and by the General Assembly. We have explored every pos-

sibility consistent with the basic principles of the Charter for giving effect to that solution. Unfortunately, it has become clear that the partition plan cannot be carried out at this time by peaceful means. We could not undertake to impose this solution on the people of Palestine by the use of American troops, both on Charter grounds and as a matter of national policy.

"The United Kingdom has announced its firm intention to abandon its mandate in Palestine on May 15. Unless emergency action is taken, there will be no public authority in Palestine on that date capable of preserving law and order. Violence and bloodshed will descend upon the Holy Land. Large scale fighting among the people of that country will be the inevitable result. Such fighting would infect the entire Middle East and could lead to consequences of the gravest sort involving the peace of this Nation and of the world.

"These dangers are imminent. Responsible governments in the United Nations cannot face this prospect without acting promptly to prevent it. The United States has proposed to the Security Council a temporary United Nations trusteeship for Palestine to provide a government to keep the peace. Such trusteeship was proposed only after we had exhausted every effort to find a way to carry out partition by peaceful means. Trusteeship is not proposed as a substitute for the partition plan but as an effort to fill the vacuum soon to be created by the termination of the mandate on May 15. The trusteeship does not prejudice the character of the final political settlement. It would establish the conditions of order which are essential to a peaceful solution.

"If we are to avert tragedy in Palestine, an immediate truce must be reached between the Arabs and Jews of that country. I am instructing Ambassador Austin to urge upon the Security Council in the strongest terms that representatives of the Arabs and Jews be called at once to the Council table to arrange such a truce.

"The United States is prepared to lend every appropriate assistance to the United Nations in preventing bloodshed and in reaching a peaceful settlement. If the United Nations agrees to a temporary trusteeship, we must take our share of the necessary responsibility. Our regard for the United Nations, for the peace of the world, and for our own self-interest, does not permit us to do less.

"With such a truce and such a trusteeship, a peaceful settlement is yet possible, and without them open warfare is just over the horizon. American policy in this emergency period is based squarely upon the recognition of this inescapable fact."

Q. Mr. President, does the responsibility to back up the U.N. trusteeship plan include the use of troops, even if——

THE PRESIDENT. Our policy is to back up the United Nations in the trusteeship by every means necessary.

Q. Mr. President, does that mean that American troops would be used?

THE PRESIDENT. Not necessarily.

Q. Mr. President, since you have several times urged conditional immigration into Palestine, do you still favor that?

THE PRESIDENT. My position hasn't changed with regard to immigration in Palestine.

Q. That might be carried out after the mandate has expired?

THE PRESIDENT. The first thing to do is to restore peace in the Holy Land, try to see if we can't arrange a settlement that will stop the bloodshed. I don't want to see people killed any more. We have had enough of it in the past 10 years.

Q. To clarify myself in my own thinking, you have asked Senator Austin to ask the U.N. to call the Jewish and Arab representa-

tives to a truce conference?

THE PRESIDENT. That's right. That's right. That's correct.

Q. Mr. President, in Mr. Austin's last statement, one of the major factors for the change in partition was the fact that it would have to be imposed by force. Do you believe that the trusteeship——

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think that the trusteeship will necessarily have to be enforced by force. We could not leave a vacuum on that situation over there, you understand. When the British pull out, there is no government. These people immediately start killing each other, and there must be some way to keep the peace, and keep utilities and communications and everything like that going, because Palestine is a unit, and unless it is economically bound together it cannot exist.

Q. Mr. President, is there an alternative step, in case the truce——

THE PRESIDENT. We will have to see if we can get the truce before we do anything else. That's what we are working on now.

Q. Mr. President, who would be the trustee?

THE PRESIDENT. The United Nations would be the trustee.

Q. Mr. President, is there any estimate of how long it might be necessary to have a trusteeship?

THE PRESIDENT. No. That depends altogether on how the matter works out—after the trusteeship gets going.

Q. You are still, sir, in favor of partition at some future date?

THE PRESIDENT. That is what I am trying to say here as plainly as I can.

Q. Just to clear up another point, sir, you would draw a distinction between putting in troops to enforce partition and putting in troops to support the trusteeship, is that it, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. The United Nations would have to handle that matter. We support the United Nations to the limit. That doesn't necessarily mean that we would have to put American troops in there.

Q. Mr. President, in the event that the trusteeship plan is adopted, what would be the status of any free Palestine government erected by the Jewish people? They say they are going ahead and set up a government to function beginning May 16th.

THE PRESIDENT. I am hoping that they will—that the truce will cause a peaceful settlement, and that that will not happen.

Q. Mr. President, to make it absolutely clear, if the United Nations adopts the trusteeship plan and then decides troops are necessary to enforce it, would troops back that up?

THE PRESIDENT. We will cross that bridge when we come to it.

Q. Mr. President, considerable criticism seems to go back to United States support of partition in the first place. Could not the difficulties have been foreseen at that time?

THE PRESIDENT. Did I ever tell you that any schoolboy's hindsight is worth all the President's foresight? [*Laughter*] That is just as true now as it was then.

Q. Would the United States accept the trusteeship if the United Nations assigned it to them?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think the United States would be called upon to accept the trusteeship. It will be a United Nations trusteeship, run by the United Nations itself.

Q. Does that mean another two or three power arrangement?

THE PRESIDENT. That matter will have to be worked out in the United Nations. I can't give you the details because I am not speaking for the United Nations. I am

speaking for the United States.

Q. Mr. President, have your studies of the situation so far suggested that a truce at this time would be a practical possibility?

THE PRESIDENT. It is a practical possibility, yes. Wouldn't be advocating it, if it were not.

Q. Mr. President, do we have any alternative if the other countries refuse to accept the trusteeship plan?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that question. We will have to wait and see how this works out, because the only other alternative seems to be to slaughter a lot of people. That is what I am trying to prevent—have been trying to prevent all along.

Q. Mr. President, is there any truth to the reports appearing in the British press that the United States has asked that Britain continue in Palestine——

THE PRESIDENT. Of course, we didn't want Britain to leave Palestine in the present conditions. Britain was supposed to stay there until August 15. They suddenly took a notion to pull out. I don't know why. I don't run the British Government, either. [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, in case the United Nations accepts the trusteeship, would the United States accept a place on that trusteeship?

THE PRESIDENT. We will cross that bridge when we get to it.

[2.] Q. Sir, to change the subject——

THE PRESIDENT. Good! [*Laughter*] Let's hear what the subject is changed to.

Q. There is a lot of commotion on the Hill, principally the Republicans, on exports to Russia. Can you say why we continue to export to Russia?

THE PRESIDENT. The Commerce Department is handling that situation. Most of these things were bought by Russia about 2 years ago or more, and Russia is, at the present time, a friendly nation and has been buying goods from us right along. The Commerce Department can give you all the details of what the situation is.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, any comment on the tax bill?

THE PRESIDENT. I will comment on the tax bill when it gets to my desk. It is going the usual rounds now.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, has the Justice Department or any of your offices under the White House brought to your attention the Ingram case in Georgia—the death sentence of a mother of eight and two of her boys age 15 and 16?

THE PRESIDENT. That's the first I've heard of it. I don't know anything about it.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, do you favor the Air Force plan for expansion?

THE PRESIDENT. I am getting up a program for the Congress on defense which I will send down shortly, and I will let you know just exactly how I stand on it.

Q. Mr. President, do you have any estimate yet on the cost of that program?

THE PRESIDENT. No. The estimate hasn't reached me yet.

Q. Is it likely to affect the tax reduction situation?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, has the decision been reached yet as to whether to proclaim or make effective a reciprocal trade agreement with the Czechs?

THE PRESIDENT. That matter is being considered by the State Department now. You see, that trade agreement covers 15 or 20—maybe 30 nations.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, your speech to Congress was interpreted in the European press as giving a guarantee to the United Nations of the Western European union. Is that correct?

THE PRESIDENT. The speech speaks for itself. If you read it, it is very clear. There were no weasel words in it.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, efforts are being made to revive the Quoddy power project, which I believe you discussed with Congresswoman Smith of Maine?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I did. I have always been for it. I am still for it.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, do you plan any appeal to the miners to return to work? [1]

THE PRESIDENT. I am pursuing the legal steps set out in the law in the mine strike now. We first had the chief conciliator call in the principals. They could not reach an agreement. I have appointed the board which the law provides, and when the board makes the report I will take whatever further steps are necessary under the law.

Q. Do you anticipate, sir, that we will hear before that board—before April 5th?

THE PRESIDENT. That board will report promptly just as soon as it is ready.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, are you likely to ask for daylight saving to conserve fuel in this——

THE PRESIDENT. No, I hadn't thought about it. I think daylight saving is a lot of "hooey" in most of the places. Just upsets the calendar across the country. We built those time zones across the country so that the time could be changed in an office so people could use it intelligently. In the days gone by there were differences of 15 minutes in cities 10 miles apart. We now get an hour's difference in cities that adjoin each other. If there is a daylight saving program, it should be a national program, not a local one. I would be in favor of a national one.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment on the reported rising revolt of the Democratic ranks?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't any comment to make on it. It doesn't disturb me, if that's what you are interested in.

Q. Mr. President, do you think the Democrats walking out now will walk back before November?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, let's wait for November and see. I am going to give them a chance to walk back.

Q. You are reported as saying you are still cheerful about Democratic hopes in the election?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. The Democrats will win in November. I am making a prophecy.

Q. You have been reported by people on the Hill as saying that you intend to go through to the end, regardless of this revolt?

THE PRESIDENT. I was correctly reported on that. That's the truth.

[12.] Q. Was the Star editorial correct in saying that you would rather be right than President?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, you would have to draw your own conclusions. That was a cartoon, not an editorial.[1] [*Laughter*] I have the original of that cartoon, that's how much I think of it.

Q. This was the editorial last night.

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't read it. I'm sorry.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, sometime ago the Colombian Government invited you to visit their country during the Inter-American Conference. Have you made any decision on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't go. I'm sorry.

Q. Can't go.

THE PRESIDENT. No. I have to stay here at this desk with the job.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, have you approached Will Clayton on——

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have not. No, I

[1] On March 15, 200,000 coal miners went on strike in support of the United Mine Workers old-age pension demands.

[1] The editorial entitled "He'd Rather Be Right—" appeared in the Washington Evening Star of March 24, 1948. On March 14 there had appeared in the same paper a cartoon by Jim Berryman. In the cartoon the President says, "I'll stand pat!" and a figure labeled Democracy asks, "Then *you'd* rather be right than be President?"

have not.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, there is talk of a new military program involving additional billions of dollars. Could you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I will give you the answer to that as soon as it is ready. I don't want to comment on it because it isn't ready yet, and nobody knows anything about what I am going to recommend. I will let you know as soon as I am ready to make a recommendation.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and fortieth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 10:37 a.m. on Thursday, March 25, 1948.

56 Letter to Secretary Krug Upon Signing Bill Relating to the Completion of the Provo River Reclamation Project. *March* 29, 1948

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I have today, based on your recommendations and because of the need of meeting a situation which has developed in the Provo River Reclamation Project, approved S. 1990, a bill "To provide a means for the orderly continuation and completion of the Deer Creek and aqueduct divisions of the Provo River project, Utah".

It has been my understanding that Reclamation projects, historically, have been based on the principle that the construction costs to the Federal Government would be repaid, without interest, in 40 years, plus, in some cases, a 10-year development period. My attention has been directed to the increasing number of legislative proposals in the last several sessions of Congress which would serve to extend the periods of repayment for certain Reclamation projects. While I can understand that instances may occasionally occur which might justify the Federal Government providing for additional subsidies on Reclamation projects either through waiver of interest charges over longer periods of time or possibly, in some cases, through extensions of repayment periods beyond what might eventually turn out to be the useful life of a project, I do not wish my action in approving S. 1990 to be construed as endorsing the principle of extending generally the basic 40-year repayment period for Reclamation projects.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[The Honorable, The Secretary of the Interior]

NOTE: As enacted, S. 1990 is Public Law 462, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 92).

57 Letter to Secretary Krug Upon Signing Bill Authorizing Distribution of Capital Reserve Funds of the Klamath Indians. *March* 29, 1948

My dear Mr. Secretary:

The bill, H.R. 2502, authorizing the distribution of a portion of the capital reserve fund of the Klamath Indians, was approved by me today, and has now become law. Under its provisions each member of the Klamath Tribe will have $500 credited to his account, which sum can be expended only for certain purposes specified in the bill, and each veteran will receive, in addition, a cash

payment of $200.

As a general rule I question the soundness of distributing Indian capital funds in per capita payments. Two exceptional factors have led me to approve H.R. 2502. First, it explicitly provides that the funds credited to the account of each member shall be used for worth-while purposes, which are spelled out in detail in its provisions. Second, it leaves intact more than $1,000,000 of the capital reserve fund, evidently with the expectation that this balance will be employed in forward-looking tribal programs for the permanent benefit of all Klamath Indians.

It is my hope that the members of the Klamath tribe will be prudent and wise in the use of the money now to be made available so that this legislation will in reality provide for their economic advancement. They must remember that the money represents a part of their heritage and should be so invested that it will bring them benefits long after it is spent. I will expect you to frame the expenditure regulations required by this legislation in a way that will insure actual application of the money to the purposes specified in its provisions. As an even more important precaution, each member of the tribe should exercise great care in determining the uses to which his share of the money will be put, with a view to obtaining the largest amount of income over the longest possible period.

It is also my hope that the members of the Klamath Tribe will soon develop a sound program for the permanent investment in productive assets of the undistributed portion of the capital reserve fund. Such a program might appropriately include industrial developments that will open up opportunities for utilizing and improving the industrial skill of the members, land acquisitions that will help to block up their timber and agricultural holdings into more economic units, and credit facilities that will assist them towards the goal of self-reliant prosperity. You should do everything possible to encourage the speedy formulation and adoption of a tribal program along these lines.

In conclusion, I urge that the Klamath Indians give deep thought to the use of their resources, both individual and tribal, in ways that will insure their future security and progress. I say this because it will not be possible for them to recover these resources if they are once lost through unwise transactions.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[The Honorable, The Secretary of the Interior]

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 2502 is Public Law 463, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 92).

58 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Housing and Rent Act of 1948. *March* 30, 1948

I HAVE today signed S. 2182, the Housing and Rent Act of 1948, which extends a modified form of rent control for 1 year, until March 31, 1949.

This bill does not carry out all the recommendations I have made to the Congress for stronger rent control legislation, and will not give tenants all the protection they should have during the present housing shortage.

Nevertheless, the bill is better than no rent control at all. If I had not signed it, rent controls would have expired tomorrow midnight. As was true of the rent control bill of June 1947, I had no choice but to sign.

The administration will do everything it can under this Act to hold rents to reasonable

levels. The Housing Expediter will use fully the power given him to protect tenants against illegal evictions—a power he did not have under last year's bill. But we cannot hope to be wholly successful in holding the line on rents with the powers granted by this law. Since the rent control law was weakened last June, rents have risen more than 6 percent over a period of 8 months. With continuing inflationary pressures and the extreme shortage of housing, the need for effective rent control continues to be as great as ever.

It is evident that only through substantial additions to the supply of rental housing, especially in the low and medium price range, can the need for rent control be eliminated. I have repeatedly recommended a Federal housing program giving strong support to rental housing construction. Over a month ago I sent to the Congress a special message containing a series of specific recommendations for such a program. I hope that the Congress will soon enact comprehensive housing legislation incorporating the recommendations I have made.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 2182 is Public Law 464, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 93).

For the President's statement upon signing the Housing Act of 1948, see Item 172.

59 Veto of Bill Authorizing Issuance of Stamps Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the Coming of Swedish Pioneers to the Midwest. *March* 30, 1948

To the House of Representatives:

I return herewith without my approval House Joint Resolution 251, to authorize the issuance of a special series of stamps commemorative of the one-hundredth anniversary of the coming of the Swedish pioneers to the Middle West.

Under existing law the Postmaster General has general authority to issue commemorative postage stamps, and such stamps are issued from time to time for the purpose of honoring significant events in American history. However, the commemorative stamps that can be approved each year must be restricted to a comparatively few issues because of the limited production facilities of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. The issuance of the stamp provided for by this joint resolution might make necessary the cancellation of one or more of the special stamps which the Postmaster General has already announced will be issued during 1948 for the purpose of commemorating other historic events.

I am proud, as other Americans are, of the contributions which have been made to our democracy by Americans of Swedish origin, and I believe that these contributions should be recognized by all appropriate means. However, a special stamp in commemoration of the establishment of the first colony of Swedish and Finnish settlers in America was issued in 1938. Thus, the event to be honored by the present measure is similar to one which has already been honored by the issuance of a special postage stamp within recent years. Equitable use of the practice of recognizing the historic importance of events by the issuance of special stamps requires that this recognition be accorded at this time to other elements in our national life.

For these reasons, I am unable to approve this joint resolution.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

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60 Letter to the Speaker Regarding Additional Appropriations for the National Security Program. *April* 1, 1948

Sir:

In my address to the Congress on March 17, 1948, I stated that we need an adequate and balanced military strength to carry out our purpose of achieving peace in the world. To accomplish this objective, a limited increase in our national security program is required.

As one element in building up our strength to the necessary level, I am transmitting herewith for the consideration of the Congress a draft of a proposed provision for a contract authorization of $375,000,000 for the Treasury Department, in the form of an amendment to the Budget for the fiscal year 1949. This contract authorization is required to permit the Bureau of Federal Supply to enter into long-term contracts for strategic and critical materials so as to increase the supply available for stockpiling and other essential needs.

The details of this proposed provision, the necessity therefor, and the reason for its submission at this time are set forth in the letter of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, transmitted herewith, in whose comments and observations thereon I concur.

In addition, I have authorized the Secretary of Defense to prepare detailed estimates for additional appropriations totaling $3,000,000,000 for the Military Establishment for the fiscal year 1949. While almost every part of our military program will be affected by the proposed increase, the additions may be grouped in five categories:

First, $775,000,000 for the requirements for added military personnel, such as pay and allowances, subsistence, clothing, and medical care.

Second, $775,000,000 for the procurement of aircraft, aircraft components, and aviation research and development. This amount includes $465,000,000 for the Air Force and $310,000,000 for naval aviation.

Third, $860,000,000 for maintenance and operation of facilities and equipment, including their rehabilitation and reactivation where necessary.

Fourth, $500,000,000 for procurement and production programs, including procurement planning, prototype and pilot orders, equipment modernization and matériel improvement.

Fifth, $90,000,000 for other requirements, such as research and development (other than air), civilian components, and administrative and contingent expenses.

Expenditures under these appropriations in the fiscal year 1949 are estimated at $1,700,000,000.

Detailed appropriation requests for these additional amounts are in preparation by the National Military Establishment and will soon be submitted to the Congress. The need for other appropriations for related national security purposes is now under consideration, and estimates for these appropriations will be submitted to the Congress if necessary.

The proposed appropriations are intended to round out and balance our national security program. They are necessary to enable us to meet our international responsibilities.

It is my earnest hope that on the solid foundation of our foreign aid programs and a limited increase in our present military strength, we can achieve a substantial lessening of present international tension and move forward toward our goal of securing a just and lasting peace.

Respectfully yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[The Speaker of the House of Representatives]

NOTE: The draft provision for a contract authorization and the letter from the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, transmitted with the President's letter, are printed in House Document 588 (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

On June 25, 1948, the President approved a bill which included an appropriation to enable the Bureau of Federal Supply to enter into contracts under the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act (62 Stat. 1047).

61 Message to King Paul of Greece on the Occasion of the 127th Anniversary of Greek Independence. *April* 2, 1948

[Released April 2, 1948. Dated March 25, 1948]

ON BEHALF of the American people I wish to extend cordial congratulations to Your Majesty and to the Greek people on this anniversary of Greek independence.

Today Greece is struggling not to win her independence but to retain it. It is a painful fact that in many countries the profound hopes for a world free from fear of aggression are being extinguished by the forces of international totalitarianism which are seeking through internal and external pressures and through acts of violence and terror, to extend their rule at the expense of human dignity and freedom.

We are learning once again that freedom and liberty can be preserved in the face of totalitarian aggression only when democratic peoples show indomitable courage and determination in defending their independence. The struggle is not yet won, but if those who love liberty work together, we shall not fail. The valor of Greece, even when faced by the spectacle of other nations succumbing to direct or indirect aggression, convinces me that the Greek people are equal to the task.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[His Majesty Paul I, King of the Hellenes, Athens, Greece]

NOTE: On April 2 the White House released a message from King Paul in response to the President's message of March 25.

62 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Concerning the Reorganization Act. *April* 2, 1948

[Released April 2, 1948. Dated April 1, 1948]

Sir:

Under section 5(f) of the Reorganization Act of 1945 the authority of the President to submit reorganization plans for the consideration of the Congress terminated on March 31, 1948. I believe that the act should be made permanent. At the same time the provisions of section 5, which exempt certain agencies and functions should be eliminated as these exemptions make it impossible to deal with the total problem of the organization of the executive branch.

Experience under the Reorganization Acts of 1939 and 1945 has clearly demonstrated the advantages of this special procedure whereby the President and the Congress cooperate in improving the structure of the executive branch. Under these acts no less than 24 agencies have been eliminated as independent establishments, exclusive of temporary war agencies, and 3 agencies of major importance have been created through the grouping of related functions; 10 bureaus have been consolidated and many other bu-

reaus and units have been transferred to their appropriate locations in the departmental structure.

In the last 2 years 35 organizational changes have been effected by reorganization plan. Among the more important of these have been the establishment of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the rounding out of the Federal Security Agency as the central instrumentality of the Government in the field of social welfare, and the concentration in the Coast Guard of Federal programs relating to safety of water transportation.

The existence of the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government makes the continuation of the Reorganization Act of 1945 especially vital. The reorganization-plan procedure will be essential if the President and the Congress are to be in a position to act promptly on the recommendations of the Commission.

As you are well aware, the reorganization of the executive branch is a continuous task. As new programs develop and old ones change in size and character, the structure of the Government must be adjusted to new conditions and requirements. Experience indicates that the method established by the Reorganization Acts of 1939 and 1945 provides a simple and practicable procedure for effecting many such adjustments. An effective reorganization statute should be continually available to serve the President and the Congress.

Respectfully yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Arthur H. Vandenberg, President pro tempore of the Senate, and to the Honorable Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives.

On June 20, 1949, the President approved the Reorganization Act of 1949 (63 Stat. 203).

63 Veto of the Income Tax Reduction Bill. *April* 2, 1948

[Released April 2, 1948. Dated April 1, 1948]

To the House of Representatives:

I return herewith, without my approval, H.R. 4790, entitled "An Act to reduce individual income tax payments, and for other purposes".

It is a matter of deep regret to me that I am compelled to take this action. If I could conscientiously approve tax reductions, I would gladly do so. But I am convinced that to reduce the income of the Government by $5 billion at this time would exhibit a reckless disregard for the soundness of our economy and the finances of our Government.

All of us are aware that the world situation is one of uncertainty and, indeed, of danger. The United States, in common with other free nations, is taking positive action on many fronts to preserve conditions of peace with justice against the forces of dissension and chaos. In this endeavor, as I stated in my address to the Congress on March 17, 1948, "the United States has a tremendous responsibility to act according to the measure of our power for good in the world".

Under these conditions, the primary test which I must apply in considering this bill is whether or not it would contribute to the strength of the United States. My fundamental objection to the bill is that it would not strengthen, but instead would weaken, the United States.

This is true for two reasons.

First, the bill would reduce Government revenues to such an extent as to make likely a deficit in Government finances, at a time when responsible conduct of the financial affairs of this Nation requires a substantial surplus in order to reduce our large public debt and to be reasonably prepared against contingencies.

Second, the bill would greatly increase the danger of further inflation, by adding billions of dollars of purchasing power at a time when demand already exceeds supply at many strategic points in the economy, and when Government expenditures are necessarily rising.

The estimates of Government expenditures for the fiscal year 1949 which I submitted to the Congress in January totaled $39.7 billion. Receipts were estimated at $44.5 billion, leaving a surplus of $4.8 billion for debt retirement and contingencies.

It has since become apparent that despite the most stringent efforts toward economy, there will be several important increases in expenditures above the January estimates. Legislation has been enacted increasing payments to veterans. Larger amounts will be required for assistance to certain foreign countries. Legislation to increase the salaries of Federal employees is being considered. It has been necessary to recommend substantial additional appropriations to the Congress to bring our armed forces to a proper strength.

Altogether these increases, after taking due account of appropriation actions by the Congress to date and of the additional tax refunds which would occur under this bill, involve additional expenditures for the fiscal year 1949 of at least $3.5 billion above the January estimates. In the fiscal year 1950, these additional programs would increase expenditures by another $2 billion, or by a total of $5.5 billion. It is clear that, if this bill which reduces taxes by $5 billion were to become law, there would in fact be a deficit in the fiscal year 1949 even under the more optimistic estimates of revenue used by the Congressional Committees.

The Congress proposes to extricate itself from this situation by charging $3 billion of 1949 expenditures under the European Recovery Program against the 1948 revenues. This might avoid a deficit in 1949. But the facts cannot be obscured by the fiscal sleight-of-hand by which a prospective deficit in 1949 is made to appear as a surplus. Actually the surplus available for debt retirement for the two years 1948 and 1949 would not be affected in the slightest by such a shift in accounting.

The public debt is $253 billion. I repeat what I have so often said before—if we do not reduce the public debt by substantial amounts during a prosperous period such as the present, there is little prospect that it will ever be materially reduced.

I am aware that some hold the view that it would be proper to reduce taxes now, and that it will be time enough to restore adequate Federal revenues when the full extent and cost of our commitments are more definitely determined. I cannot subscribe to such an erratic and vacillating tax policy. We already know enough about the Government's financial outlook to demonstrate the serious effects of reducing revenues now by $5 billion. The additional expenditures which are in prospect, although not exactly determined as to amount, are of sufficient size to make clear the shortsightedness of cutting taxes at the very time our obligations are increasing. If I endorsed tax reduction now, knowing that to do so would in all likelihood mean increased taxes next year, I would not be dealing fairly with the American people.

This bill would undermine the soundness of our Government finances at a time when

world peace depends upon the strength of the United States.

It would also gamble with the dangers of further inflation. I have urged on many occasions that steps be taken to relieve the distressing effects of high prices. Since these steps have not been taken, the most important force restraining inflation has been the Government surplus and the use of this surplus to reduce the public debt. This bill would reduce or eliminate this important weapon against inflation.

It has been argued that tax reduction now would furnish incentives for more active investment and business enterprise and, consequently, more production. The plain facts show that neither funds nor profit incentives are lacking for investment and business enterprise at present tax rates.

Industrial expenditures for new plant and equipment reached the record level of more than $16 billion in 1947, contrasted with $12 billion in 1946 and $8 billion in 1941. Preliminary estimates indicate that industrial expenditures for new plant and equipment during the first quarter of 1948 ran much higher than the average for 1947.

Corporate profits were at extraordinary levels during 1947, reaching $17.3 billion after taxes, contrasted with a previous peak of $12.5 billion in 1946. Preliminary estimates indicate that corporate profits during the first quarter of 1948 have substantially maintained the very high level of 1947.

The national income is at a record level. Employment is at a record level. Production is at a record peacetime level. The resources and labor force of this country are fully employed. Under these circumstances, tax reduction could only result in higher prices—not in higher production.

From the viewpoint of the average family which spends most of its income to buy the necessities of life, the kind of tax reduction which this bill provides would be an evil in disguise. Inflation is still here and the cost of living has not descended to reasonable levels. The consumers' price index, which was 159 for 1947 as a whole, was 167.5 in February, 1948, and preliminary figures indicate that it was even higher in March. A large tax reduction at this time would help to drive the cost of living still higher.

With wise and careful planning the American tax system can make an important contribution to economic progress. But if we dissipate the strength of our revenue system by ill-timed tax reduction, we shall sacrifice for many years our opportunities to lay a solid foundation for a more effective tax system. Major reforms are needed in all important areas of the Federal tax system—excise taxes, corporate taxes, individual income taxes, and estate and gift taxes. The enactment of H.R. 4790 would, by prematurely weakening the tax system, not only aggravate our immediate problems but also constitute a serious obstacle in the path of realizing many urgently needed fundamental tax reforms.

The tax reduction provided by this bill is inequitable as well as untimely.

In the case of the income tax, nearly forty percent of the reduction would go to individuals with net incomes in excess of $5,000, who constitute less than 5 percent of all taxpayers.

In the case of the estate and gift taxes, nearly all of the $250 million annual reduction would go to only about 12,000 of the most wealthy families. The discovery that it is possible to make very substantial savings in the gift and estate taxes by dividing a family's wealth between husband and wife has brought forth much ingenious argument to the effect that the provisions in this bill are needed to equalize the application of these taxes in community-property and common-law States. In fact, this equalization was in all essential respects achieved by legislation

enacted by the Congress in 1942.

For the reasons I have set forth, H.R. 4790 is not compatible with the requirements of the critical international situation. It is not compatible with sound domestic economic and debt management policies. If enacted, it would materially weaken this Nation's efforts to maintain peace abroad and prosperity at home.

It is bad policy to reduce taxes in a manner which would encourage inflation and bring greater hardship, not relief, to our people. It is bad policy to endanger the soundness of our national finances at a time when our responsibilities are great in an unsettled world.

I am confident that the men and women of our country prefer the maintenance of our national strength to a reduction in taxes under the present circumstances.

I consider it my clear duty, therefore, to return H.R. 4790 without my approval.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: On April 2 the Congress passed the bill over the President's veto. As enacted, H.R. 4790 is Public Law 471, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 110).

64 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Foreign Assistance Act. *April* 3, 1948

FEW PRESIDENTS have had the opportunity to sign legislation of such importance as the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948.

The signing of this act is a momentous occasion in the world's quest for enduring peace.

I commend the Congress of the United States for the cooperation it has evidenced in the prompt passage of this measure.

Its passage is a striking manifestation of the fact that a bipartisan foreign policy can lead to effective action. It is even more striking in its proof that swift and vigorous action for peace is not incompatible with the full operation of our democratic process of discussion and debate. Those who are skeptical of the effectiveness of a democratic system should ponder the lesson of the enactment of this measure.

Our program of foreign aid is perhaps the greatest venture in constructive statesmanship that any nation has undertaken. It is an outstanding example of cooperative endeavor for the common good.

The Foreign Assistance Act is the best answer that this country can make in reply to the vicious and distorted misrepresentations of our efforts for peace which have been spread abroad by those who do not wish our efforts to succeed. This measure is America's answer to the challenge facing the free world today.

It is a measure for reconstruction, stability, and peace. Its purpose is to assist in the preservation of conditions under which free institutions can survive in the world. I believe that the determination of the American people to work for conditions of enduring peace throughout the world, as demonstrated by this act, will encourage free men and women everywhere, and will give renewed hope to all mankind that there will one day be peace on earth, good will among men.

NOTE: The Foreign Assistance Act of 1948 is Public Law 472, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 137).

On April 3 the White House released the following statement by Secretary of State Marshall:

"The decision of the United States Government as confirmed by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948 is, I think, an historic step in the foreign policy of this country.

"The leaders in the Congress and the membership generally have faced a great crisis with courage and wisdom, and with legislative skill, richly deserving of the approval and the determined support of the people."

65 Statement by the President on the Death of Maurice C. Latta. *April* 3, 1948

IN THE death of Maurice C. Latta, a beloved figure passes from the Washington scene. His service, covering almost 50 years, embraced 9 administrations. It was distinguished not only by its great length but by the rare qualities which this remarkable public servant brought to his duties.

When he came to the Executive Office in the days of the first McKinley administration, the force of two or three which he joined did its work in one of the upper rooms on the second floor of the White House. At his death he supervised the activities of personnel exceeding two hundred, working in quarters many times expanded since the erection of the first office building in the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt.

Three times during Mr. Latta's long service he helped to bridge the transition period when a President died in office. I can bear witness to his steadying influence when the duties of the office came to me so unexpectedly 3 years ago.

He had many notable qualifications for the work which fell to him as the custodian of executive papers. Strict integrity, a thorough knowledge of the public laws and of learned precedents, a precise mind and a prodigious memory were part of his equipment. Always fairminded, he was solid and firm in principle, shrewd in judgment, ever kind and courteous. He was selfless in his devotion to the public interest and to the interests of the nine Presidents whom he served so well and faithfully through 3 wars and other crises without number.

Mr. Latta closes a career of singular usefulness respected and loved by all.

NOTE: At the time of his death Mr. Latta was serving as Executive Clerk in charge of the White House Executive Office.

66 Letter to the Attorney General Directing Him To Petition for an Injunction in the Coal Strike. *April* 3, 1948

My dear Mr. Attorney General:

On March 23, 1948, by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 206 of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, I issued Executive Order No. 9939, creating a Board of Inquiry to inquire into the issues involved in a labor dispute between coal operators and associations signatory to the National Bituminous Coal Wage Agreement of 1947 and certain of their employees represented by the International Union, United Mine Workers of America, also signatory to the said agreement.

On March 31, 1948, I received the Board's written report in the matter, including a statement of the facts with respect to the dispute and each party's statement of its position. A copy of that report is attached hereto.

As I stated in my Executive Order of March 23, 1948, in my opinion this unresolved labor dispute has resulted in a strike affecting a substantial part of an industry engaged in trade and commerce among the several States and with foreign nations, and in the production of goods for commerce, which strike, if permitted to continue, will imperil the national health and safety.

I therefore direct you, pursuant to the provisions of section 208 of the Labor Manage-

ment Relations Act, 1947, to petition in the name of the United States any district court of the United States having jurisdiction of the parties to enjoin the continuance of such strike, and for such other relief as may in your judgment be necessary or appropriate.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable Tom C. Clark, The Attorney General, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: On April 3 the Attorney General sought and obtained in the District Court for the District of Columbia an order instructing the coal miners to return to work. This injunction was ignored by the miners. On April 7 the Attorney General filed a request for contempt action against John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers of America, and on April 19 Judge T. Alan Goldsborough entered a finding of guilty and assessed fines against Mr. Lewis and the union. By the end of April most of the miners had returned to work.

On August 5, 1948, the President transmitted a special message to the Congress reporting on the settlement of the dispute (see Item 171).

The report of the Board of Inquiry (13 pp.) was made available by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

67 Veto of Bill To Exclude Vendors of Newspapers and Magazines From Social Security Coverage. *April* 5, 1948

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning herewith, without my approval, H.R. 5052, a bill "To exclude certain vendors of newspapers or magazines from certain provisions of the Social Security Act and the Internal Revenue Code".

This bill is identical with H.R. 3997, which I declined to approve in August, 1947.

This legislation has far greater significance than appears on the surface. It proposes to remove the protection of the social security law from persons now entitled to its benefits. Thus, it raises the fundamental question of whether or not we shall maintain the integrity of our social security system.

H.R. 5052 would remove social security protection from news vendors who make a full-time job of selling papers and who are dependent on that job for their livelihood. Many vendors of newspapers are excluded even at present from coverage under the Social Security Act because they are not employees of the publishers whose papers they sell. But some vendors work under arrangements which make them bona-fide employees of the publishers and, consequently, are entitled to the benefits of the Social Security Act.

If enacted into law, this bill would make the social security rights of these employees depend almost completely upon the form in which their employers might choose to cast their employment contracts. Employers desiring to avoid the payment of taxes which would be the basis for social security benefits for their employees could do so by the establishment of artificial legal arrangements governing their relationships with their employees. It was this sort of manipulation which the Supreme Court effectively outlawed in June of 1947 when the Court unanimously declared that employment relationships under the social security laws should be determined in the light of realities rather than on the basis of technical legal forms. I cannot believe that this sound principle announced by the Court should be disregarded, as it would be by the present bill.

The principal consideration offered in support of the bill appears to be a concern for the administrative difficulties of certain employers in keeping the necessary records and in collecting the employee contributions required by the social security system. In appraising these difficulties, it should be recognized that the employers have control over

the form of the employment contracts and the methods by which their salesmen are compensated. The salesmen are dependent upon the employers and whatever remittances or reports are required for withholding and reporting purposes should be within each employer's reach. Certainly, the difficulties involved are not so formidable as to warrant the exclusion of these employees from coverage in the social security system and the consequent destruction of their benefit rights and those of their dependents.

It is said that the news vendors affected by this bill could more appropriately be covered by the social security law as independent contractors, when and if coverage is extended to the self-employed. Whether that is true or not, surely they should continue to receive the benefits to which they are now entitled until the broader coverage is provided. It would be most inequitable to extinguish their present rights pending a determination as to whether it is more appropriate for them to be covered on some other basis.

In withholding my approval from H.R. 3997 last August, I expressed my concern that such a bill would open our social security structure to piecemeal attack and to slow undermining. That concern was well founded. The House of Representatives has recently passed a joint resolution which would destroy the social security coverage of several hundred thousand additional employees. As in the case of H.R. 5052, the joint resolution passed by the House is directed toward upsetting the doctrine established by the Supreme Court last summer that employment relationships should be determined on the basis of realities. The present bill must be appraised, therefore, as but one step in a larger process of the erosion of our social security structure.

The security and welfare of our nation demand an expression of social security to cover the groups which are now excluded from the program. Any step in the opposite direction can only serve to undermine the program and destroy the confidence of our people in the permanence of its protection against the hazards of old age, premature death, and unemployment.

For these reasons, I am compelled to return H.R. 5052 without my approval.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: On April 20 the Congress passed the bill over the President's veto. As enacted, H.R. 5052 is Public Law 492, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 195).

68 Special Message to the Congress Urging Approval of a Loan to the United Nations for the Construction of Its Permanent Headquarters. *April 7, 1948*

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith for the consideration of the Congress an Agreement between the United States and the United Nations concerning a loan of $65,000,000, without interest, to be made by the United States to the United Nations to finance the construction of the permanent headquarters of the United Nations in the United States. I also enclose a letter from the Acting Secretary of State regarding this Agreement.

The decision of the United Nations to locate its permanent headquarters in the United States was made pursuant to an invitation unanimously extended by concurrent resolution of the Congress on December 10 and 11, 1945. The specific site for the headquarters was chosen in December 1946. The

United Nations is still operating in makeshift temporary headquarters. It is essential, not only for the effective operation of the United Nations, but for the continued prestige and leadership of the United States, as host to the United Nations, that adequate physical facilities be promptly furnished for the conduct of its business.

During the course of the Second Regular Session of the General Assembly in New York last fall, it appeared that, in view of the critical dollar shortage confronting most of the Members of the Organization, the only satisfactory way of providing for the prompt construction of the permanent home for the United Nations was a loan by the United States. In view of this fact and taking into consideration the economic and financial advantages that would accrue to the United States from this project, I authorized Ambassador Warren R. Austin, as Representative of the United States to the United Nations, to state that I would request the Congress to approve the making of a $65,000,000 interest-free loan for this purpose. This loan would be repaid in annual installments from the ordinary budget of the United Nations, according to an agreed schedule of repayments. This offer was accepted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on the express understanding that it was subject to the approval of the Congress.

It is my hope that the Congress will carefully consider this proposal and grant its approval. The construction of the permanent headquarters of the United Nations will be tangible evidence to the world that the United States is supporting to the full the institution to which the peoples of all nations are looking as their best hope for freedom from the fear of war.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: On August 11, 1948, the President approved a joint resolution authorizing a $65 million loan to the United Nations for the construction of the permanent headquarters (62 Stat. 1286).

69 Special Message to the Congress on Economic Aid to Latin America. *April* 8, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

In recent months the United States has been considering a number of measures to further the achievement of the primary objective of our foreign policy—the establishment throughout the world of the conditions of a just and lasting peace.

One of the essential requirements for the attainment of that objective is continuing cooperation among the American Republics and collaboration in the development of their resources and industries.

Genuine friendship has long existed between the people of the United States and our neighbors to the south. This friendship has been marked by cultural and economic association and close cooperation. The people of the United States have strongly supported the policy of the Good Neighbor and have a special regard for the peoples of the countries to the south of us.

The United States has long recognized the importance of economic and political stability in the Western Hemisphere. Such stability rests substantially upon the continuation of a satisfactory rate of economic progress. In this respect, we must fairly recognize that the economies of the other American Republics are relatively undeveloped. In these countries, natural resources are abundant but

the expansion of production has been restricted due to the lack of capital and of modern production methods. Production can be increased only by means of a considerable volume of capital investment in transportation and power facilities, processing plants and other installations.

To some extent the need for capital in these countries is met by domestic savings, but such savings in general are insufficient to secure the necessary equipment and technical skills. Substantial and continued progress in the development of the resources and industries of the other American Republics therefore requires foreign financing. The United States, by reason of its close relations with these countries and its strong economic position, is the principal source to which the other American Republics look for equipment, materials and technology as well as for their financing.

I recommend, therefore, that the Congress increase the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank by $500 million. The proposed increase in the lending authority of the Bank would not involve any change in the statutory requirements under which the Bank has been operating.

This increased lending authority would place the Bank in a position to assist in meeting essential requirements for the financing of economic development in the other American Republics. It would permit the Bank to make loans for well-planned development projects which are economically justified, and to cooperate most effectively with private funds.

Such an increase would not, of course, be a substitute for necessary action that the other American Republics can and should take to attract private investment capital and to mobilize fully their own investment resources.

The proposed increase represents, I believe, an important step which this Government should take to assist the economic development of the countries to the south of us.

It is of great importance to the United States, as a member of the American community, that there be continued expansion of production, increasing trade activity and rising standards of living in the other American Republics. It is in our mutual interest to help develop in the countries to the south those essential materials which are becoming less abundant in the United States, as well as others regularly imported from distant regions.

Above all, it is in our mutual interest to assist the American Republics to continue their economic progress, which can contribute so much to the cooperative strength of the independent American Republics.

I request the Congress, therefore, to give favorable consideration to the proposed increase in the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

70 Special Message to the Senate Transmitting Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labor Conference. *April* 8, 1948

To the Senate of the United States:

In accordance with the obligations of the Government of the United States of America as a member of the International Labor Organization, I transmit herewith authentic texts of three conventions and two recommendations formulated at the twenty-ninth session of the International Labor Conference, held at Montreal from September 19 to October 9, 1946.

Those conventions and recommendations are as follows:

Convention (No. 77) concerning medical examination for fitness for employment in industry of children and young persons;

Convention (No. 78) concerning medical examination of children and young persons for fitness for employment in nonindustrial occupations;

Convention (No. 79) concerning the restriction of night work of children and young persons in nonindustrial occupations;

Recommendation (No. 79) concerning the medical examination for fitness for employment of children and young persons; and

Recommendation (No. 80) concerning the restriction of night work of children and young persons in nonindustrial occupations.

I transmit also the report of the Acting Secretary of State regarding those conventions and recommendations, together with a copy of a letter addressed by the Secretary of Labor to the Secretary of State with respect to those conventions and recommendations.

In view of the opinions expressed by the Acting Secretary of State and the Secretary of Labor in the enclosed report and letter, I do not request at this time advice and consent to ratification of the three conventions or legislation to implement the three conventions and two recommendations transmitted herewith. Upon the entry into force of the Constitution of the International Labor Organization instrument of amendment, which is expected to occur soon, it is planned that further referral of the enclosed conventions and recommendations be made under the provisions of article 19 of the revised constitution. The request that no action be taken at present with respect to approval or implementation of the enclosed instruments should not be construed in any sense, therefore, as a rejection on the part of the United States of America of those instruments or of the principles set forth therein.

I am also referring the texts of the conventions and recommendations to the House of Representatives.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The conventions, recommendations, and related documents are printed in House Document 603 (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

71 The President's News Conference of *April* 8, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. I have no special announcements to make to you today. We have been making these announcements as they came along.

So questions are in order.

[1.] Q. Mr. President, could you say which paintings you liked in that German collection in the National Gallery? Also, whether you favor keeping those paintings in the United States and sending them on a tour and charging admission and helping German children?

THE PRESIDENT. That sounds to me as if you had some preparation on that one. But I can express an opinion on those pictures. I have made two trips to see them, and I was particularly interested in Rembrandt's "Moses," and Titian's "Portrait of Himself." One I really wanted to see was the Holbein picture, "The Merchant," which is considered the finest portrait in the world; and Frans Hals has some pictures there that were very appealing to me. That is the sort of art that I like, that I can understand.

About the return of the pictures: it is my opinion that they should be returned as

promptly as possible to their rightful owners, as soon as it is safe for them to be returned. They don't belong to us. They belong to the art galleries in Europe.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, there has been some concern in the Middle West over such things as this mob raid on the home of a Communist labor leader in Columbus, and the Evansville disturbance against the Wallaceites. Mr. Walter Reuther suggests that you should take to the air to remind us again that we should protect the civil liberties even of Communists——

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would suggest that Walter Reuther take it up with the Governor. Our Constitution hasn't a sufficient number of police powers for enforcement of local laws which are to keep the peace. That is not a proper thing that happened, either in Indiana or in Ohio, but that requires local police enforcement, over which I have no control—thank goodness.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, the St. Louis Star Times, in a recent editorial called "A Memo to the White House," a copy of which was sent to you, I believe, pointed out that one attempt might be made to save our bid for peace if we invited the nations, including Russia, to a conference on the question of a real world government. Is the administration ready for such a step?

THE PRESIDENT. The administration is not.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, what do you think of the Reuter's diplomatic correspondent this morning calling for a 5-point plan set up for government in Western Germany. Would you care to comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not want to comment on it.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, the Lewis coal strike is entering its 25th day today. Have you any comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. We are enforcing the Taft-Hartley law to the letter.

Q. Do you think it's working?

THE PRESIDENT. That's all the comment I care to make.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, whatever happened to "Feller"?

THE PRESIDENT. To what?

Q. "Feller," the puppy? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, he's around.

Q. Does Dr. Graham [1] still have him?

THE PRESIDENT. Dr. Graham is still taking care of him for me.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, could you say anything about your conversation with the Prime Minister of Belgium, Mr. Spaak?

THE PRESIDENT. I had a very, very pleasant visit with the Prince Regent and the Prime Minister, and the usual conversation on the European recovery program and our attitude toward the recovery of Europe were the principal things talked about.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, is anything going to be done to halt the sale of war plants?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the same thing is being done that has been under consideration all the time. We are constantly making surveys as to whether certain plants should be released or not.

Q. Mr. President, we just had a statement from Dr. Steelman on that—I assume you have read it—a little while ago.

THE PRESIDENT. Tony [2] reminds me that Dr. Steelman released a statement on the subject just a few minutes ago, which covers it completely.[3]

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[1] Brig. Gen. Wallace H. Graham, Physician to the President.

[2] Ernest B. Vaccaro of the Associated Press.

[3] Dr. Steelman's statement, released by the White House on April 8, announced that he had requested the War Assets Administration to withhold for a 30-day period final disposal action on all unsold industrial plants not already covered by the National Security Clause. This clause stipulated that a plant must be maintained in such condition that it could be reconverted to its original use on 120 days' notice.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, the House Armed Services Committee voted 23–0 to ask you to ask them for a 70-group air force. Do you have any comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. My comment—that comment on that has been answered by the Secretary for Defense in the statement which has just been released,[1] and which has my entire approval. It covers the situation thoroughly, and I have covered it in the various messages on the budget which have been sent to the Armed Services Committee of the House.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us who is going to be the ECA Deputy Administrator?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I can't. No, I can't. I will tell you just as soon as I can.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, will you comment on the Wisconsin primary?

THE PRESIDENT. I wasn't entered in the part of that primary in which you are interested, so I have no comment. [*Laughter*]

[12.] Q. Mr. President, will you comment on Mr. Milligan's book? [2] Have you seen it?

THE PRESIDENT. No. No, I haven't seen it. Don't expect to see it.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, have you made a decision on the withdrawal of Tighe Woods?

THE PRESIDENT. He will—what do you mean? He is—doesn't have to be withdrawn. He has a job which I put him in, and in which he is doing well and successfully, and I am satisfied with him.

Q. Who was that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Woods has been raising thunder with some of these rent people who have been gouging the public. Tighe Woods. Good reason for the man to stay there is that he is a little too tough on some of those birds.

[14.] Q. You said in your letter to Lyndon Johnson of Texas that all war plants which have been sold should be recovered at once, I think the words were.[1]

THE PRESIDENT. All those that we deem necessary have that recovery clause in the contract.

[15.] Q. While I was trying to figure out who you were talking about on the Tighe Woods thing, I lost all of your comment—I still haven't got my shorthand——

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I said Mr. Woods is doing a good job and he is going to stay right there and continue to do it.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, another question regarding your discussion with the Prime Minister of Belgium. Did the question arise of the United States supporting the Western European alliance in any military way?

THE PRESIDENT. No. That question was not discussed with the Prime Minister of Belgium.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, do you contemplate action under the Taft-Hartley law on the meat strike?

THE PRESIDENT. The law will be followed in the meat strike the same as it will be followed on any other strike which affects the country as a whole.

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[1] In his statement on April 8, Secretary of Defense Forrestal emphasized that all of the armed services, land, sea, and air, must be kept in balance. Therefore an increase in one would require increases in the others. He advocated bringing to full strength the existing 55-group air force.

[2] Maurice Morton Milligan, "Missouri Waltz" [later retitled "The Inside Story of the Pendergast Machine by the Man Who Smashed It"], New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1948.

[1] On March 20 Representative Johnson wrote to the President suggesting that the War Assets Administration check with the armed services as to possible future needs before disposing of surplus plants. The President's reply, dated March 22, pointed out that clauses permitting recovery in case of need were made part of all contracts. The exchange of letters was made public by Representative Johnson.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, I think a request was made to the White House recently that the full minutes of our conversations with the Russians on the setup in Berlin be released to the public, and that——

THE PRESIDENT. They should not be released, and they will not be released at this time.

Q. —— various conversations we have had with the Russians on other matters that are touchy?

THE PRESIDENT. When you are trading on a piece of real estate, do you get out in front of a press conference and bargain, or do you try to reach an agreement and then announce it to the press conference?

Q. Wouldn't the public have a better chance to evaluate——

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we'll see about that. Whenever the—it is necessary to make a release, state all the facts as nearly as we can from our point of view; but if you are going to be successful in negotiations, you can't do it in a glass house.

Q. Mr. President, your reference to real estate was by analogy?

THE PRESIDENT. Just by analogy, yes. [*Laughter*] We are not dealing in real estate right now.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, Mr. Baruch says that if we are to draft men, we should also put on the books now a mobilization law which would also draft profits, prices, and wages.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if you will read a certain message of mine which was sent to the Congress a short time ago, that very thing is asked for. I didn't receive it. I received an innocuous program which I have been trying my best to make work.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, there has been reference to an industrial reserve similar to the military reserve. Would you care to comment on such a possibility?

THE PRESIDENT. Surveys on that are being made, and I can't comment on it now because I haven't all the facts.

[21.] Q. How do you like the balcony?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I will tell you about that, probably at the next press conference. I told you I was going to give you a lecture on architecture. I may be ready by then. [*Laughter*]

[22.] Q. Mr. President, it has been repeatedly reported that we are preparing to arm the countries in the Western European alliance?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment to make on that question.

[23.] Q. Mr. President, have any steps been taken to induce the British to stay in Palestine?

THE PRESIDENT. No comment to make on that question. That matter is pending before the United Nations now. I do not want to comment at this time.

Q. Mr. President, is any modification of the arms embargo to Palestine being planned?

THE PRESIDENT. No comment.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and forty-first news conference was held in his office at the White House at 4 p.m. on Thursday, April 8, 1948.

72 Statement by the President on the Labor Dispute in the Meatpacking Industry. *April* 9, 1948

I HAVE carefully considered the report of the Board of Inquiry on the labor dispute in the meatpacking industry. The report, of course, does not contain recommendations. It is, however, a thorough, careful, and objective analysis of the dispute. I am con-

vinced that if it is read and studied by the parties with an open mind, it can provide a basis for renewed negotiations looking toward a prompt settlement of the dispute.

I have, therefore, requested the Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service to arrange further conferences between his representatives and the parties in the light of the information contained in the report.

I am also requesting the Board of Inquiry to reconvene and to be available for assistance to the parties and to the Service in any manner which I may hereafter find essential.

NOTE: The report of the Board of Inquiry was made available by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. The Board was established by Executive Order 9934A of March 15, 1948 (3 CFR, 1943–1948 Comp., p. 692).

73 Special Message to the Senate Transmitting Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation with Italy. *April* 14, 1948

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation between the United States of America and the Italian Republic, together with a protocol and an additional protocol relating thereto, signed at Rome on February 2, 1948.

The enclosed treaty, together with the two related protocols, was negotiated on a basis of complete equality between the two Governments. It is comprehensive and is designed to provide an effective basis for the future development of cultural, business, and trade relationships between the two countries. I consider that this treaty is an important manifestation of the friendly relations which exist between this country and post-Facist Italy, and that it confirms the determination of the two Governments to apply in their economic and cultural intercourse the liberal principles that are fundamental to the democratic way of life. I commend it to the early consideration of the Senate.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, a copy of each of two notes, signed and exchanged on the same date, and a report on the treaty made to me by the Acting Secretary of State.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The treaty was favorably considered by the Senate on June 2, 1948, and after ratification entered into force on July 26, 1949. It was proclaimed by the President on August 5, 1949.

The text of the treaty is printed in the U.S. Statutes at Large (63 Stat. 2255).

74 Letter to the Italian Ambassador Regarding Trieste. *April* 14, 1948

[Released April 14, 1948. Dated April 9, 1948]

My dear Mr. Ambassador:

I have read with pleasure your letter of March twentieth, concerning the proposal of this Government, together with the Governments of the United Kingdom and France, for the return of the Free Territory of Trieste to Italy.

I wish to take this opportunity to express

to you again the friendship and good will which the American people feel towards the people of Italy.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[His Excellency Signor Alberto Tarchiani, Ambassador of Italy]

NOTE: Ambassador Tarchiani's letter of March 20th, in which he expressed the gratitude of the Italian Government and people for the decision to return Trieste, was released with the President's reply.

75 Letter to the Speaker Transmitting Supplemental Estimate of Appropriations for the European Recovery Program. *April* 14, 1948

Sir:

I have the honor to submit herewith for the consideration of the Congress a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the fiscal year 1948 in the amount of $4,245,000,000 for expenses of the European recovery program.

The Congress, by enacting the Economic Cooperation Act, has recognized the imperative need for prompt American assistance to the free peoples of Europe. For this purpose, appropriations of $4,300,000,000 for the first year of the European recovery program were authorized. I urge that this full amount, less $55,000,000 already appropriated by the Congress to prevent a break in the pipeline of essential supplies, be appropriated at this time.

The details of this estimate, the necessity therefor, and the reasons for its submission at this time are set forth in the letter of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, transmitted herewith, in whose comments and observations thereon I concur.

Respectfully yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[The Speaker of the House of Representatives]

NOTE: On June 28, 1948, the President approved the Foreign Aid Appropriation Act, 1949 (62 Stat. 1054).

The letter from the Director of the Bureau of the Budget is printed in House Document 610 (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

76 Radio Address Opening the Savings Bond Campaign. *April* 14, 1948

[Broadcast from the White House at 10:30 p.m.]

My fellow Americans:

I am speaking to you tonight about something that each of us—as individuals—can do to contribute to the winning of the peace. That is the purchase of United States savings bonds.

Any workable program for world peace must depend upon a sound, strong, and expanding American economy. When we buy savings bonds we contribute directly to the strength of our economy, upon which so much depends.

By investing in savings bonds we are fighting inflation, which is still our greatest economic danger. At the same time, we are building toward the economic security of ourselves and our families. At such a time as this, all of us can serve both ourselves and

our country by saving all we can against the day when we can spend our dollars to better advantage.

Our economic system, which has given us the greatest productive power and the highest standard of living in the world, is based upon individual enterprise, industry, and thrift. We need these qualities at all times in order to prosper. Under present world conditions we need them more than ever before.

Tomorrow, April 15th, the Nation launches its Security Loan campaign. As your President, I ask each of you to back the Security Loan to the limit by buying extra savings bonds, by signing up for the Payroll Savings plan where you work or the Bond-a-Month plan where you bank, and by volunteering to help sell bonds to others.

This is the most important campaign for United States savings bonds we have had since 1945. It calls for everything we can put into it. It calls for volunteer work in every community, freely and patriotically given. It requires enough volunteers to talk to every American where he works or where he lives. The experience of all the war loan drives has proved that if Americans who can buy bonds are asked personally to buy them, and told the personal and national reasons for buying them, the goal will be reached.

Last Thursday the city of Sandusky and Erie County, Ohio, began a week's campaign to sell their share of Security Loan bonds in advance of the national campaign. Sandusky and Erie County wanted to be the first in the Nation to do the job and show the country how well it can be done if everybody pitches in. Volunteers set out to visit every factory, office, farm, and home in Erie County. The newspapers and radio stations and every civic, fraternal, veterans, women's, and farm organization backed them up. I am happy to be able to tell you that Sandusky and Erie County oversubscribed their goal by 25 percent in 1 week.

What Sandusky and Erie County have done in 1 week, every community and county in the United States can do, beginning tomorrow. How well you do the job in your community will depend upon the number and the spirit of the volunteers who tackle it.

This is a call to the Minute Men and Women to rally again to build up the defenses of our national economy. For, as the slogan of the Security Loan puts it: "America's Security is Your Security."

This campaign presents to us a responsibility and an opportunity. Every dollar that a family puts into savings bonds now will be a dollar building for the family's security. It will be a dollar fighting against inflation and high prices. It will be a dollar working to win the peace.

77 The President's News Conference of *April* 15, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. I have no special announcements to make this morning, so I am ready for questions.

[1.] Q. Mr. President, what do you think about the troubles which developed down in Bogotá last week? [1]

[1] The International Conference of American States was interrupted by rioting which broke out in the streets of Bogotá. The conference was adjourned when the hall in which it was being held was invaded by rioters; it was resumed after order had been restored in the city.

THE PRESIDENT. I am very sorry that it did happen, of course, and I was as surprised as anybody else that that did happen. We had information, of course, as we had when the trip was made to Brazil and to Mexico City and to Puerto Rico, that there might be picketing and riots, but nobody had any idea that somebody was going to get shot and cause the riot such as the one in Bogotá.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, Prentice Cooper, Ambassador to Peru, is back home. I wonder if you would confirm the reports we have that he is going to be replaced?

THE PRESIDENT. I cannot.

Q. Have you asked for his resignation?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if any action on that takes place, you will be informed.

Q. Has he offered his resignation?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that question.

[3.] Q. Are you pleased with the results of the Nebraska primary?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment on the Nebraska primary. I was unanimously elected out there. No comment on it. [*Laughter*]

Q. Have you any comment on that side of the primary?

THE PRESIDENT. No, no comment. I am very happy about it.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, have you any comment on the Martin-Bridges coal compromise? [1]

THE PRESIDENT. No comment.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, is the administration for the 70 or 55 group air force?

THE PRESIDENT. The administration is for the program that was sent to the Congress and supported by Mr. Forrestal. That is the administration's program, and that is the one that should be implemented, because that is a balanced defense program, and it is an economical one that the country can understand and afford. Now, what was that?

Q. Are you going to spank Mr. Symington?

THE PRESIDENT. I will answer that question at some other date. [*Laughter*]

Q. How do you account for the difference between Mr. Symington and Mr. Forrestal?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't account for it.

[6.] Q. You were going to tell about the balcony today!

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, was I? Well, all right! [*Laughter*] Unless these gentlemen have some more defense questions they want to ask.

[7.] Q. I wonder, Mr. President, whether that difference between those two top men hasn't had a great deal of suspicion that unification is not working, that something will have to be done to make it work? Could you comment on that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Unification eventually will work. It's like every other new organization in the Government, it has to become implemented, and people have to become accustomed to it and used to it. The defense program which was sent to the Congress by the administration is a balanced defense program, one that was—will be for the best interests of the country, and it is one that was agreed on by all branches of the service. That is the program which I hope the Congress will implement.

[8.] Q. Do you consider the uprising in Bogotá as a warning to the Americas on the Communist danger in this hemisphere?

THE PRESIDENT. General Marshall commented on that I think very well.

[9.] Q. Mr. Secretary—Mr. President—[*laughter*]——

[1] Speaker of the House Martin intervened in the coal dispute and obtained an agreement whereby both management and labor accepted Senator Bridges as a third member of the trustee board to administer the miners' welfare and retirement fund.

THE PRESIDENT. That's all right.

Q. Marriner Eccles made some new proposal for Federal Reserve Board authority to curb inflationary bank credit. Does that represent administration policy?

THE PRESIDENT. That is Mr. Eccles's viewpoint.

Q. He said it was a—represented the viewpoint of the Reserve Board.

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't discussed it with the Reserve Board, or with Mr. Eccles.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with the defense program, the House Armed Services Committee asked—adopted a resolution asking that you approve an additional $2 billion air procurement program over and above the Forrestal program.

THE PRESIDENT. I have stated as clearly as I can that the program of the administration was stated by Mr. Forrestal.

Q. And not by Mr. Symington?

THE PRESIDENT. I said by Mr. Forrestal. You can't put words in my mouth, Bert.[1]

Q. Try to.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, is there any news on the vacancy in the Maritime Commission that occurs this week when Mr. Parkhurst——

THE PRESIDENT. No. I have no announcement to make on that.

Q. Will that go to a New York man this time?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that question. I am going to try to find the best man for the job. I don't care where that is.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, have you seen either Ed Flynn or Paul Fitzpatrick in the——

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I saw them both a day or two ago. They discussed New York politics with me. That's what they came down here for.

[1] Bert Andrews of the New York Herald Tribune.

Q. Can you tell us what the features of the discussion were, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. We didn't see them come in or out.

THE PRESIDENT. It was off the record. You weren't intended to see them!

Q. Did they go away happy, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. They did that. [*Laughter*]

Q. Is the picture rosy or gray?

THE PRESIDENT. The picture was all right.

[13.] Miss May,[1] you asked me about that balcony. I have some pictures here that are right interesting, on the balcony, which show the reasons that I had in view. The proper reasons have never been attributed to me. They thought it was a selfish reason that I had. But that portico on the porch was designed by Thomas Jefferson. It was first built with very narrow, spindly, wooden columns; and in 1855 they finally began to carry out the Jefferson program. And they had the same row over it that they had over this improvement of mine. [*Laughter*]

But, in order to use that porch in the summertime, it was necessary to have these awnings—I don't know whether you can all see this or not—[*holding up some photographs of the south portico*]—but these awnings have to be replaced once a year, at a cost of about $700 a year; and we tried concealing them and everything else, but they absolutely ruined the proportions of the columns.

When that porch was designed, it was intended to have a balcony, because Jefferson had designed several down in the University of Virginia, which were finally completed with a balcony. And the idea in putting the

[1] Mrs. May Craig of the Portland (Maine) Press Herald.

balcony up there was to give the pillars the proper proportions, without having them cut in two in the middle by the awnings.

You know, that is a combination Ionic and Corinthian column there. It isn't a pure Ionic column. They have certain proportions in connection with the height as to diameter, and when you cut them in two in the middle, there is an obstruction, as those awnings were. It ruins the looks and proportions of the columns.

You can see how the portico goes back in there. If you come down in the street and take a look at it, you can see that it adds a great deal to the looks of the White House, and makes the south facade look as it was intended to look in the first place. That's the only reason it was done. I never expect to use the balcony, because it's too prominent. I might just as well sit down here in the backyard next to the iron fence. [*Laughter*] It was only put there to improve the architectural appearance of the White House in the south, and we had to get rid of those dirty awnings which were a continued expense to the White House upkeep.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, have you had any indication from some of the Southern States of a back-to-Truman movement?

THE PRESIDENT. There were a great many who never left Truman. [*Laughter*]

[15.] Q. Well, Mr. President, why didn't you tell us this in the beginning, about the balcony?

THE PRESIDENT. I did try to tell you, but the people who were so interested in finding fault with it didn't want to find the facts. I tried my best to tell you.

Q. Mr. President, then there is—this question may sound impertinent——

THE PRESIDENT. No, it isn't—no, it isn't. Go ahead.

Q. Are you well documented on that statement that Jefferson intended it? Is that——

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I know that Jefferson designed the porch.

Q. That is something that somebody is going to hammer you on.

THE PRESIDENT. That porch was designed by Jefferson. It had a balcony on it. Whether he designed it or not, I don't know, but his design came from these southern mansions at that time, which always had a portico.

Q. Mr. President, do you feel the Fine Arts Commission sort of misled you——

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't. I think the Fine Arts Commission is absolutely correct. You will find architects all over the country are in the same mood—of the same opinion as the Fine Arts Commission were in the first place. They got scared when they commenced firing bricks at them. I don't scare easily. [*Laughter*]

[16.] Q. Mr. President, does that have any political significance also?

THE PRESIDENT. If you want to give it any, Miss May. [*Laughter*]

Q. You say you are not going to use the balcony?

THE PRESIDENT. Of course, I won't get to use it. I don't have time to—for any pleasures. I work all the time. I get up at 5 o'clock in the morning, and am sitting at the desk at 6, and I never leave that desk until it's late at night, unless I have to go out somewhere and make a speech, as I did at the Gridiron dinner the other night.

Q. Do you anticipate you might need it during the next 4 years?

THE PRESIDENT. I anticipate using it during the next 4 years, if I get a chance to use it, that is. I'll be there to use it, don't worry about that.

Q. That's about as near as you have come—[*laughter*]——

THE PRESIDENT. What do you mean?

Q. I mean you are saying definitely that

you are going to run——

THE PRESIDENT. Oh no, I made that announcement some time ago. That announcement has been made a long time ago.

Q. That's about as near as you have come to predicting victory——

THE PRESIDENT. No, it isn't. I predicted victory here the other day. You just didn't get it. But I shall never be downhearted at all.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, they have just abolished the death penalty in England. I wondered whether you had any general views on that subject?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment on that.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, Life magazine said you were going to nominate General Eisenhower. Any comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. Life magazine knows a lot of things that I don't know, most of them not facts.

Q. Also said, Mr. President, that you were going to send General Eisenhower to see Stalin. Is that true?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is something I don't know, either. I never heard of it before. I don't intend to do it, if that's the proper answer to give you. General Eisenhower is going up and run a university.

Q. Any deep political significance in the fact that George Allen and Eisenhower are down in Georgia playing golf?

THE PRESIDENT. You will have to ask them. I can't answer that. They have a right to attend to their own business, the same as I have mine; only I don't get to attend to mine without interference. [*Laughter*]

Q. Do you think that there is any business between George Allen and——

THE PRESIDENT. No—I only know that they are great friends, that Eisenhower and George Allen are congenial. They like to be in each other's company. And I like them both, too, and like to be in their company.

Q. Mr. President, was there any significance in Eisenhower's and Mr. Allen's conference?

THE PRESIDENT. Not that I know of. The best thing to do would be to ask them.

Q. I thought maybe you might have said something——

THE PRESIDENT. No. I think the best thing to do is to ask them.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment on the Italian elections next Sunday?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have no comment. I can't comment on an election before it has taken place. I will comment on it afterwards.

Reporter: Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. You're welcome.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and forty-second news conference was held in his office at the White House at 10:30 a.m. on Thursday, April 15, 1948.

78 Statement by the President on the Death of President Manuel Roxas of the Philippines. *April* 15, 1948

I AM deeply shocked at the news of the sudden death of President Manuel Roxas of the Philippines. In his passing, the Philippine people have lost a great leader and the United States of America a true friend.

He assumed office as President when his war-ravaged country was faced with the most staggering problems. His untimely death in itself is evidence of the energy which he brought to the restoration of the Philip-

pines and to the service of his people. The officials of this Government with whom he came in contact have been unanimous in their praise of his farseeing vision and statesmanship. His sure leadership of the people of the Philippines and his courageous faith in his country may well serve as an inspiration to the people of all lands.

79 Letter to the Chairman, U.S. Maritime Commission, on the Ship Construction Program. *April* 16, 1948

[Released April 16, 1948. Dated April 15, 1948]

My dear Admiral Smith:

As you know, I am recommending to the Congress that the 1949 Budget of the United States Maritime Commission be amended to provide $100,000,000 in contract authority for an expanded program of merchant ship construction. This action was taken as an integral part of the security program which recent events have compelled me to place before the Congress.

It is encouraging to note that orders have recently been placed with American shipyards by private interests for the construction of a considerable number of tank vessels of advanced design. This, together with expanded Naval and Maritime Commission ship construction programs, should reverse the recent downward trend of employment in the shipbuilding industries. It is to be hoped that additional orders for the construction of vessels under private account will be placed in the near future, and, in this connection, I wish to emphasize that I regard the Government-sponsored program for merchant-ship construction as a stimulant to, rather than a substitute for, construction by private industry.

I am requesting, therefore, that immediate steps be taken by the Commission in conjunction with the shipping industry to determine what additional ship construction is economically justified at this time as evidenced by willingness on the part of industry to purchase vessels constructed. With regard to tanker construction, I feel that Government participation should be limited to the cost of national defense features. With respect to other types of construction, I believe that, as stated in my Budget Message to the Congress, "Construction of new vessels should be limited to those for which private purchasers are available . . ." and that the Government's participation should be based upon the principle of providing, through subsidy, the differential in cost between foreign and domestic construction, as provided in Title V of the Merchant Marine Act.

I also urge the Commission to make every effort, consonant with sound business principles, to expedite the initiation of the authorized 1948 shipbuilding program in order to enter into contracts for the construction of these vessels before the end of this fiscal year.

In order that the construction program of the Maritime Commission may be properly integrated with the security program I request that the Commission establish complete liaison with the Secretary of National Defense. It is important that the closest working relationship exist between the two agencies.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Vice Admiral W. W. Smith, Chairman, United States Maritime Commission, Washington 25, D.C.]

NOTE: On July 2 the White House released a letter to the President from the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Maritime Commission, which

served as an interim report on the merchant ship construction expansion program.

The letter, dated July 1, informed the President that a Maritime Commission-Military and Industry Liaison Committee had been established and had investigated the situation. In exploratory discussions with members of the shipping industry, the Committee had found a reluctance to enter into firm commitments for ship construction while legislation was pending before Congress which would increase subsidies and other benefits to the industry. Since Congress had adjourned without passing the legislation, the Committee was waiting to see to what extent the industry would participate in the program.

In conclusion, the letter stated that the Committee was proceeding, through discussions with interested shipowners, to ascertain to what extent it would be possible to commit the $178 million of contract authorization in the construction of merchant vessels.

80 Address Before the American Society of Newspaper Editors. *April* 17, 1948

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, fellow Americans:

I am glad to be here tonight to speak to the American Society of Newspaper Editors. You editors make a distinct and important contribution to the operation of government in the United States. Your frank expression of views on current affairs has great value to our people in helping them to form their judgments.

I am amazed, sometimes, when I find that some of you disagree with me. When I consider how you disagree among yourselves, I am somewhat comforted. I begin to think that maybe I'm all right, anyway!

It is because of the influence you have upon the course of our democracy that I am glad to have this opportunity to discuss with you one of the major problems confronting our country today.

I am going to talk to you about inflation.

All of us have the foreign situation very much in our minds these days. This is proper, for we must devote a great deal of thought to our foreign relations if we are to succeed in working out the difficult international problems facing us. But we cannot afford to neglect our problems at home.

The success of our foreign policy depends to a very large extent upon the strength and stability of our domestic economy. The plain fact is, however, that our economy is in serious danger as a result of high prices and inflation.

Inflation may seem to you to be an old story. But there are some men in this country—men who happen to be in influential positions—who still fail to understand or who deliberately ignore the gravity of the situation and the need for forthright measures to meet it. They have tinkered with the problem of inflation—they have even taken some feeble steps in the right direction. But they have taken other steps in the wrong direction—steps that have made the problem much worse.

For my part, I believe that inflation is so grave a menace to this country and to the world that I do not propose to let it be forgotten.

I believe that the Government has a clear-cut responsibility to deal with high prices. I believe that we know what measures the Government should take. I cannot sit by silently while inflation continues to creep up on the American people.

The basic facts which make this problem of such fundamental importance are plain. The world stands now at one of the decisive points in history. Emerging from the most terrible of all wars, people all over the earth are fixing anew the pattern of civilization.

By virtue of the strength with which we have been blessed, the United States is the chief support of those people of the world who are seeking to rebuild their civilization in accordance with the principles of democracy and freedom. The heart of our support is economic assistance. To be effective, it must be coupled with sufficient military strength to give the free peoples of the world some sense of security while they rebuild.

These requirements must be met in large part from the production of American mines and factories and farms. Thus, a strong American economy is the bedrock upon which rest the hopes for establishing a peace of free men in the world. Without it we can provide neither aid, nor leadership, nor example.

The strength and vitality of our economy are being undermined by inflation. High prices are now working real hardship upon most American families. If unchecked, inflation will bring on economic consequences which will hurt every one of us.

This is not a new situation, but it is getting worse.

I have been calling attention to the hardships and dangers of high prices for a long time. I have repeatedly urged businessmen to exercise voluntary restraint in setting prices. Many of them have courageously done what they could to hold prices down. But they were not strong enough to stem the tide, and prices have continued to rise.

By last fall, it had become clear that we could not place our main reliance on voluntary methods. On November 17th, I presented to the Congress a 10-point legislative program for dealing with inflation. This program has not been enacted. And prices have continued to rise.

The program which I presented to the Congress was sound and necessary last November. It is still sound and it is even more necessary now.

The total demand for goods is still outrunning production. Competition for scarce items is still pushing prices up. Employment is at record levels, but the real purchasing power of most of our people is still losing ground to inflation.

In February, there was a break in the market for wheat, corn, and other agricultural products. But agricultural prices did not drop for long, and they did not drop very far. The prices paid by housewives were affected hardly at all. The general level of prices has remained well above the already excessive level which prevailed in 1947.

And now there are new factors that have made the outlook for inflation considerably worse.

Some key prices have been increased, unwisely and unnecessarily. The outstanding case was, of course, the increase in some important steel prices. I believe that the businessmen who made these increases did not consider their far-reaching effect on the rest of the economy. They made the regrettable decision to increase prices even though they were already making record profits. In the face of these actions, other businessmen, with a greater regard for the public welfare, have fought a losing battle to keep their prices down.

In addition to these price increases, inflation has been encouraged by some unnecessary interruptions to production. The outstanding example, of course, was the work stoppage in the coal industry. The serious effect of the loss of coal production shows the narrow margin of supply on which we are operating, and how quickly shortages of basic materials can cripple our entire economy.

Another new factor making for inflation is the bill recently enacted by the Congress reducing Government revenues by $5 billion. This is dangerous from the standpoint of the Government's financial stability, because it is

likely to result in a deficit in the next fiscal year. This is also dangerous from the standpoint of high prices, for the additional billions of dollars of purchasing power will not be accompanied by any significant increase in production. It means simply that more dollars will be bidding for the same goods, and prices will be bid up accordingly. Furthermore, by eliminating the Government's surplus of receipts over expenditures, the tax reduction bill will remove the most important single factor which has helped to hold prices in check during recent months.

At the same time that taxes are being reduced, we are undertaking a program of assistance to foreign countries. We are also considering certain necessary additions to our national defense program. Both of these programs are of utmost importance, and we must have them. But they will result in strains on parts of our economy, which can add to inflation if we do not have the proper controls.

In considering the effects of these programs, it is extremely important to realize that we now have practically no slack in our economy. We have substantially full employment. Factories already are operating at top capacity. We cannot increase our plant capacity rapidly. We have only the normal growth in the labor force to count on for new manpower.

Under these circumstances, new demands for material and production necessarily have a direct and telling effect on prices—unless the proper anti-inflation steps are taken.

It is apparent, when all these factors are considered, that the danger of inflation has not diminished in the last few months. On the contrary, the need for the legislation I requested is even more urgent.

It seems to me that the basic question is clear. It is whether we take action in time to do some good or whether we delay until a crisis is upon us. It is simply a matter of taking out insurance before the house catches fire.

If the cost of living continues to climb, wages and prices will continue to chase each other upward. The unhealthy boom will impose further hardships upon those who fall behind in the race. The greater the inflation and the longer it lasts, the greater the danger that it will end in unemployment, business distress, and a recession or depression. It is of little significance that no one can forecast the exact time when this will happen. The important point is that we cannot afford to let it happen at all.

Since I addressed the Congress one month ago today on the need for prompt action on the European recovery program, and on universal training and selective service, there has been a greatly increased interest by our citizens in national defense and in our foreign policy. This interest has been reflected by the enactment of legislation to aid European recovery. But our domestic economy has been dangerously neglected. It should be neglected no longer.

I believe that the anti-inflation program I recommended to the Congress last November should be enacted at once. That program is balanced and well-rounded. It includes measures to reduce the excessive amounts of money and credit which are lifting prices. It includes measures to see that scarce goods are distributed fairly and to their most important uses. It includes measures to deal directly with specific high prices.

All these measures are reasonable and practical. They attack inflation in a direct manner. They offer a complete and consistent program to strike at the heart of the problem of high prices.

The measures I proposed are designed to hold prices down while keeping production up, and increasing it as rapidly as possible. They are designed to stop runaway prices, so that great numbers of American families will

not be priced out of the market for things they need. These measures are designed to insure that scarce goods are not wasted, but are used where they will be of the greatest benefit.

I wish to emphasize that the situation has already been made more difficult by delay. Additional delay will only add to the danger.

The American people must not be misled by those who oppose a reasonable anti-inflation program and a reasonable defense program. It has been said that the present administration is trying to create an economic crisis or an international crisis. The exact opposite is the truth. We are striving to avoid an economic crisis by protecting our prosperity while we still have it. We are striving to avoid a war crisis by being firm before it is too late.

The welfare of our own people, the effectiveness of our foreign policy, and the strength of our defenses all depend on our prosperity. Only if we preserve the soundness of our economy, through prompt and adequate measures to control inflation, can we contribute our full share to a peace in which freedom and democracy will be secure.

I believe that the people of the United States understand that we have a great opportunity and a great responsibility to lead the world through these changing and difficult times. I believe that our people have the faith, the wisdom, and the unselfish devotion to the common good to take whatever actions are necessary to meet that responsibility.

We can succeed if we act courageously and act in time.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 p.m. at the Statler Hotel in Washington. His opening words "Mr. Chairman" referred to Nathaniel R. Howard, president of the Society. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

81 Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress in Observance of the 50th Anniversary of Cuban Independence. *April* 19, 1948

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Mr. Ambassador, Mr. Chairman, and distinguished guests:

It is eminently fitting that we should assemble here today to pay solemn tribute to the heroic champions of human freedom who brought about the liberation of Cuba. The commemoration of half a century of Cuban independence recalls the valor of the Cuban patriots and American soldiers and sailors who gave liberally of their strength and their blood that Cuba might be free. From that chapter in man's age-old struggle for freedom, we can draw inspiration for the hard tasks that confront us in our time.

The struggle for Cuban independence, like every other effort of its kind, was fraught with hardship and disappointment. But the unconquerable determination of the Cuban people to win freedom overcame all obstacles. From the first, the fight for liberation by Cuban patriots evoked the sympathy of the people of the United States. Those in quest of independence have always had the support of the people of this Nation.

Americans watched with admiration the beginning of the final struggle for independence led by José Martí and his valiant compatriots, Gómez, Maceo, and García. Our people made increasingly plain their desire to assist the Cuban patriots. The sinking of the United States battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor on February 15, 1898, crystallized the growing sentiment in this country for joining forces with the Cuban people in their fight for self-government.

The Congress passed a Joint Resolution expressing in clear terms the conviction of the men and women of the United States that the people of the Island of Cuba should be free and independent. It also expressed our determination that once the Cuban people were liberated, they, and they alone, should govern the Island of Cuba. It is the passage of this Joint Resolution, 50 years ago today, which we are commemorating in this ceremony.

This Joint Resolution, the foundation upon which our relations with the Cuban Republic are based, brought the military and naval forces of the United States into the conflict at the side of the Cuban patriots. The names of Shafter, Roosevelt, Hobson, and many others were joined with those of Gómez, Maceo, and García.

For 4 months, as Americans fought side by side with their Cuban allies, the opposing forces were driven back. On August 12, Spain signed the Protocol of Peace and agreed to give up Cuba and withdraw her forces. The dream of José Martí became at last a glorious reality.

The sympathetic interest of the United States in the welfare of the Cuban people did not end with the victory. We assisted the Cubans in repairing the ravages of war and overcoming problems of health and sanitation. The comradeship of war was succeeded by the notable peacetime collaboration of General Wood, General Gorgas, Doctor Walter Reed, Doctor Agramonte, and other men of science and public life.

From these sound beginnings, relations between the Republic of Cuba and the United States have continued through the years on a mutually satisfactory basis. I believe that few nations of differing languages and cultures have drawn so closely together during the last 50 years, freely and without duress, as have Cuba and the United States.

Many other factors have contributed to the understanding and affection between our two Nations. Travel between the two countries is extensive and our peoples have come to know each other, and each other's customs and cultures, at firsthand. Trade between the two Nations has increased steadily in volume and in importance. The experience of Cuba and the United States refutes the false assumption that neighboring peoples of different races and cultures are naturally antagonistic. On the contrary, the history of Cuban-American relations demonstrates that when people of different countries enjoy opportunities for frequent personal contacts and a free exchange of information and knowledge, their ties of friendship grow stronger through the years.

Although our two countries are separated by only 90 miles of water, and vary greatly in size and strength, they collaborate harmoniously on a basis of equal sovereignty and independence of action. This relationship provides living proof of the ability of nations great and small to live in peace and to enjoy the full benefits of commercial and cultural exchange. The same harmonious relationship can prevail among all nations, provided they possess a genuine desire for peace and a firm resolve to respect the freedom and the rights of others! This is a truth the whole world should take to heart, particularly at this time.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:17 p.m. In his opening words he referred to Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives; Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, President pro tempore of the Senate; Guillermo Belt, Cuban Ambassador to the United States; and Senator Edward Martin of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Arrangements. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

The prepared text, released in both English and Spanish, concluded with the following paragraphs which the President omitted in delivery:

"The basic requirement for peace and understanding is the *will* that peace and understanding shall

prevail. The will to avoid war and to seek an understanding that precludes all violence and aggression is one of the most profound and universal concepts held by the peoples of this earth. I am convinced that the plain people of the world, of whatever race or nationality, desire nothing more passionately than freedom for themselves and for others—freedom to be left in peace to earn their daily bread after their own fashion—freedom to leave their neighbors in peace to do likewise.

"This is the great issue of our day: Whether the universal longing of mankind for peace and freedom shall prevail, or whether it is to be flouted and betrayed. The challenge of our time, like the one met so successfully by those we honor today, tests the mettle of men and their institutions of government. Our own moment of history also calls for calmness, for courage, for strength, and above all for the steadfast resolution that, come what may, we shall stand for the right.

"We honor today the memory of a noble few among the countless heroes who have fought to advance the cause of human freedom through the ages.

"Let us avail ourselves of this occasion to refresh our faith in freedom and to rededicate this Nation and ourselves to the principles of liberty, justice, and peace."

82 Message to the New President of the Philippines. *April* 19, 1948

AS YOU assume the heavy burdens of the office of President, I should like to express to you my confidence that the close and friendly relations which have always existed between the United States and the Philippines will continue.

I also wish to convey to you my gratification that you are bringing to your high office the intimate knowledge of world problems with which you became familiar as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and to assure you of my sincere desire that the governments of our two countries will continue to cooperate closely in seeking solutions for those problems.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[His Excellency Elpidio Quirino, President of the Philippines]

83 Letter to Secretary Harriman Following His Nomination as U.S. Special Representative in Europe. *April* 22, 1948

Dear Averell:

In designating you to assume a post of great responsibility in the administration of the European Recovery Program, I realized that I was asking you to undertake a mission which would command all of your time and energy. In the circumstances, therefore, but with sincere regret, I accept, effective at the close of business this day, your resignation as Secretary of Commerce.

Under other conditions I would prefer to see you carry forward the work of the Department of Commerce to which you brought such a wealth of experience. But that experience also adds to the equipment which gives you such exceptional qualifications as United States Special Representative in Europe with the rank of Ambassador.

Few men in public life today know Europe and its problems and perplexities as you do. Besides the knowledge which you gained as Ambassador to Russia and to Great Britain in war and postwar years, you have acquired additional information through extensive travels and wide studies in most of the countries of Europe. I can think of no one with a keener grasp of the problems presented by the economic dislocation which has followed

in the wake of hostilities.

Largely because of these considerations I am consenting to your release from the duties of Secretary of Commerce. The superb direction which you have given to the affairs of that office during a year and a half is sufficient guarantee of the results which you would achieve if it were possible for you to continue in the Cabinet.

The European Recovery Program must succeed. I know that you will bear your part.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable W. Averell Harriman, Secretary of Commerce, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: Mr. Harriman served as Secretary of Commerce from September 28, 1946, through April 22, 1948. His letter of resignation, dated April 22, was released with the President's reply.

84 The President's News Conference of *April* 22, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. Well, ladies and gentlemen, you have had all the announcements up to date. I haven't any announcements to make to you, so if you have any questions I will try to answer them.

[1.] Q. Mr. President, U.S. Steel today denied a wage increase to its employees, and at the same time announced a decrease in consumer goods approximating 25 million, Mr. Fairless stating that both acts would work against inflation. Do you have any comment?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment, for I learned it just about the same time you did.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, out in Ohio there is a hot primary fight for Governor, Ray Miller against Frank Lausche. Charles Sawyer is honorary chairman of the Miller forces. The Lausche people claim that this puts you on the side of Miller. Is that right?

THE PRESIDENT. That has nothing to do with Ohio politics. I appointed Mr. Sawyer because I thought he was the man best fitted for the place. Cabinet appointments are my individual business.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, could you comment on the results of the Italian election?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have a short statement here on the Italian election which I will read to you.

"Free peoples everywhere will be encouraged by the outcome of the recent Italian election. The results demonstrate once again the vitality of Italian democracy and the determination of the Italian people to maintain their freedom and their liberties."

That's all I have to say.

Q. Has that been mimeographed?

THE PRESIDENT. No, it hasn't.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, on the same day of the Italian elections, General de Gaulle issued a statement at Marseilles as a rallying call for de Gaulleists. Any comment to make upon that?

THE PRESIDENT. No comment.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, about your trip to California, is that going to be part of a larger trip, will you make a swing across the country?

THE PRESIDENT. Not that I know of. The University of California some time back invited me to make their address at commencement, and I told them I didn't know whether I could or not, they could invite me if they chose and I would come if I could. That is the only way I make engagements,

and that is how that engagement was made. I will go if I possibly can, because I am very highly flattered that the University of California should want me to make the commencement address.

Q. Mr. President, are you thinking of going to Chicago about the same time you will be going to California?

THE PRESIDENT. Not that I know of. When I get ready to announce any trip, you will all know in advance, so you can get your "duds" ready and take your lunch along, and we'll have a good time. [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, Scott Lucas said he talked to you on the subject?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, he did. He talked to me about it. I hope I can go. I can't make any firm appointments until I know what the situation is here.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, do you believe at this time that the Western European union has gone sufficiently far enough for you to match their cooperative effort with the U.S.A.?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not ready to answer that question, but I will answer it some time soon.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, did you ask Commissioner Durr [1] to accept reappointment?

THE PRESIDENT. I sent for Commissioner Durr and offered him reappointment. I think he is a good public servant. But he told me he could not accept the reappointment for the simple reason that he was raising a family and he couldn't live on the salary that he was getting. I was very sorry, because he is a good public servant.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment on the progress and developments in the John L. Lewis case?

THE PRESIDENT. No comment. I am enforcing the law.

Q. Mr. President, do you think that perhaps the Speaker of the House also helped to enforce the law when he intervened?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment to make on that. You had better ask the Speaker. He is not in the executive branch of the Government.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us why you switched from the 55 group to the 66 group?

THE PRESIDENT. There was no switch from a 55 to a 66 group. The Secretary of Defense and the Chiefs of Staff came up here and discussed an increase in the appropriation for the ground forces and the air force. And Secretary Forrestal explained that very carefully in his statement to the committee, and I approved the statement.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, some Republican Senators feel that they would be justified in delaying confirmation of the administrative appointments, to see that you get elected next time.

THE PRESIDENT. That's their business. If they want to cripple the operations of the Government, they will have to take the responsibility. I shall continue to make appointments as usual when they are necessary to be made.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, has Senator McGrath's appearance here any significance?

THE PRESIDENT. No, he was here and I invited him to stay for the press conference.

[12.] Q. Anything on patronage at this time?

THE PRESIDENT. Nothing whatever. [*Laughter*]

[13.] Q. Mr. President, have you decided when you will appoint Mr. Charles Brannan to take Mr. Anderson's place——

THE PRESIDENT. When I get ready to announce the appointment of the Secretary of Agriculture, I will let you know a few days in advance—if I can. If not, I will let you

[1] C. J. Durr, member of the Federal Communications Commission.

know on the day I make it.

Q. Mr. President, are you ready to tell us who the Deputy Administrator is——

THE PRESIDENT. Not yet, no. I will tell you just as soon as I can. I will tell you.

[14.] Q. Has Mike Monroney been offered or accepted the job in——

THE PRESIDENT. Mike Monroney was offered the job as Chairman of the Economic Advisers when that bill was passed with his assistance; and he refused to accept it.

Q. Has there been anything since then?

THE PRESIDENT. I have had several conversations with him since then, on various subjects. [*Laughter*]

[15.] Q. Mr. President, do you see Mr. Sawyer tonight?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Sawyer will be at the Cabinet meeting in the morning. He can't get here tonight.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, do you feel that the Federal Reserve Board should have any new authority to restrain inflationary bank credit at this time?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment to make on that. I haven't given it the study that it should have. I can't comment on it at this time.

This young lady wants to ask a question, then I'll be——

[17.] Q. Thank you, Mr. President. Would you still be willing, Mr. President, to see Stalin personally, either here or in—anywhere else in the world?

THE PRESIDENT. If Mr. Stalin wants to come here to see me, I will be very happy to see him. I don't expect to go out of the United States to attend any conferences at this time.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, the House passed a resolution today directing the Commerce Department to turn over the Condon[1] files to the House Un-American Committee.

[1] Dr. Edward U. Condon, Director, National Bureau of Standards, Department of Commerce.

THE PRESIDENT. Do you remember Thomas Jefferson's comment on the John Marshall decision? If you don't remember that, you had better look it up.

Q. But in view of your recent order, Mr. President, will you permit the files to——

THE PRESIDENT. I will tell you to read Thomas Jefferson's comment on John Marshall's decision.

Q. Won't you tell us about it, to save us the trouble? [*Laughter*]

Q. It may take us a little time to find it. Would you like to run over it?

THE PRESIDENT. It's "The Chief Justice made his decision, now let him enforce it."[1]

Q. The Chief Justice made his decision——

THE PRESIDENT. ——now let him enforce it.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, may we put your comment on the Italian election in quotes?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, you may. You may do that.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, would you care to comment on the situation in Palestine?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have no comment on that. That matter is pending before the United Nations.

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Austin said that we intended to send—offered to send American troops to Palestine if other nations would help to enforce the——

THE PRESIDENT. We offered to furnish our share of a United Nations police force. That is the only way we will send troops anywhere under the United Nations. As a part of a United Nations police force for the enforcement of the orders of the United Nations, we will furnish our share, just as Mr. Austin said we would.

Q. The rest of that question, sir, is that

[1] The President was quoting a remark commonly attributed to President Andrew Jackson, who is said to have made it in 1832 following a decision of Chief Justice John Marshall of the U.S. Supreme Court.

there has been congressional criticism that you don't have the authority to send troops out of the country under the U.N.?

THE PRESIDENT. I wonder what authority the Commander in Chief has over troops anywhere? Read the history of the Mexican Veracruz thing — Nicaragua — Haiti—and several others. You will find out some things that maybe you don't know now.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, have you reached any decision yet as to when the American tariff concessions to Czechoslovakia will be put into effect?

THE PRESIDENT. A statement on that will be issued by the State Department before the day is over. That will cover the situation.

[22.] Q. Mr. President, when you say "furnish our share as part of a U.N. police force," you include a—you mean a police force including Soviet troops?

THE PRESIDENT. I mean a police force organized by the United Nations. I am not saying what troops because that is the business of the United Nations.

Q. Mr. President, is that a permanent police force, or special authority for Palestine——

THE PRESIDENT. Whatever the contingency calls for.

[23.] Q. Can you comment on the situation regarding the Reciprocal Trade Act, which expires less than 2 months from now?

THE PRESIDENT. It should be renewed, and renewed at once. I have said that to the Congress on a half dozen different occasions.

Q. No action yet in Congress.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that's not my fault. I am not running Congress.

[24.] Q. Mr. President, there is a great deal in the papers about "Project X." I can't find anyone who knows anything about it. Do you know anything about it?

THE PRESIDENT. If I did I couldn't tell you. [*Laughter*]

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You are entirely welcome.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and forty-third news conference was held in his office at the White House at 4:05 p.m. on Thursday, April 22, 1948.

85 Message to Prince Charles of Belgium Following His Visit to the United States. *April* 23, 1948

[Released April 23, 1948. Dated April 22, 1948]

THANK YOU for your cordial message. Your visit to this country emphasized the particularly close ties which bind together our two nations. I send my hearty good wishes for the continued peace and prosperity of Belgium and my hope that European cooperation with American assistance will be effective in bringing similar prosperity and increasing hope of peace to the other cooperating countries.

Your stay at the White House was a great pleasure for Mrs. Truman and me and we join in sending best wishes for your continued personal happiness and well-being.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[His Royal Highness Prince Charles, Regent of the Kingdom of Belgium, Brussels]

NOTE: Prince Charles' message, dated April 19, was released with the President's reply.

86 The President's Special Conference With Editors of Business and Trade Papers. *April* 23, 1948

THE PRESIDENT [*replying to a request that he repeat certain remarks spoken off the record to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 17*]. I made a bad reputation over there.

Mr. Wooton: [1] You *added* to your reputation there.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Paul said there was some doubt as to the necessity for a military preparedness program. Maybe there is some doubt in the minds of some people that it is necessary for us to be able to back up our agreements.

I know what Charlie is edging up here for. He is—wants me to announce that this is off the record. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Ross: Correct!

Mr. Wooton: I promised them that I would do that, that they may use the thoughts in their editorials but they are not to be attributed.

Mr. Ross: For background purposes.

Mr. Wooton: For background.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I forgot to mention it to begin with. Charlie, thank you.

The situation in the world today is a rather precarious one. Things are coming up all the time that are liable to create very strong discord, between ourselves and the other great power in the world. The World Wars, when they ended, left a vacuum in the power setup of the Eastern Hemisphere, and also of the Western Hemisphere. And it is necessary to try and fill that vacuum, which we thought would be filled by the United Nations and which we are trying to implement and keep in operation.

Our effort has been, beginning with the windup of the two wars, to get an agreement between the great powers. That is what they called the Big Five powers for, to implement the United Nations program under the charter and make it work.

As I told the meeting the other night, I went to Potsdam with the friendliest feelings in the world towards the Russians, because they had lost 5 million people killed in the war in the fighting itself, and there have been over 15 million people on the land in Russia who have been slaughtered by the Germans as they went to Stalingrad and made their attempts to go to Leningrad. And I wanted to show our appreciation for those dead Russians, because that meant that fewer of our own had been killed in the war, due to the fact that the Germans had been busy killing them. And I went to Potsdam with a program, with that idea in view, of helping the Russians recuperate and recover.

We made certain agreements there, and implemented certain others—attempted to implement certain others that had been made at Yalta. And much to my surprise, less than 3 months after these conversations, the Russians began to fail to keep their agreements; in other words, consciously broke a great many agreements which they had made with me—with both President Roosevelt and myself.

And so we had to then decide our program.

The only program we have in view is to obtain peace in the world, if we could get it. We didn't ask for any reparations, or any territory, or any other special privileges, except that all the people in the world should be able to live peaceably together, and prosperously, we hoped.

That is still the program which we are trying to pursue.

[1] Paul Wooton, President of the National Conference of Business Paper Editors.

The Russians have a peculiar psychological approach. It is oriental, so I am told. Their idea is that force counts for everything. And as you go east in the Eastern Hemisphere, from the west coast of Europe, for every thousand miles the value of the human as an individual and the value of human life descends in the scale. They have no idea of individual rights such as we understand them, nor do they have any respect for the life of an individual if it stands in the way of some state project which they think should be for the good of the country.

I am told that Tito murdered more than four hundred thousand of the opposition in Yugoslavia before he got himself firmly established there as a dictator.

You know what they did in Bulgaria? They immediately murdered the opposition, from the leaders on down.

In Rumania they have not murdered quite so many of them, but they have sent them to labor camps, which amounts to almost exactly the same thing. They have been doing the same thing in eastern Germany. When they took over the eastern end of Poland, they simply cleaned out the Poles and pushed them on west; and when the Poles marched on eastern Germany, they did the same thing to the Germans.

That is a program which we as a country and as a people do not understand at all.

So it became perfectly evident that if we expected to make agreements with that eastern-minded people known as the Russians, we must have the ability to implement those agreements on our side, if we expected them to be kept.

In November 1945 I suggested to the Congress that we implement a training program, a universal training program for our young people, on the theory that if we continued the training of these young men, as they get up to a certain age, we would then have a reserve on which we could call for immediate use, and it would not be necessary to maintain a military establishment that perhaps the country can't keep up, under ordinary circumstances. This country can't afford to pay $12 or $20 billion a year for a defense establishment. No country in the world can afford to do that. Our rates of pay, our food, our housing, and everything which goes to make up the training program, under the war conditions which we had just been through, were so great that no country in the world can keep it up.

We were spending in 1945—the 1945 budget, that is; the budget from July 1st, 1945, to June 30th, 1946—called for $103 billion. Well, a rescission was made of about 60—67 billions of that, but the demobilization which we carried through at that time was too fast. I tried my best to stem it, but every momma and poppa in the country had to have her boy home right immediately, and every Congressman, of course, wanted to be reelected in 1946 and used everything he could to break up the defense program. And when we finally wound up, we had just a skeleton force in Germany, we had just a skeleton force in Japan, we had just a skeleton force in Korea.

The Russians still had 4 million men mobilized and under arms!

And they figure that that is the difference between the carrying out of an agreement and not carrying it out.

So I continued to ask the Congress for a program. In January 1946, along in the middle of 1946, and in January 1947, and as late as March 17, 1948, I have continued to ask for a program.

And when I found out that there was some opposition to universal training—although I think the majority of people are in favor of a training program—I appointed a commission to look into the situation. And that commission was made up of college presidents—a class that is supposed to be ab-

solutely opposed to training; and it was made up of preachers, who are supposed to be fundamentally against a training program—businessmen, lawyers, doctors—on that set-up. And after they had been at work, going into the facts—with exactly what the situation in the world was at that time in 1947—I remember seeing one of the preachers who was on that commission, and he was walking and shaking his head—between the House and here—and I said to him, "What's the matter?" And he said, "I have got to do a little praying. I've had a long travail on this and I've got to change my mind." [*Laughter*] They came in with the most satisfactory and sane report that has ever been made public. It is available for anybody that wants to read it. And when you read that report, you can understand perfectly why a training program is necessary, if we expect to keep the peace in the world, and to maintain our own viewpoint and implement it.

On that conversation which you have been hearing all over the country about my talking to Stalin, I invited Stalin to come to Washington, and he said "God willing, I will come." Well, I haven't met anybody yet who believes me, but that is what he said to me. [*Laughter*]

Well, if Stalin were to come—and I have not understood why he doesn't—it could be made the greatest propaganda sounding board in the world, for him to cross over and to say that "I believe in peace" and that he wants peace, all the time he is cutting my throat on the agreements created. The crackpots on this side of the water would eat it up. And the first thing you know that would happen, the Congress would adjourn without doing a damn thing! [*Laughter*] That's the actual facts in the case. I am telling you that for what it is worth—that is exactly what would happen.

I know that we can get peace in the world if we are in a position to enforce that peace. We wouldn't have peace here in Washington if you didn't have the police around here on the corner. How long do you suppose traffic would stay in line if you didn't have the police lights and the enforcement behind it to make it work? And just how long do you suppose you would have money on your person, if some of our midtown people here found out that there was nobody to keep them from taking it away from you? How far could you walk some night, without having a police force to enforce the law? How far would a court decision go if you didn't have a United States marshall to enforce the court's decision? Do you think John L. Lewis would have paid his fine the other day if he thought there was no enforcement machinery to make him do it? [*Laughter*]

So I am asking for what amounts fundamentally to a police force—in the situation of this country—which will keep peace in the world.

Nobody wants peace any worse than I do—ever since the two World Wars, one from the front line and one from the mobilization that was necessary behind the line to make the front line work.

And I want to tell you this: that the front line in the next world war will be the safest place in the world. It won't be at home. We won't be safe at home. If you could look at Berlin right now, or Frankfurt, or Dresden, or London, you will find out what happens to the people who stayed at home. There were a darn sight more people killed behind the lines than were killed in the front lines in the war, except Russia. The Germans caught them as they went along, that is the reason there were so many killed there.

So I am hoping that you will take this thing into consideration and study it from the standpoint of the world setup. I want

to make the United Nations work. I want the United Nations to be a going concern, the concern it was set up to be; that is, a place where the troubles of the world can be argued and settled in a court, just as we argued the differences between Kansas and Missouri when they were fighting over the Arkansas River. They don't go out and shoot each other; they go into court, and the thing is finally settled by the Supreme Court, and those two States abide by it. That same thing is true of all the controversies that take place in this country. We don't, when we have a political campaign in this country, and we get licked by about two or three thousand votes, we don't go arm ourselves and push the other fellow out and take possession. That is what we are trying to get the world to do, but it takes time. I think we can do it. That is the only way in the world we can have peace.

ERP is the greatest step we have taken lately in the interests of peace. If that European recovery program works, we will raise the Iron Curtain by peaceable means. It will automatically go up, because each of us can't live without economic connection with the Western part of the world and us.

I went to Potsdam with an agenda, which called for free waterways in the valley of the Rhine, and free waterways in the Black Sea Straits for merchant ships of every country, and the barges of every country, and an economic union—customs union for that whole central European valley. That is what the ERP is going to be, before we get through, and when that is done there will be nothing for the Iron Curtain to do but go up, because the vast majority of the people behind that Iron Curtain are just as interested in their personal welfare as we are right here.

We ought to do everything we possibly can in order to help this country do what is necessary for peace, and to get peace we must have the wherewith to back it up—back up what we think is right. We don't ask for anything—only what is right. At least, that is our opinion. We are not anxious to get any Russian territory. We are not annexing any country. The people in Mexico and Canada are not shaking in their boots because they think we are going to come and take them over, economically or otherwise. I would like to point out a neighbor of Russia today that isn't shaking in its boots. As an example of countries that I just named, there is Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania. They are now under the iron heel of a police state. And there has never been an election held in any of those countries that has been carried out by the totalitarians in which there were not Russian troops present to count the vote!

Now, whenever we get to the state where we have to have the army to count the vote, we are going to be in a hell of a fix. And that is what I am trying to avoid.

Mr. Wooton: Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. The best speech you ever made, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it isn't a speech, that's just a statement of the facts. I want you to listen to them because you don't know what we are faced with. We are faced with total destruction, if we can't get this thing done, and done right as it ought to be done. I could tell you some things that are developing in other places that would almost make your hair stand on end. I think those developments can be used for the purposes of peace just as well as they can be used for destruction, if we can get this situation so that we can use it.

Mr. Wooton: Mr. President, we have learned from our contacts with other offiicals that they are having great difficulty in finding the proper personnel—to draw personnel

into public service with adequate public experience, and to help abroad with the Ambassador at Large.

THE PRESIDENT. You know the reason for that, don't you?

Mr. Wooton: We would like to hear it, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. The Thomas committee.[1] The thinnest-skinned person on earth is the so-called businessman that tries to go into politics and do a political job. I had the greatest experience in my lifetime when I was chairman of the subcommittee in the Senate when the national defense program went into operation, and we had the place full of businessmen, the most honest businessmen in the country. But I have never in my life seen people that were so thin-skinned. If anybody heaved a political brick in his direction, he was gone!

When you are in a political situation, where you have to be a public relations man—that's all politics is—that is government under our program—it doesn't make any difference what these birds say about you, if you can't prove it you're dead! [*Laughter*]

The only difficulty when they come down here and work is that they can't take what *I* have to take every day—what every other politician has to take—if he is going to do a job for you. That is a part of our system.

I have just been reading a book by a fellow named Pollard, "Presidents and the Press." [2] When you read what the press had to say about Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, and the other Presidents, you would think that we never had a decent man in the office since the country began. [*Laughter*] The businessman hasn't been schooled in that sort of thing, but we are going to get the ones that are necessary to do the job. We have got to do it, and patriotically.

Mr. Wooton: I know they can help.

THE PRESIDENT. I know they can. And I appreciate your coming in. I hope I haven't bored you too much.

Mr. Wooton: It has been so fine of you to do it. I am sure we appreciate every word you said, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You have got to be careful that I don't get away on another tangent, or you will never get away. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Wooton: We'll stay here all afternoon to hear this sort of thing discussed.

THE PRESIDENT. It's nice to talk to you. All I am interested in is making our country prosperous and keeping peace in the world. That's all the conditions I have. That's the only reason I am making the political fight, because nobody with any good sense wants to sit here at this desk. But I have got a job to do, and I am going to do it.

Mr. Wooton: There seems to be no absence of volunteers, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Those volunteers are all on one side, though. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Wooton: That's right.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, thank you.

Mr. Wooton: Thank you so much, Mr. President.

NOTE: The President spoke in his office at the White House at 12:40 p.m. The conference is carried in the White House Official Reporter's records as the President's one hundred and forty-fourth news conference.

[1] Representative J. Parnell Thomas, Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

[2] James E. Pollard, "The Presidents and the Press," New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947.

87 Exchange of Messages With the Queen of the Netherlands. *April* 26, 1948

I HAVE received with great pleasure and gratitude Your Majesty's telegram announcing the posthumous award to President Roosevelt of the Grand Cross of the Military Willems Order. I am sure that the late President would have been particularly proud of this honor, as he always felt a special esteem and admiration for Your Majesty and the people of the Netherlands.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Her Majesty Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands, The Hague]

NOTE: Queen Wilhelmina's telegram, dated April 17, follows:

The President, The White House

It is a pleasure to me to announce to you that I have bestowed posthumously upon the late President Roosevelt our highest honor the Grand Cross of the Military Willems Order as a recognition of his inspiring leadership and as a token of gratitude to the American people and its millions of combatants.

WILHELMINA

88 The President's News Conference of *April* 29, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. I have a statement I want to read to you. I have been cautioned to read it very slowly by several of you. I will read it as slowly as I can. It is mimeographed and will be ready for you as soon as you go out.

[1.] "On April 20 I submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent the nominations of David E. Lilienthal to be Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, of Robert F. Bacher, Sumner T. Pike, Lewis L. Strauss, and William W. Waymack as members of the Atomic Energy Commission.

"It is now nearly a year and a half since these five men assumed direction of the atomic energy program as the first members of the Atomic Energy Commission established by the Congress on August 1st, 1946. During this period, a gigantic atomic energy program has been put into forward motion after the long period of drift which occurred after the war. It is imperative that our program in this field continue to advance and that there be no uncertainty in the continuity of the experienced leadership essential for the Nation's preeminence in the field of atomic energy.

"These names have been resubmitted at this time because of the provision of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 that the terms of all five Commissioners should expire on August the first of this year. The purpose of this provision was to permit the President and the Congress to have an opportunity to review the performance of the Commission before beginning the 5-year staggered terms provided for in this act.

"The reappointment of the 5 Commissioners is based on my firm conviction that under their direction real progress has been made in all phases of our atomic energy program and that under their continued leadership even greater progress will be made. The Congress has had a year and a half to observe the performance of these men as members of the Atomic Energy Commission, and I have no doubt that the Joint Commission on Atomic Energy has been diligent in observing their performance. I have submitted their names in mid-April in order

that there should be sufficient time to enable the Senate to act on their nominations.

"I am informed that a suggestion has been made that the Senate should not act on these nominations, but that instead the Congress should enact a law extending the terms of the present Commission for 1 or 2 years. Such a proposal would restore the pall of uncertainty which surrounded the development of this country's atomic energy program from the Japanese surrender until the spring of 1947, when the present Commission was confirmed. Such a proposal would have an adverse effect on the urgent business of pushing ahead in our knowledge and utilization of atomic energy, both for use in our economy and for our defense.

"The present members of the Commission were appointed without any reference to their political affiliations. Since we all recognize the need for a vigorous nonpartisan development of our atomic energy program, I strongly urge that these nominations be considered on the schedule originally set by the Congress." And which is now the law.

Q. In other words, you are against any compromise?

THE PRESIDENT. I am for carrying out the law that the Congress itself made, and which I have been trying to enforce to the best of my ability, and in a manner that has no connection whatever with politics. These men came in here to see me about their staggered terms, and I told them to go back and settle it among themselves. They did make a settlement among themselves, and I sent the appointments down as they themselves had agreed on.

Q. Mr. President, have you discussed this with Senator Vandenberg?

THE PRESIDENT. I have not.

Q. Mr. President, did Senator Hickenlooper propose to you, before those names went up, that these—there be some sort of compromise adjustment on the terms, when he was in here?

THE PRESIDENT. Senator Hickenlooper came up and discussed with me what he thought would be the attitude of the Senate. That's all the discussion was. And it was a private conversation between the Senator and myself.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, on these appointments, can you tell us when you plan to name Marriner Eccles Vice Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I can't tell you.

[3.] Q. Have you anything to say about the railroad strike at this moment?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't. The Conciliation Service is working heroically to get that strike settled—the proposed strike settled. I think they are going to have good luck. At least, I hope so.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, can you say anything about the recent atomic experiments at Eniwetok?

THE PRESIDENT. I cannot.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, the Boeing strike in Seattle has now been going on 2 weeks. Have you any thought of appointing a board of investigation, or of issuing an injunction——

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think that is a national emergency. Therefore, I cannot appoint a board on it.

Q. You do not think it is?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I do not.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, the other day I looked into this matter of putting off the confirmation of appointments, and so forth, and while these five men are the most conspicuous, there are about a thousand postmasters still pending——

THE PRESIDENT. That's right.

Q. ——up there. Then they also propose to put on the shelf this legislative program of reciprocal trade treaties.

THE PRESIDENT. That is the most terrible

thing of the whole business. Our foreign policy and the European recovery program, and everything else, is based on that trade treaty agreement. You said there are 700 postmasters—maybe 900. They are all appointed under civil service examination, under a law that the Congress itself has always followed. I don't know what they have got against these postmasters. All of them are acting postmasters now.

Q. I guess what they have got against them is the provision that was written in, virtually giving them the appointment for life when they get confirmed. They didn't used to be but 4-year terms.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know whether that is so or not. I can't tell you how it is done. That's their own business, but they aren't doing the business of the Government any good, so far as efficiency is concerned.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us what you discussed with Senator Tobey?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I cannot. That was an off the record conference with Senator Tobey and myself. I do not care to discuss it.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, Senator Cordon saw you yesterday, and afterwards said that you were still for statehood for Hawaii. Is that correct?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh sure, that's correct. He also invited me to go to their rose festival in Portland, as did Senator Morse and the Governor of Oregon.

Q. Are you going, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, have you made that decision on stopping at Chicago on your California trip?

THE PRESIDENT. As soon as this proposed trip is or is not worked out, I will tell you definitely just exactly what to do about it. I will give each one of you a chance to pack your clothes, so you won't be in any too big a hurry to leave.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, have you made any decision yet on a Deputy Director for ECA?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us when you will probably appoint a new Secretary of Agriculture?

THE PRESIDENT. No I can't, but I will let you know when I do.

[12.] Q. Do you have any comment on Helen Douglas' trip to the grocery store yesterday?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it's a very good thing for Helen to put those prices before the public. I think you will be surprised at them.

[13.] Q. I wondered, since last week you said you might have something soon on this Western European alliance?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have no comment on that.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, will it be practical for you to take any further steps in behalf of Hawaiian statehood which——

THE PRESIDENT. I have done everything I can do. I sent a message to Congress on the subject. Now it's up to Congress to act.

Q. You sent two messages.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, is former Governor Tobin being considered for the Deputy ERP Administrator under Hoffman?

THE PRESIDENT. No, he is not.

Q. He is not?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, do you find the idea behind this new compromise draft-UMT proposal on the Hill acceptable?

THE PRESIDENT. That's all it is, acceptable. It is the best we can get. It isn't what I want, by any means.

Q. It is acceptable?

THE PRESIDENT. It is acceptable, because it's a step in the right direction.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, is Judge Lar-

son being considered as Deputy——

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, he is.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, would not a modification of reciprocal trade agreements make it very difficult for Marshall plan countries to repay advances from this country?

THE PRESIDENT. Would make it impossible.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, do you contemplate any changes in the chairmanship of the Maritime Commission?

THE PRESIDENT. Not at the present time. If there is a change, I will let you know in plenty of time.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, have the details of the shipbuilding program been worked out yet? [1]

THE PRESIDENT. They are working on them now.

Q. Is that what Admiral Smith will be in here about to discuss?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know what Admiral Smith wants to talk to me about. He is coming in to see me.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, could you clarify your answer to the question on the Marshall plan countries, and about repayment? Not all the aid under the Marshall plan is scheduled to be repaid.

THE PRESIDENT. The question that was asked me was that—if the sabotage of the trade treaty agreement wouldn't prevent countries under the Marshall plan from repaying that part that is to be repaid, and I said it would be impossible for them to repay, if that treaty is not extended.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and forty-fifth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 10:30 a.m. on Thursday, April 29, 1948.

89 Remarks at the National Health Assembly Dinner. *May* 1, 1948

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a pleasure to me to be with you tonight, and to listen, as I like to do, to the Marine Band. I was highly pleased with that barber shop quartette. I understood their music very well. And if you don't think that it is just as complicated and just as hard to execute as those numbers that the Marine Band were executing, try to do it some day.

I want to congratulate the recipients of the citations tonight. They have made a contribution, and are making a contribution, towards something which is closer to my heart than any other one thing in the world except peace in the world. And the contribution that they are making to the welfare and health of this country can contribute toward peace in the world. Of course, that is the first thing all of us are striving for.

When Mr. Ewing consulted me about the health program, I did write him a letter. He tells you that I write a good many letters. I sign my name on the average of six hundred times a day. Not all to letters, some of them are orders and to checks and things of that sort, usually on the Treasury of the United States. If I sign any check, it is at the expense of the taxpayer!

But I am vitally interested in health, and the welfare of this country. That is fundamental. This meeting was called with the object in view of trying to outline a 10-year program for the health and welfare of the people of this country. I became interested

[1] See Item 79 and note.

in health and welfare a long time ago, comparatively. More than 30 years ago—to be exactly accurate, in 1917—it was my privilege to help organize a regiment of field artillery. That is the reason they played that field artillery song up there. And one of the shocking things that came to my attention when they were organizing that regiment was the number of young men who were physically unfit for service. That was a National Guard volunteer regiment, and when a man got turned down because he was physically unfit, that was not only tragic to him but it was tragic to us who wanted him to serve with us.

Then, after that unpleasantness was over, known as the First World War, we thought we had settled the peace of the world for all time to come. I got into politics, and I became the chief executive officer of the county at home. The county had about five or six hundred thousand inhabitants at that time. That has been 20 years ago. And it was my duty, as the presiding officer of that court, which was really a commission—it was an administrative organization—to pass, with the other two judges, on the sanity of the people who would come before the judges and court, who would be tried for mental cases. Those cases ran over an 8-year period while I was in the court—from two to three to the thousand of that population of that county. A most horrifying situation. It was our duty to send those people to the State hospitals for care—and we had a number of excellent hospitals in the State of Missouri, and still have them, where they really know how to take care of people with mental diseases. That did not include the people who were in private institutions. I became aware of what that situation means in a community and what it means to future generations.

It was also my duty at that time to see that poor people were properly taken care of from a health standpoint. We had two medical men in that county at that time who devoted their whole time to the health and welfare of those people, who couldn't afford to pay for medical care. We had an excellent county home which had a population on the average of about eight hundred all the time. And Kansas City had a hospital which contained from five to seven hundred, all the time, of people who could not afford medical care in any other way. They were indigent. And I found out with that experience that the people at the indigent bottom of the scale and the people at the top of the scale were the only ones who can afford adequate hospital care and medical care. And I became vitally interested in that situation.

And when I came to the Senate of the United States, I did not need to be sold on social security and the health and welfare of the Nation.

And when I became Chief Executive of the Nation I tried to do something about it, and I am still trying to do something about it.

You remember, on the 6th day of September 1945, after the Japanese had folded up, I sent a 21-point message to the Congress of the United States, and in that message I promised them that I would send a message on health—on the health and welfare of the country, at a later date. I sent that message, and it caused a great deal of controversy—some parts of it did, and it is still causing some controversy. But I still believe that message is right and I hope that the Congress, sometime or other, will come to the conclusion that it is right, and will give us the things that I asked for in that message. They have given us some of them, but they haven't given us all of them. They haven't given us the vital parts of them.

You know the things in which I am vitally interested. I want to find some way to meet the health situation in this country, and at

the same time encourage more doctors, more young men to become doctors, encourage the erection of more hospitals, and arrange things so that those hospitals may be available to the people who need them most, the people who are not the very rich and who are not the very poor, but who are the backbone of the population of this great Nation of ours, the very people who make this Nation great. The fact that we have a well-informed so-called middle class in this country, is what makes it the greatest republic the sun has ever shone upon, or ever will shine upon again. And I want to keep that republic going, just as it has done in the past, by any small or great contribution that I can make to that end.

In this World War Number Two, one of the most disgraceful things that came to light was the fact that nearly 33⅓ percent of all the young men who came up for physical examination for the purpose of serving their country—33⅓ percent of them were not fit for service, due to either some mental defect or some physical defect. That is one of the reasons why in November 1945 I asked for a universal training program. I had hoped that we could find some way to correct that situation as far as it could be corrected, for a great many of these defects, if they are caught in time, can be corrected. That is one of the principal reasons why I asked for a universal training program. I didn't get it in 1945. I asked for it again in 1946—twice. I asked for it again in 1947—twice. And then I appointed a commission to look into the situation, and I put a cross section of the country, and the brains of the country, on that commission. And there were four able and distinguished gentlemen on that commission, who were not in their own minds in favor of universal training. They sat and worked diligently. I never saw a commission work any harder in my life. The Government never had a commission that worked any harder than that one.

And I met one of the able gentlemen of the cloth one day, along with John Steelman here, going from the White House over to the Executive Office, and he was shaking his head—he is one of the great preachers of this country—and he said, "I have got to do some praying."

I said, "What's the matter with you?"

And he said, "I have found out I have been wrong, and I have got to change my viewpoint, for I have got to sign this report of yours on universal training, and say it's all right."

And all the rest of them came to that same conclusion.

Now that is not going to hurt the country. That is going to help the country, that is going to make every young man in the country a better young man. I know! Because when I was 21 years old, I voluntarily joined the National Guard of the United States, and I had to pay dues in order to join that National Guard. And I learned how to get along with young men. I learned the history of the country, to some extent. And I learned what to do to take care of myself physically. That is what a great many of us need to do.

You know, the most of us, the reason we are not physically fit is because we are too lazy to take care of ourselves. We sit down and wait until this paunch comes on, and when we get bent over, then we try to correct it by heroic methods; and 9 times out of 10, if you go along and do what you ought to, in the first place, you wouldn't have that situation.

What I want to do is to have the medical men and the health plant of this country to keep people healthy, not to cure them after they get sick, or after they get beyond the point where they can be cured.

You know, there is another situation in this country that is a disgrace. There are

more than 23 million people in this country who are disabled, and who have been disabled through some accident that could have been prevented. Now you have got a great man in this audience, and he and I are "nuts" on that subject, if you want to call it that. That is Dr. Rusk. We have been working on plans. It was brought to a head by the fact that we were trying to rehabilitate these young men who had been maimed in the war, and we found that the rehabilitation could go much further than that. And I have been trying to correct that situation, too. I have called a conference to stop accidents.

The most terrible weapon that has ever been invented in this country, outside the atom bomb, is an automobile. More people have been killed and injured by automobiles in the last 20 years than in all the wars we ever fought, including the last one. Now that is something for you to contemplate. And millions of dollars damage that are done by accidents that should never, never happen. That is a health situation just as well as when you have a bad cold. Somebody told me the other day—I don't know whether it was Charlie Ross—that if you do what the doctors told you about a bad cold, it would get well in about 2 weeks, and if you didn't do anything, you would get well in a fortnight anyway. I don't know whether that is so or not, but that is what I have been told!

But what I am vitally interested in, and what I know you are vitally interested in, is a program for the health and welfare of this country. I want to see the coming generation healthier and with a better outlook on life than we had when we were growing up.

In order to do that, you have got to educate people. You have got to educate young people. You have got to tell them how to take care of themselves. You have got to tell them what to do in certain emergencies, and you have got to have a medical profession and a hospital organization program that can meet that situation, and that the people can afford to pay for. We have got two things to do in this health program. We have got to improve our technical skill—improve our knowledge; and then we have got to find an economic program that will help us to make use of that information.

You know, in the Spanish-American War, yellow fever and typhoid were the scourges. More soldiers died of yellow fever and typhoid than were ever killed in the war itself. We have conquered that situation. We know how to prevent typhoid and yellow fever.

In the Second World War we had flu and lots of other diseases. We haven't really found out exactly what the cure for flu is, but they are still working on it, so they tell me. And we have a lot of things that have been with the human race ever since its inception. One is heart trouble, and I think most heart trouble is caused by the fact that we are living in an age that makes day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow in about 10 minutes. I don't know what the remedy for that is. Maybe you health experts can find a remedy. Maybe you can give us a cast-iron heart that will stand that situation. I don't know. I think perhaps we could adjust ourselves to most any condition. Maybe you can find a way to adjust us to that one, because that is the most vital situation with which we are faced.

Then this cancer program is one of the best that the country has. We will sometime, I am sure, find the necessary remedy for that terrible scourge. We are combating TB, we are combating polio, and we are winning in both of those, I think. The two worst are the cancer and heart trouble.

Keep on working. Keep on studying.

You know, we all talk about the atom age, what happened after the breaking of the

atom, and we have been considering that awful discovery as one for destruction only. I don't look at it that way.

I was talking to Henry Ford before he died in 1943. I was up there examining his factory, for the purpose of seeing how many tractors—tanks he could turn out on his tractor line. We got to discussing the horrors of war, and what a terrible thing it is for people to try to murder each other in order to accomplish the purpose that can be accomplished without it. And the old man said to me, "Well, it's a terrible thing, but we will have things discovered, and things will come out of this war that will be of greater benefit to humanity than the destruction the war will cause."

Well, to some extent I think that prophecy is coming true, because we are going to find a way to make this breaking of the atom work for the welfare of mankind rather than for his destruction. We have got to do that, unless we all want to get destroyed; and I know we don't—I am very sure of that.

And I have been told, and I am not telling you anything that is behind the scenes, that there are great discoveries just on the brink that will make the world a greater place in which to live. Let's get ourselves ready to meet that situation. I think that is what the Almighty intended us to have. I think He set this great Nation of ours up as an example of what is foretold in the Testament of the millennium that is to come, and I think we can lead the world in peace and in quiet, and to honor. That is exactly what I want to do. That is all I have worked for, for the last 3 years: to get a peace in the world that will work, and to let this atom discovery work for the welfare of mankind and not for its destruction.

You know, the life expectancy of the human man in Caesar's time was 31 years. It is over 60 now—I think 62. If we keep that up, we will all be so old that we will join the Townsend plan and be paying taxes to keep each other in pensions so we can live forever.

I do want you, though, to make this conference come out with a 10-year health program that will correct some of the things I have been calling to your attention.

It is a crime that 33⅓ percent of our young men are not physically fit for service. Let us see if we can't meet that situation. Let us see if we can't remedy it. I know we can.

We have met everything else in this mechanical age. Now let us see if we can't make the greatest machine—the machine that God made—work as he intended it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:55 p.m. at the Statler Hotel in Washington. His opening words "Mr. Chairman" referred to Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, who presented scrolls to four recipients in recognition of their services to public health. The awards went to Al Capp, cartoonist, for his rehabilitation work; Bill Robinson, dancer, for his entertainment of convalescents; Walter Winchell, columnist, who led the raising of $2 million for the Damon Runyon Cancer Fund; and Ralph Edwards, radio announcer, who also participated in fundraising for cancer research.

90 Veto of Bill Authorizing Coins Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the Territory of Minnesota. *May 4, 1948*

To the Senate:

I am returning herewith, without my approval, S. 1304 "To authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the organization of Minnesota as a Territory of the United States".

The proposed legislation would authorize

the coinage of not to exceed one hundred and fifty thousand silver 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the organization of Minnesota as a Territory of the United States.

We are all proud of the fine achievements of the people of Minnesota. I believe that it is proper for the Nation to share in commemorating the milestones of Minnesota's development. But I am convinced that it is not a wise national policy to issue special coins for this purpose.

On July 31, 1947, I withheld my approval of H.R. 1180, a bill "To authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Wisconsin into the Union as a State". In my memorandum of disapproval I pointed out that the fundamental difficulty of issuing special coins for commemorative occasions is that such coins would be full legal tender. It is clearly unwise to require a multiplicity of designs on United States coins, which would create confusion in our monetary system, facilitate counterfeiting, and encourage traffic in commemorative coins for private profit.

This point was well stated by President Hoover, in vetoing a similar bill in 1930. He said:

"There are a great many historical events which it is not only highly proper but desirable to commemorate in a suitable way, but the longer use of our coins for this purpose is unsuitable and unwise. This would seem to be clear from the very number of events to be commemorated, and past experience indicates how difficult it is to draw the line and how such a practice, once it is recognized, tends constantly to grow. If this bill is to become law, it is not apparent on what grounds similar measures, no matter how numerous, may be rejected. Yet their enactment in such numbers must bring further confusion to our monetary system."

The bill which I am now returning illustrates the difficulty of establishing any rule denominating the events of national importance which should be commemorated by the issuance of special coins. Thus, each of the forty-eight States has an anniversary of statehood to celebrate. Many of them have anniversaries of their formation as territories and some could appropriately commemorate their establishment as colonies. Furthermore, there are many historic cities and towns whose anniversaries are of national importance. The United States has participated in a number of celebrated wars and campaigns. Moreover, we have had our great explorers, our great pioneers, our great statesmen—our great heritage of notable men and women. If we were to commemorate them all with special coins we would be starting down an endless path.

The accuracy of this statement is indicated by the fact that bills are now before the Congress to issue special coins commemorating no less than seventeen other notable events in our history. I am sure that there are many other events equally worthy of national recognition.

In 1890, the Congress of the United States laid down a rule that the design on the coins of the United States should not be changed oftener than once in twenty-five years. The purpose of this rule was to prevent multiplicity of coinage issues and the consequent confusion of the public and the facilitating of counterfeiting. Every issuance of a special coin is in derogation of this wise rule, and I cannot approve such a practice.

There is a further difficulty. In almost every case in which a commemorative coin is issued, a part of the issue finds its way into the hands of dealers in coins, and the greatest profit is made by them rather than by the worthy organization which sponsors the issue. In this connection, I call to the attention of the Congress a fine report issued in

1939 (H. Rept. No. 101, 76th Congress) by the late Congressman John Cochran in which he graphically revealed the abuses which have resulted from multiple issues of commemorative coins.

It is for these reasons that President Hoover and President Franklin Roosevelt recommended that commemorative medals, rather than coins, should be issued for events of national importance. I believe this policy is sound, and in February 1947 I recommended that the Congress enact appropriate legislation. I am pleased to note that in January 1948 the Senate passed S. 865, which would carry out this recommendation. I hope that the Congress will complete its action on this legislation in the near future, and that the Congress will then approve a commemorative medal for the 1949 anniversary of Minnesota's organization as a Territory.

For the reasons stated above, I feel compelled to return S. 1304 without my approval.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

91 Message to the Congress Transmitting the First Report on the Foreign Aid Program. *May* 5, 1948

To the Congress of the United States of America:

I am transmitting herewith the first quarterly report of expenditures and activities under the United States Foreign Aid Program authorized by Public Law 389 of the 80th Congress, approved December 17, 1947. This report covers the activities immediately before and during the brief period from the approval of the Foreign Aid Act of 1947, on December 17, 1947 through December 31, 1947.

By its enactment of the Foreign Aid Act of 1947, the Congress provided the "Interim Aid" to bridge the gap between the end of the United States Foreign Relief Program, authorized under Public Law 84, and the beginning of a general long-range recovery program.

A break in the flow of supplies during this period could have irreparably jeopardized what the long-range recovery program is expected to accomplish. The effectiveness of Interim Aid has made it possible for the European Recovery Program to build on sure foundations which nowhere are undermined by the inevitable ravages of intolerable hunger and cold. No better proof is needed of the wisdom of providing this interim aid.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The report is printed in House Document 636 (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

92 Remarks at the National Conference on Family Life. *May* 6, 1948

THANK YOU very much, Mr. Johnston, for that cordial introduction. I appreciate it. I also appreciate the privilege of being with you today to discuss with you some of your problems as I see them—express my own point of view on a subject which is close to the heart of every person in the world: family life.

This National Conference on Family Life in this country, I am told, is also of vital

interest to a large number of visitors which we have here; and I am informed that we have enough representatives of foreign nations to have a meeting of the United Nations here, if we wanted to do it! And that is helpful and encouraging to us.

We are interested in the security and the welfare of the family, because that is the fundamental unity on which all governments are formed. Governments are formed for the purpose of being of service to the family as a unit, in our conception of what government ought to be. For that reason, the welfare and the security of the family is vital to every government in the world.

I am very much interested in the history of government from its very beginning, and I am more than interested in the Government of the United States and how it originated, and the why of its origin. You see, people came to these shores and they came in family units. North of us the French fur traders went to Canada for a purpose, for the enrichment of themselves, and to take things out of the country. Families came to the United States to build homes and to create settlements, and to live in peace.

Therefore, today, when you look back on the settlement of North America, you wonder how it was ever done. I have been to Plymouth Rock, and I have been to Rhode Island. I have been to the Jamestown River's mouth at Jamestown, and I have been to South Carolina, and I have been to the coast of North Carolina, and I have been to Georgia. And I look at some of the things that those ancestors of ours had to contend with, and I wonder how in the world they ever did it.

I will tell you how they did it. They did it because there was an incentive. They brought with them ideals. They brought with them an idea of God. They brought with them an idea of liberty. And as a result we have, I think, the greatest republic on which the sun has ever shone.

I am interested, also, in the opening of that part of the country west of the Appalachian Mountains. My ancestors had some interest in that, and made some contribution to it. And some of the things they had to go through with! And then we think *we* have troubles!

Well, we do—we do. We are having them right now in our modern family setup. We are short of housing. We are studying health programs. We are working on the expansion of social security. All those things have their bearing upon the family and upon the Government of the United States—upon *your* Government. It is absolutely essential that we solve these problems, just as our ancestors solved them.

Our housing shortage is almost a fatal one. For 4 years I have been attempting to get a housing program. I was in the Senate of the United States when the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill was first introduced, and the Senate passed that bill. It died in the House. Just recently, the Senate has passed the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, in wonderful form. I am wholeheartedly for that bill as it passed the Senate, and I sincerely hope that the House of Representatives will study that legislation and give us an opportunity to help meet some of the shortages with which we are now faced.

That problem is vital. We have millions of veterans who have returned from fighting for the liberty of this country and of the world, who are not able to find homes for themselves and their wives and their children.

Just recently, on this free parking lot in the great city of Washington, it was necessary to have people move on who had been living there indefinitely.

And I remember one case in particular, where a young man and his wife and their baby and the dog, had to be ejected from the

parking lot down here because they couldn't let them stay there any longer. And they had no place to go. They couldn't find a place in this great city of Washington who would let a baby and a dog come and live.

How are you going to raise a family under that condition?

Children and dogs are as necessary to the welfare of this country as Wall Street and the railroads—or any other part of the country!

We have got to find a solution to that. And that is what you are here for, to see if you can't help us meet those problems.

I am only a servant of the people of the United States. I can only do what the law authorizes me to do as President of the United States. I am the enforcement part of the Government of the United States for the laws that are passed by the Congress. That is my duty. That is what I am sworn to do.

And people talk about the powers of a President, and what a powerful Executive he is, and what he can do. Let me tell you something—from experience!

The President may have a great many powers given to him in the Constitution, and may have powers under certain laws which are given to him by the Congress of the United States; but the principal power that the President has is to bring people in and try to persuade them to do what they ought to do without persuasion. That's what I spend most of my time doing. That's what the powers of the President amount to.

And you can help the President with those powers, if you tell these gentlemen on this housing bill—about which I was talking—what they ought to do. They will probably listen to you better than they will to me—at least some of them will. Some of them I can talk to with satisfaction and get something out of. Some of them are running for reelection next fall.

One of the worst things we are faced with this year is the fact that we have a presidential campaign, and all the Members of the House of Representatives have to be reelected. That is a part of our system, and it's all right. But with some of the problems with which we are faced now, it is too bad that that has to come along at this time.

I hope that nothing in the world will interfere with our bipartisan foreign policy. That policy—if we expect to get peace in the world, that policy must be carried to its logical conclusion. We are interested, as you know, only in peace in this world, and in the welfare of the family units of the world as a whole, as well as our own. That is all I have been trying to get since August the 14th, 1945, when Japan folded up.

Everybody is interested in peace, and unless we have peace we can have nothing else about which I have been talking. That we must attain. That we are going to attain. We are on the road, even if it looks rough and rugged and rocky. But we will overcome that situation as we have overcome a great many in our past history.

And we can't let this one stump us. We are going to make the United Nations work for peace! That's all we want!

Now you ladies and gentlemen can make a very great contribution to that by helping us solve our own home family problems, which have a bearing on the very thing I am talking about.

If this country is happy and prosperous, and everybody is at work, and everybody can be happy in his situation, that will contribute to our help which we are trying to give for the recovery of Europe and Asia. And that means peace and prosperity for the whole world.

And, there is room enough for everybody in this world, and room enough for everybody to have peace, and to have enough to eat, and a place to sleep.

If you will just make a survey of the continents, and see the blank spaces where pioneering can still be done, it can be conclusively proved that if we solve the international problems with which we are faced, and if we keep working at the solution of our domestic problems, all of them can be solved.

I can't tell you how much I appreciate your taking the time out, and the trouble, to come here and work on your own time for something that is of vital interest to the United States and to the world as a whole.

I hope you will furnish us with some solutions to some of the problems with which we are faced. You can do it, if you will set your mind to do it. And you can help solve them. That is the principal thing. The President can't solve problems by himself. The Congress can't solve problems, but the President and the Congress and the country can solve any problem that comes before us.

Now let's get this one done!

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. in the Departmental Auditorium in Washington. His remarks were carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

In his opening words the President referred to Eric Johnston, chairman of the National Conference on Family Life in which 125 major national voluntary organizations participated. The conference was attended by more than 900 delegates from the United States and 30 foreign nations.

93 The President's News Conference of *May* 6, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. I have no special announcements to make to you today. If you want to ask any questions, I will try to answer them.

[1.] Q. What are the prospects for preventing the railroad strike, now that Mr. Steelman has gone into action?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Steelman is handling that, and we will let you know if anything occurs.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, in addition to your press club speech in Los Angeles, have you been invited to speak under the auspices of the Democratic Central Committee?

THE PRESIDENT. I have not. The only invitation I have from Los Angeles I accepted. That is from the press club.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, getting back to the railroad strike, if we may—in Chicago, which is quite a railroad center, there have been numerous orders for embargoes on the handling of freight and furlough orders, some of which go into effect as early as tomorrow midnight. Is there any possibility of averting this thing to avoid this——

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that categorically. We have done and are doing everything we possibly can to avert the strike, under the Railroad Labor Act.

Q. Mr. President, has the ODT been alerted to prepare for a possible seizure?

THE PRESIDENT. They have not.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, there is a report out today, from both Washington and London, that you made an effort to bring an end to the fighting in Palestine and to get the British to stay there beyond May 15, but that the effort has failed in the last 24 hours?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think the effort has failed. The effort is still being made. We are doing everything we possibly can to prevent bloodshed, and are trying to get the Palestine matter settled on a peaceable basis. That has always been our objective from the very beginning. In 1946, when the argument first started—our endeavor has al-

ways been to get a peaceable settlement without people getting killed and the holy places being disturbed.

Q. This report said that you had offered an airplane to send Arabs, Jews, and other representatives——

THE PRESIDENT. I would have given them one, if anybody wanted to go to the Holy Land and really negotiate in dead earnest. I would be glad to do anything that would help the matter along.

Q. Mr. President, does your answer apply to the part of the question which stated that you had asked the British to remain in Palestine after May 15?

THE PRESIDENT. I have been in no communication with the British on the subject at all, except through the United Nations.

Q. The United States Government has asked them to remain?

THE PRESIDENT. The United States Government is putting forth every effort, through the United Nations, to get this thing settled. I don't know what the United Nations have asked the British to do.

[5.] Q. Has the failure of Mr. Ching's attempts to get the meatpackers and the CIO together here in Washington changed your view as to the necessity for an injunction under the national emergency provision?

THE PRESIDENT. It has not.

Q. You plan no new move yet?

THE PRESIDENT. Plan no move yet.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, this rail strike comes as about the fourth major dispute that has threatened the national economy—the coal strike, the Oak Ridge strike threat—also threatened then. Have you any explanation for this increase in industrial unrest?

THE PRESIDENT. Your explanation would be as good as mine, so you work out one for yourself. I am trying to keep the peace, that's all I am trying to do. Keep the country running.

Q. Mr. President, do you see any occasion for new legislation governing the railroads—or railway labor in particular?

THE PRESIDENT. I have sent numerous messages to the Congress on that subject, and there is no reason for me to comment on it now.

Q. On amendments to the labor—railroad——

THE PRESIDENT. On the labor situation and the way to handle it.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, Governor Dewey has a partition plan for the St. Lawrence Seaway which involves building power projects, but not the seaway phase. I wondered if you had any comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. The matter has not been taken up with me. All I know about it is what I have seen in the papers. I haven't been in communication with the Governor on the subject, and I can't comment on it.

Q. Can a State carry on foreign relations——

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is a matter that will have to be settled, if the thing comes to a concrete stage.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, the last time a railroad strike was threatened, you had legislative proposals to the Congress. Do they still hold for this present situation?

THE PRESIDENT. We will see what develops, and then I will answer that question.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, Secretary Marshall intimated yesterday before Congress that you were to ask for legislation to provide arms for the 16 Marshall plan countries?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment to make on that.

Q. Mr. President, you don't care to deny that we are doing that?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment.

[10.] Q. I wonder if we might come back to this St. Lawrence thing for a mo-

ment? One of the new proposals is that the State of New York and the Province of Ontario should jointly develop this electrical power along there, and there is a significant question there as to whether——

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know. I can't answer it until I get the information on the subject, to find out what the law is. I can't answer that question offhand.

Q. They will ask, apparently through the International Joint Commission, for authority to do it.

THE PRESIDENT. I see. When it comes up to me for consideration, I will act on it, because the matter has to be taken care of.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, you have been asked by the Maine congressional delegation to refer the Quoddy title project to the International Joint Commission? Have you had that done?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I had that referred, Miss May.[1] I have asked the State Department to make the reference, but that is for the United States Government and not for the government of Maine.

Q. No—have they asked you, as President, to ask the State Department to refer it to the International Joint Commission?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, for the United States Government, and not for the State of Maine.

Q. Have you done that?

THE PRESIDENT. I have asked the State Department to do that.

Q. You have?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Well, there's a difference in your question and Mr. Wright's.[2]

[12.] Q. Any comment on the Ohio primary?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have no comment. There has been a lot of comment, and it's all good! [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, the people of Ohio seem to have had a hard time making up their minds whether they prefer Taft or Stassen for the Republican nomination. Would you have that trouble?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment! [*More laughter*]

[13.] Q. What about the Alabama primary, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment on the Alabama primary.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, have you selected a new Ambassador for Australia as yet?

THE PRESIDENT. No, not yet. As soon as he is selected, I will announce it at once.

[15.] Q. How about the new Secretary of Agriculture?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not ready to make an announcement.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, the chairman of the House Rules Committee has proposed a substitute bonus plan for the draft. Any comment?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that is the most asinine proposition I have seen yet!

[17.] Q. Mr. President, are you prepared now to talk about Mr. Eccles's position on the Federal Reserve Board?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, you said today that we are going to make the United Nations work for peace. Do you think it can be done without amending the charter?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I do. That is the reason I am working at it.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, several of these press association men have a cocktail party this afternoon. Would you accept a "Thank you, Mr. President," from someone else?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I would. [*Laughter*]

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and forty-sixth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 4:05 p.m. on Thursday, May 6, 1948.

[1] Mrs. May Craig of the Portland (Maine) Press Herald.

[2] James L. Wright of the Buffalo Evening News.

94 Letter Accepting Resignation of Clinton P. Anderson as Secretary of Agriculture. *May* 10, 1948

Dear Clint:

I appreciate fully the circumstances which prompt your letter of May seventh. I had hoped that conditions would permit you to continue longer in your present post of responsibility.

Although I do so reluctantly and with deep regret, I acquiesce in your decision and accept, effective at the close of business this day, your resignation as Secretary of Agriculture. In doing so, I hope sincerely that you will return to the legislative councils of the Nation.

In slightly less than three years since I called you from the House of Representatives to serve in the Cabinet as Secretary of Agriculture, you have justified abundantly the confidence which I reposed in you. Thanks to your wise policies the farmers of the Nation enjoy today the greatest prosperity in their history. It is also due to your foresight that agriculture has not gone into the decline which was so disastrous to American farmers after World War I. You have avoided the postwar pitfalls which caused the earlier dislocation of agriculture, still a bitter memory to its victims.

Every American farmer can bear witness to the benefits which have accrued from your administration. Nor has your activity been reflected solely in the prosperity of the American farmer and our domestic economy. Your contribution in devising means and furnishing provisions for the relief of hunger and want in countries devastated by the war has been of highest importance.

You came into the Cabinet after broad legislative experience as a member of the House of Representatives. In consenting to your release at this time, I do so in the hope that the period immediately ahead is but the preliminary to your re-entry to the Halls of Congress—next time as a member of the Senate.

Gratefully and sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[The Honorable, The Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: Mr. Anderson served as Secretary of Agriculture from June 2, 1945, through May 10, 1948. His letter of resignation was released with the President's reply.

95 Statement by the President Upon Issuing Order Averting a Railroad Strike. *May* 10, 1948

I HAVE today by Executive order taken over the country's railroads and directed the Secretary of the Army to operate them in the name of the United States Government.

A strike has been called for 6 a.m. tomorrow by 3 of the 22 railroad labor organizations—the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and the Switchmen's Union of North America. These three have declined to accept the findings and recommendations of an Emergency Board created by the President under the Railway Labor Act. In the strike situation thus confronting us, governmental seizure is imperative for the protection of our citizens.

It is essential to the public health and to the public welfare generally that every possible step be taken by the Government to assure to the fullest possible extent con-

tinuous and uninterrupted transportation service. A strike on our railroads would be a nationwide tragedy, with worldwide repercussions.

I call upon every railroad worker to cooperate with the Government by remaining on duty. I call upon the officers of the railroad labor organizations to take appropriate action to keep their members at work.

The Executive order I have issued provides that, until further order of the President or the Secretary of the Army, the terms and conditions of employment now in effect on the railroads shall continue in effect, without prejudice to existing equities or to the effectiveness of such retroactive provisions as may be included in the final settlement of the disputes between the carriers and the workers.

NOTE: The President referred to Executive Order 9957 "Possession, Control, and Operation of Certain Railroads" (3 CFR, 1943–1948 Comp., p. 701).

96 Statement by the President Following an Exchange of Views in Moscow Between the U.S. Ambassador and the Foreign Minister. *May* 11, 1948

WITH REGARD to the recent exchange of views between Ambassador Smith and Foreign Minister Molotov in Moscow, it was felt by this Government that in view of the adoption of the European recovery program as a definite expression of policy and of the President's recent recommendations to Congress concerning the military establishment, it was important that there should be no misconception or confusion in the minds of the Soviet Government concerning the position of this Government.

Accordingly, Ambassador Smith was directed to seek an interview with Mr. Molotov in order to set forth as clearly as could be expressed the policies and purposes of the United States with regard to the Soviet Union, and thus avoid any unfortunate misunderstanding in view of the character of the current propaganda statements.

The statement made by Ambassador Smith represented no new departure in American policy. It was a reiteration of the American position as it has been repeatedly expressed both publicly and privately.

The two salient points of the statement made by Ambassador Smith were these:

"The policies of the United States Government in international questions have been made amply clear in recent months and weeks. They have the support of the overwhelming majority of the American people. They will continue to be vigorously and firmly prosecuted.

"On the other hand, this Government wishes to make it unmistakably clear that the United States has no hostile or aggressive designs whatsoever with respect to the Soviet Union."

NOTE: The statements of Ambassador Walter Bedell Smith and Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov, dated May 4, are printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 18, p. 679).

97 The President's News Conference of *May* 13, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. Well, ladies and gentlemen of the press, I have no special announcements to make this morning. We have been making announcements of things as they happen. I don't wait for press conferences any more, because you are so curious, but if you want to ask any questions, I will try to answer them.

[1.] Q. When will we get our new Secretary of Agriculture, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Just as soon as I can get him. I will tell you right away, so you won't have to wait for a press conference.

[2.] Q. When will we get the farm message, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Tomorrow, I hope.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, when Ambassador Smith referred to political speeches in this country which might lead to misconceptions in the Soviet mind, whose speeches did he have in mind, and what kind?

THE PRESIDENT. Well now, you can't ask Mr. Smith that question, and I don't know what was in his mind.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, will the United States recognize the new Palestine state?

THE PRESIDENT. I will cross that bridge when I get to it.

Q. Do we have any new proposal on the subject to make in the United Nations?

THE PRESIDENT. We made one yesterday.[1]

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us about your conference yesterday afternoon with Secretary Marshall?

THE PRESIDENT. It was just the customary conference with the Secretary of State and the Under Secretary of State, at which we discussed matters before the United Nations, including Palestine principally.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, have you decided on who you are going to appoint in the Maritime Commission to that vacancy?

THE PRESIDENT. No, not yet. I will give you the name of the appointee as soon as I decide on it. It is hard to get people to take jobs of that sort these days.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, will you send a message to Congress on the rearmament of the 16 Marshall nations?

THE PRESIDENT. I have none in contemplation at the present time.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, what is your understanding of this so-called lend-lease plan for the Western European——

THE PRESIDENT. I have no understanding on it, for there is no such plan before me.

Q. You have no—you have proposed nothing?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have not.

Q. Has any other come from the State Department or——

THE PRESIDENT. No. It has not. It has not.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us whether you believe Congress has the power to compel members of your Cabinet to divulge confidential information?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is a matter of record, and it has been passed on time and again by the courts. They have not!

[9.] Q. Mr. President, would you still be willing to meet with Mr. Stalin if he came here?

THE PRESIDENT. How many times do I have to tell you yes to that one?

[1] On May 12 the United States delegation to the United Nations proposed an interim solution for the Palestine problem. The plan called for abolition of the United Nations Palestine Commission and appointment by the five great powers of a High Commissioner for Palestine who would maintain services and act as a mediator in the expected war between the Jews and the Arabs.

Q. Just for the record, Mr. President, you haven't had any direct communication——

THE PRESIDENT. No. I don't expect any.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, Dr. Condon[1] the other day requested that the FBI report on his case be made public. Are you going to do that?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I am not going to make it public, because that is a matter of principle. They have no right to the confidential records of my office.

Q. Mr. President, would a congressional enactment change the principle, in your estimation?

THE PRESIDENT. It would not. You couldn't possibly get a congressional act unless I signed the bill.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, if Stalin should accept the invitation, what sort of things would be prepared to discuss with him?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I can't give you an agenda of a meeting that is all in the mind. Should that take place, I will give you the agenda, and it would be most interesting.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, in view of the developments of the past few days, would you care to say now how you feel about the prospects for peace, in view of the fact that you once said your faith was somewhat shaken?

THE PRESIDENT. My position hasn't changed on that.

[13.] Q. Well, Mr. President, about signing a bill, it could be passed over a veto?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, it could be, but I don't think it would be. Congress has some secret papers they wouldn't like me to get my hands on. That would be a reciprocal proposition. [*Laughter*]

[14.] Q. Mr. President, have you changed your mind about appointing Marriner Eccles to the Federal Reserve Board?

THE PRESIDENT. I will let you know about that as soon as I am ready to make the appointment.

Q. Can you tell us any reason for the delay?

THE PRESIDENT. No. The reason is in my own mind.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, do you feel that the exchange of notes between the United States and Russia[1] has cleared the air somewhat for peace, or is your——

THE PRESIDENT. I think General Marshall covered that very adequately in his conversation yesterday with the press.[2] I have nothing further to add to what General Marshall had to say.

Q. You support what he had to say?

THE PRESIDENT. Of course I support what he had to say.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, in your message to Congress of February 2d, you said that you planned to issue an Executive order dealing with discrimination in Federal Government agencies. Is the order now being prepared?

THE PRESIDENT. No, it is not, at the present time.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, just to make sure I understand, your personal feeling is that your personal hope for peace hasn't increased as a result of the Russian action?

THE PRESIDENT. No, they have not, because the fundamentals have not been touched upon.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment on the Mundt-Nixon Communist-control bill?

[1] Dr. Edward U. Condon, Director, National Bureau of Standards.

[1] The notes were delivered in the form of oral statements made by Ambassador Walter Bedell Smith and Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov on May 4. The statements are printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 18, p. 679). For the President's statement on the exchange of views, see Item 96.

[2] Secretary Marshall's statement and a summary of his press conference of May 12 are printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 18, p. 683).

THE PRESIDENT. I never make comments on bills that are pending until they come before me, but as to outlawing political parties in the United States, I think that is entirely contrary to our principles. I don't think the splinter parties do any harm, and if there is conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States, we have laws to cover that.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, did you discuss the note which Ambassador Smith gave to Molotov with your Cabinet before it was sent to Ambassador Smith?

THE PRESIDENT. It was discussed with General Marshall and the Cabinet.

Q. Including the last paragraph, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I told you the message was discussed with General Marshall and the Cabinet. That includes the message from the first word to the "yours truly" at the end of it.

Q. Mr. President, I believe the Ambassador was authorized to paraphrase the——

THE PRESIDENT. That's just what he did. That's just what he did.

Q. Did he follow it in general, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. That's just what he did.

Q. Did he follow the text, or did he——

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I wasn't there. I don't know. You will have to ask Ambassador Smith. I judge he did. It is customary with ambassadors to do that.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and forty-seventh news conference was held in his office at the White House at 10:30 a.m. on Thursday, May 13, 1948.

98 Letter to the Speaker Transmitting Supplemental Appropriation Estimates for the National Military Establishment. *May* 13, 1948

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith for the consideration of the Congress supplemental estimates of appropriation in the amount of $2,434,441,000 for the fiscal year 1949 for the National Military Establishment, in the form of amendments to the Budget for the said fiscal year.

These estimates, and the estimate of $725,000,000 for aircraft procurement submitted on April 8, 1948, represent increased military requirements to carry out the purposes indicated in my address to the Congress on March 17, 1948.

This program raises many questions as to the effect on the national economy. Military strength is dependent on a strong economic system and a strong industrial and productive capacity, and whenever increases in military strength are being considered, the effect on the national economy must be weighed. I have therefore informed the Secretary of Defense of my desire to review the entire military program in September and again in December in order to arrive at a level of expenditures for the National Military Establishment which can be supported on a sound basis in subsequent years.

The details of these estimates, the necessity therefor, and the reasons for their submission at this time are set forth in the letter of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, transmitted herewith, in whose comments and observations thereon I concur.

Respectfully yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[The Speaker of the House of Representatives]

NOTE: The letter from the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, dated May 13 and released with the President's letter, is printed in House Document 652 (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

99 Special Message to the Congress on Agriculture. *May* 14, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

I wish again to call the attention of the Congress to the need for agricultural legislation. This need arises in large part by reason of the approaching expiration date of some of our wartime statutes. Furthermore, there is need for continued improvement in our permanent legislation designed to maintain a sound and prosperous agriculture.

It is now nearly three years after the end of the fighting in the second world war. Most of the farmers of the United States are in an excellent economic position. Cash farm income last year reached a record high level of more than $30 billion. Farm mortgage debt has dropped 25 percent since 1941. The standard of living of most farmers, which rose steadily in the years before the war, has continued to improve.

This situation is in sharp contrast with what happened after World War I. Eighteen months after the end of fighting in that war farm prices had begun to fall; they dropped 50 percent within one year. Soon, farm mortgages were being foreclosed all over the country. The long, agonizing agricultural depression had already begun.

To a certain extent the strong position of American agriculture today is a result of high domestic demand and the very great need abroad for our agricultural products following this war. To a very large extent, however, our farmers can properly attribute their present prosperity to the sound and far-reaching agricultural legislation which was enacted in the years before the war. This legislation was necessarily modified to meet emergency conditions during the war, but it still constitutes a sound legislative base for continuing agricultural prosperity.

As we look ahead, it should not be our purpose to overturn this sound legislative base, in which our farmers have expressed their confidence time and time again, in order to start down some new path. Instead we should concentrate our attention on necessary extensions and improvements in the programs we already have.

The fundamental national policy underlying our agricultural legislation has been and should continue to be one of organized, sustained, realistic abundance. A policy of abundance includes some factors that lie outside the field of agriculture. The maintenance of high levels of employment and the maintenance of export outlets are prime essentials. At the same time, it should be recognized that continuing abundance is possible only if we maintain a strong agriculture—strong in physical resources and strong in human resources.

To carry out this policy, our various agricultural programs have been designed to achieve these principal objectives:

Sound and lasting economic well-being for our farm population, with parity of prices and income in relation to the rewards in other fields of human effort.

An agriculture that will supply all the kinds and quantities of agricultural products needed for domestic consumption, for sufficient carry-over stocks, and for export under present and rising standards of living.

Use of our basic agricultural resources, soil, water, and forests, in such manner as will insure their permanent maximum productivity.

Improved levels of nutrition and living for all our people.

Ever-increasing efficiency in production and distribution.

A better living for small farmers, tenant farmers, share croppers, and farm labor.

The nature of the steps we should take at

this time in order to continue our progress toward these objectives is clear.

First, the Congress should enact legislation providing on a permanent basis for a system of flexible price supports for agricultural commodities.

A vital part of the legislation under which our present price support programs are carried on expires December 31, 1948. In my last two messages on the State of the Union I have urged that the Congress extend appropriate price support legislation.

The Congress has not yet acted, and today farmers do not know what levels of price support or what methods of support will apply to large portions of many crops already planted or to others which must soon be planted. Even less is known about the policy which will apply to next year's crops or to milk and other livestock products for which farmers must plan their output long in advance.

In recent years we have learned the value of price supports as a means to assure the maintenance of farm income in the face of uncertain market conditions, and to adjust production to current market needs without disastrous results to farm prices.

The present price support legislation was directed toward expanding farm production during the war. Its results were nothing less than remarkable. During World War II farm output was increased approximately one third, as compared with an increase of ten percent in World War I. Since hostilities ceased, output has continued at record levels, which has enabled the United States to give essential aid to the recovery of free nations in many parts of the world.

Now we must look ahead to a farm price support policy geared to our improved farm economy. Many shifts in production will have to be made, and flexible price supports will help us make them in an orderly manner. This will require authority to make prompt adjustments in support levels in line with current and prospective supply and demand conditions. It will also require flexibility in the choice of methods or programs that are designed to be most effective for individual commodities, that avoid waste, and that help bring about needed adjustments in production, distribution, and consumption.

Second, I urge that the Congress give full support to the continuance and expansion of our program of soil conservation.

For many years we were prodigal with our soil. In recent years we have made great progress on the slow process of rebuilding. But we are still far from our objective. Too much of our cropland now in use is being eroded. Much of our pasture and range-land is still being over-used. Our saw timber supply is being used half again as fast as it is being replaced. Our streams are muddy, and as a result the useful life-term of many of our dams and reservoirs is being shortened by unnecessary deposits of silt. We have not yet conquered the flood menace on most of our rivers.

On all these fronts we have a tremendous responsibilty to do more than we are doing to conserve our soil, water and forest resources. The programs we have instituted in the past decade have represented great steps forward. But I must point out that our past efforts will be wasted if we fail to continue and intensify our programs now and in the future. I urge the Congress to provide in full the funds needed for these programs.

Third, I recommend that the Congress continue and strengthen programs to assure adequate consumption of agricultural products.

Earlier Congresses have provided for an extensive research and marketing program designed to improve the distribution of farm products and develop new uses for them.

This is a sound program, and should continue to be strongly supported.

Furthermore, the government has taken steps to encourage export markets for a number of important commodities. Such actions are being taken, as they should be, in cooperation with other countries. Primary examples of this policy are the various trade agreements which have been made under the terms of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and the International Wheat Agreement now before the Senate for ratification.

We must continue these measures to assure strong normal markets for agricultural commodities. At the same time the health of our people requires us to consider other methods to move products into consumption. Our present school lunch program is an example of such a program, which is providing better nutrition for millions of our school children. In addition, I believe that we should start now to develop a practical program to use agricultural surpluses to improve the diets of low-income families, and have it ready on a stand-by basis in case of need. We must never again allow our people to go hungry while agricultural surpluses are going to waste.

Fourth, we need to consider other means for assisting farmers to meet their special problems. For example, we must support and protect farm cooperatives. We must continue to work toward a sound system of crop insurance.

Furthermore, we should assist the improvement of living standards in rural areas. I have recommended measures to provide better health services to farmers and farm communities. I have recommended measures to improve the housing standards of farm families. I have recommended that the Government assist the States to furnish adequate primary and secondary education for all children—and this will have especially beneficial results in rural areas. Rural electrification should go forward as rapidly as feasible, to bring the benefits of electricity to more farms.

All of these measures will aid our farm families to maintain a standard of living befitting their essential position in our society. They will be of special importance to the millions of small farmers whose incomes are below a reasonable standard, even in this time of general agricultural prosperity.

All the measures I have recommended are essential for the future welfare of American agriculture. They should be enacted as promptly as possible.

It must be our firm purpose to maintain an increasingly healthy, productive and prosperous agriculture in the United States. This is a basic requirement for progressive advancement of the welfare and prosperity of our own Nation. It is also a vital element in our contribution to world recovery and peace.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: For the President's statement upon signing the Agricultural Act of 1948, see Item 155.

100 Statement by the President Announcing Recognition of the State of Israel. *May* 14, 1948

THIS GOVERNMENT has been informed that a Jewish state has been proclaimed in Palestine, and recognition has been requested by the provisional government thereof.

The United States recognizes the provisional government as the de facto authority of the new State of Israel.

101 Remarks at the Young Democrats Dinner. *May* 14, 1948

Mr. President of the Young Democrats, Mr. Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, distinguished guests, and Young Democrats:

It is a very great privilege for me to be here this evening, and it is a double pleasure to look down on so many smiling, shining faces, and to see so much enthusiasm among the Democrats.

You know, there are a lot of calamity howlers who have been going around over the country telling us a lot of things that are not so. The Republicans, you know, are expected to nominate a candidate for President. They are having a lot of trouble deciding on just who that candidate for President will be, and for just what he stands.

I am exceedingly anxious to see the Republican platform of 1948. You know, it has been their habit since 1936 of taking a few planks out of the old Democratic platforms and building a platform, and then saying, "Me too."

I want to say to you that for the next 4 years there will be a Democrat in the White House, and you are looking at him!

I was not mistaken when I said what I did about those bright, young faces here tonight!

You know, this great country of ours has been faced with emergencies, and it has been necessary to meet great causes. We have always succeeded in meeting them. That first one was in 1776, when the Republic was first conceived. In that year there was a great cause; and the people of the Thirteen Colonies met that situation. And then in 1787, when the next great crisis came, they met and constructed the Constitution of the United States, the greatest document of government that ever has been written—the foundation of this great republic.

It has been the custom of Democrats, since that Constitution was adopted, to meet the situations where the welfare of the common, everyday man has been at stake. Thomas Jefferson met that situation in 1801—the first people's candidate. Then old Andrew Jackson came along, and he took the United States Bank by the nape of the neck and threw it out of the city of Philadelphia. He was working in the interests of the common, everyday citizen. And Grover Cleveland met the situation in 1884 when he was elected, after a long period of Republican rule. Special privilege had become so well entrenched that it took a man of Cleveland's ability to throw the rascals out. And he did it!

And Woodrow Wilson came along with the New Freedom, and the ideal for world peace with the League of Nations to enforce it. And Woodrow Wilson went to his grave trying to show the people of this country what would be the best for their welfare, and their interest. One of the great Democrats of all history.

And then!—and then came "normalcy." Sick!—sick! a sick country, as the result of "normalcy." Twelve years of Republican special privilege rule!

And then it became necessary to meet the greatest financial crisis this country had ever faced. We came forth with one of the greatest leaders of all time: Franklin D. Roosevelt. He met that depression. He conquered it.

Then the world was faced with the greatest crisis in all history, and in 1939 Franklin Roosevelt met that crisis of the World War, and he met it in such a way that we have established a United Nations for the welfare of mankind, and for the welfare

and the peace of the world.

And that United Nations is going to meet the ideals of which Woodrow Wilson dreamed for the League of Nations. And we are going to make it work!

What have the Republicans done in the last fifteen and a half years?

They have been obstructionists. They spent most of their time while I was in the Senate—and I was there for 10 years—in obstructing progressive legislation that was for the welfare of the common man, and throwing bricks and mud at the greatest President that ever sat in the White House. That has been their record. And they haven't changed a bit! They haven't changed a bit! They were against social security. They were against TVA. They were against wages and hours. They were against a farm program.

I have often wondered what a so-called liberal Republican thinks. On election year they call him out and pat him on the back, send him around over the country to make speeches in support of a platform that he doesn't believe in—and just as soon as the election is over, they put him back in the doghouse, and he votes for the Democrats for the rest of the time.

I just wonder how this Republican Party is going to the country on rent control, and on housing, and on prices?

Way back in 1945 I began making suggestions that we should release the price controls as production caught up with demand, and that in order to meet a situation which might develop into a price spiral that would cause inflation in this great Nation of ours, we should be very careful as to how we managed the release of those price controls.

Well, my advice was not followed. And if you will examine the costs of your market basket today, and examine it in 1946 when the price controls were lifted, you will find out exactly what I mean when I say that the Democratic administration was looking after the welfare of the Nation as a whole, and looking after the economy of this country—as it still is right now!

I have gone back time and again to this Republican Congress and pointed out to them the necessities for certain powers which the President should have. I don't know what they think of the President, but they are not willing to trust him with the necessary powers to meet the situations with which we are faced.

We have done one thing, however, with this United Nations program. We have a united country behind that program. That is not a political issue. And I pray God that it never will become a political issue. Political issues ought to end at the water's edge, as I have said time and again. And I am trying to impress you Young Democrats with that very thing. The welfare of this country is at stake in the policy which we follow, and that policy is the foreign policy of the United States, and that foreign policy is centered in the United Nations in New York City, in the support of the United Nations and in the European recovery program—which means that the free nations of the world shall remain free nations of the world. And that is the foreign policy of the United States.

The Republican platform of 1944 made the statement that they were for a strong Labor Department, and that they intended to see, if they got control of the Congress of the United States, that the Labor Department should have all the powers necessary for dealing with labor.

Well now, what has happened?

They have emasculated the Labor Department. They have cut its appropriations to such a point that there might as well not be a Labor Department.

Let me give you just two instances of how

the Republicans have "strengthened" the Labor Department, and how they have taken care of labor, of whom they think so much in election year but think not very much of when it comes to legislation.

They cut the appropriation of the United States Employment Service to a point where it can't properly function for the welfare of those veterans who are coming out of school and need jobs. And they have done something else that is almost ludicrous. They have taken the appropriation away from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. And you know why they did that? They got tired of seeing the facts as to what the prices are doing to the country. They are not satisfied to take the brakes off prices, but they tore the speedometer out of the car so they couldn't see how fast they were going.

I wish I had time this evening—I am limited on this air broadcast—I wish I had time to tell you all the things that have taken place since this Republican Congress took control of the country, January 3d, 1946. I wish I could explain to you how they have bungled the budget in every particular. I wish I could explain to you how they have hampered the enforcement of the law, how they made a phony cut in the Treasury Department. They took $900 million out of the Treasury appropriation, which was to be used to pay back the taxes that were overpaid. You know what they had to do the other day? They had to make an appropriation of $850 million to meet that situation, and they have to make another $850 million to meet this phony tax cut they made the other day!

I could go on all evening and tell you instance after instance of the great administrative ability of this Congress which has been trying to take over the powers of the President. So long as I am there, they are not going to get them!

What does the country really want?

Does the country want an administration under Republican control working for special interests, for higher prices, for greater profits, for fewer jobs, which will eventually end in boom and bust—the regular Republican program? Or does it want to go along with the Democratic administration, which is looking to the welfare of the country as a whole, which is willing to assume leadership where leadership is necessary, an administration which is willing to look out for the welfare of the common people, as the Democratic Party has always done?

You Young Democrats, as your president here told you a few minutes ago, must see the light, and you must see that the people of this country see the light.

Oh, I wish we had an Isaiah or a Martin Luther to lead us out of this moral despond into which we have fallen. I wish we could bring forth the political leaders from you Young Democrats who could preach the gospel of the welfare of the country first, and special interest never!

That is what we need, my friends, and that is what we must have.

That is what the Democratic Party stands for, and on November 2, 1948, the people of this country will have a chance to make that choice.

It is up to you!

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 p.m. at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington. In his opening words he referred to Roy G. Baker, President of the Young Democrats, and to Senator J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. The remarks were carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

26-679—64——20

102 Veto of Bill To Require Character Investigations of Atomic Energy Commission Nominees. *May 15, 1948*

To the Senate:

I return herewith, without my approval, the enrolled bill (S. 1004) entitled "An Act To Amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 so as to grant specific authority to the Senate members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy to require investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the character, associations, and loyalty of persons nominated for appointment, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to offices established by such Act."

The bill under consideration would amend section 15(e) of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, by adding at the end thereof a provision which would authorize the Senate members of the Joint Committee to direct the Federal Bureau of Investigation to investigate the character, associations, and loyalty of any person appointed by the President under the Act, whose appointment requires the advice and consent of the Senate, and would require the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to report to the Senate Committee in writing, setting forth the information developed by such investigation.

Under our form of government, the executive power is vested by the Constitution in the President. Other grants of power are made to the Legislative and the Judicial branches. As was said by the Supreme Court in the case of Humphrey's Executor v. United States, 295 U.S. 602, 629, "The fundamental necessity of maintaining each of the three general departments of government entirely free from the control or coercive influence, direct or indirect, of either of the others has often been stressed and is hardly open to serious question. . . . The sound application of a principle that makes one master in his own house precludes him from imposing his control in the house of another who is master there."

S. 1004 is objectionable in that it would permit an unwarranted encroachment of the Legislative upon the Executive branch. Five Senators would be authorized to direct the Federal Bureau of Investigation, a bureau of the Department of Justice, to make investigations for them. The complete independence of the Executive branch renders it imperative that the Executive have sole authority over the officers whom he appoints. Chief Justice Marshall said in Marbury v. Madison, 1 Cranch 137, 164:

"By the constitution of the United States, the President is invested with certain important political powers, in the exercise of which he is to use his own discretion, and is accountable only to his country in his political character, and to his own conscience. To aid him in the performance of these duties, he is authorized to appoint certain officers, who act by his authority, and in conformity with his orders. In such cases, their acts are his acts; and whatever opinion may be entertained of the manner in which executive discretion may be used, still there exists and can exist no power to control that discretion. . . ."

Aside from the question of constitutionality, which I am advised is serious, I believe the bill is wholly unnecessary and unwise. It would authorize the Senate members of the Joint Committee to utilize a bureau of an Executive department and direct its head to perform functions for the Legislative branch, at the same time that he was performing similar functions as part of the Executive branch, with the possibility of confusion and misunderstanding as to which branch controlled.

I fully recognize my obligation in exercis-

ing my constitutional duty of appointment to obtain the facts about any person nominated to serve as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission. Every facility of the Executive branch, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, will be used to obtain those facts. I am entitled to have placed before me all relevant information, including material which in the public interest should be maintained on a highly confidential basis.

The measure, furthermore, appears impractical because, as I am advised, investigations conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation after the nomination of an individual has been publicly announced are not and cannot be as productive as those which are conducted on a confidential basis prior to an announcement. Persons are always reluctant to disclose full information about an individual after his nomination has been sent to the Senate. The most reliable information is that which is obtained by the Executive branch prior to nomination. This information is frequently of a category which cannot be made public without damage to the national interest. Although I have no desire to keep from Congress information which it should properly have, I must emphasize that the provisions of this bill are completely incompatible with the necessities of the operation of our Government and with the National security.

Accordingly, I cannot give my approval to the bill.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

103 Letter to Secretary Forrestal on the Atomic Weapons Tests at Eniwetok. *May* 17, 1948

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The Atomic Energy Commission has reported to me on the results of the tests of atomic weapons at the Commission's Eniwetok Proving Ground. The Chairman and members of the Commission join me in congratulations to you on the work of Joint Task Force Seven which carried out the tests for the Commission.

The successful completion of this mission is an outstanding example of cooperation between the Agencies responsible for the military defense of the nation and those responsible for the scientific and technical development of an important means of defense.

Please convey to the Commander of Joint Task Force Seven and to all of the members of the National Military Establishment who contributed to the success of the undertaking my commendation for a job well done.

I know you share my feelings of gratification at the accomplishments of the Commission's Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, as indicated by the results of the test program. I have asked the Commission to convey my commendation to all the civilian personnel involved both in the development work leading up to these tests and in the actual conduct of the proof test program.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[The Honorable, the Secretary of Defense, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: A White House release of May 17, summarizing the Commission's report, stated that the tests of three atomic weapons of improved design were successful in all respects, and that the results indicated very substantial progress. The release added that the President gave general approval of Commission plans to initiate further nuclear development based upon information gained from the tests.

104 Remarks in Philadelphia in the Girard College Chapel. *May* 20, 1948

Mr. President, distinguished guests, and members of this great school:

It is a pleasure for me to be here today on the 198th anniversary of the birth of Stephen Girard, one of the country's great. It is also a pleasure to me to be here for the centennial celebration of this great school.

I was also a very great admirer of Stephen Girard. He has the typical American story. The vicissitudes of Stephen Girard are an example to every American boy. Born in Bordeaux—cabin boy—shipmaster—trader—merchant—financier, a wizard at finance. I don't think there's a greater one in the history of the country. And what makes him doubly great is the fact that he set up this school with that immense fortune which he made in his career as financier and merchant and trader. It is remarkable. It is estimated that his fortune was worth six million dollars when he died. Well, that is an immense fortune in this day. It was fabulous in his day. And just think what it has done!

I am told that there are 15,000 young men who have been graduated from this school, and that some 12,000 of them are still alive, and among them are leading citizens of this great Nation. Think what a monument that is! Just think what Stephen Girard did! He was a man who believed in public service. He was willing to give his life when the yellow fever epidemic was on here in Philadelphia, and he gave the ingredients for the curing of yellow fever: he said cleanliness and good food, and plenty of open air. He didn't know anything about the mosquitoes that were causing the transfer of the yellow fever from one person to another, but he had the fundamentals of what it has taken to eliminate the yellow fever from all this part of the world, and of the Caribbean. Just think of that, what a remarkable man he really was! And he set up this school. He showed that his heart was exactly right; and when he encouraged boys and young men to thirst for an education, he was doing something really great for the country at that time.

You know, in his day it was difficult even for the well-to-do to get an education, let alone people of small means, and he set up this school for the purpose of giving the people of small means a chance—the same sort of a chance that the rich man's son had in his day.

Now you young men and boys are exceedingly lucky, for you have now an advantage even over the schools of the present day. You have individual attention from your teachers. In the present day our public schools are so overcrowded that there are plenty of instances where the teachers are not able to call their pupils by name because they have so many of them, they don't have a chance to learn who they are.

And the financial situation of our public school system is something disgraceful—in the richest country in the world. Underpaid teachers—not enough room for the children to get an education that they ought to have. You can't live in this day and age without an education. This is the mechanical age, and you must be an expert in some line if you are going to make a success in this great day—the greatest age in history, I call it.

Now we call it the machine age. They have even got to the point where they milk the cows with machines. They bottle the milk with machines. They deliver it to your door—in a machine. These lights are made by machines. The heat comes from a machine.

Now when I was a young man—a boy your age—I had to milk a cow night and morning, carry the milk to the house, and put it in a cooler so I could have milk for breakfast. You just go out on the back porch and pick up a bottle, you don't know where it comes from. When I was a boy, we didn't have any mechanical dishwashers. I had to wash the dishes, and wash the lamp chimneys, so that we could have clean dishes for the next meal, and for light. If we didn't have clean lamps, we didn't have any light. I had to split wood and carry it and put it in the woodbox behind the stove, so I could get up in the morning and start a fire so that we could have breakfast. Now all you do is turn on a gadget and have everything ready. It really is the machine age. That is true of heat. All you do is turn on a gadget and you have the heat. These lazy people of the modern day can lie in bed, turn on the heat in the house and finish out their nap while the house gets warm. I couldn't do that, I had to start the fire, light the lamp, and get things ready so mother could get the breakfast.

It is an interesting age in which we live. It is an age, in my opinion, that can be the greatest age in our history. It is an age of opportunity. Don't any of you young men let anybody convince you that there are no opportunities in the present day. There is more opportunity in the present day than there ever has been in the history of the world, but you must prepare yourselves to grasp that opportunity when it comes along.

I can tell you a story or two that will be interesting. Sounds as if people in the 1840's were not much different from the people today. There was once a British cabinet officer, and he made the statement that he was most happy he was retiring from the British cabinet because the British Empire was coming to its end, and it was certainly going to break up before 1850 came along. And after that, Disraeli made Queen Victoria Empress of India, and Britain's greatest age was just then opening up.

Another time, a Commissioner of Patents made a report to the President of the United States, and this is what he said, I will read it to you, it is very interesting. Now this was in 1843, more than one hundred years ago. He says, "The advancement of the arts from year to year taxes our credulity and seems to presage the arrival of that period when human improvement must end." And this same Commissioner of Patents went down to the Senate Appropriations Committee and said he thought they ought to begin to liquidate the Patent Office because there was nothing else to be invented. That was in 1843. And what great inventions of the world have come about since that age!

Now we live in the atomic age, the age which can be made either the destruction of humanity, or it can be made to be the greatest age in history. And I have said that a hundred times since the atomic age came along, and I am saying it again to you young men: this is the greatest age in history.

I wish I was 18 years old. I wish I could go through this age that you will face after I am gone. You see, the country is going to be in the hands of such young men as you, from now on. It's a young man's age. It's the age of the greatest outlook in the history of the world, and it is our endeavor and the effort of the Government of the United States to have that age accomplished for the welfare and the peace of the world, and not for its destruction. That is what we work for, is peace in the world.

You boys and young men can consummate that effort, if you will just carry on when the opportunity knocks for you. Don't let anyone tell you that you are going out into the world where there is no opportunity. It is there—greater and better than ever. This

great country has only started on its career.

Again I say, I wish I had the same opportunity that you have.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:05 p.m. in Philadelphia. His opening words "Mr. President" referred to Dr. Merle M. Odgers, President of Girard College. The remarks were carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

105 Special Message to the Congress on Alaska. *May* 21, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

Alaska is our last great frontier area, and has the capacity to provide new opportunities for many thousands of our citizens. It contains known resources of food, timber and minerals of great value to the national economy, and may have much greater resources as yet undiscovered.

It is in the Nation's interest, therefore, for the Government to assist the balanced development of Alaskan resources and to help open economic opportunities on a sound long-term basis. I am recommending in this message a number of actions which will contribute to these purposes.

Since Alaska became part of the United States 80 years ago, a certain amount of development has taken place. A number of industries, principally fisheries and mining, have been established, although unfortunately they have followed too largely the pattern of absentee ownership and exploitation. During the recent war, when the strategic importance of Alaska became obvious, a number of extensive military installations were built or started there.

1. *Statehood for Alaska*

Some 94,000 people now reside in the Territory, and the population is growing. Alaska residents deeply desire Statehood. A large proportion of them are from the States and share our long tradition of self-government. Alaska has a larger population and a stronger economic base than did many of our present States when they were admitted to the Union. It has had Territorial government for more than 35 years, surely a sufficient period of preparation for its admission as a State.

I believe, therefore, that we should admit Alaska to Statehood at the earliest possible date, and I urge the Congress to enact the necessary legislation. I am pleased to note that the Committee on Public Lands of the House of Representatives has unanimously recommended such legislation.

It is important to remember that after the Congress acts, it will still be necessary to hold a constitutional convention, draft a constitution, and submit it to the voters for approval before Statehood is achieved. Since these steps will require at least a year, they should be started as soon as possible.

Statehood will bring many advantages to the people of Alaska. Most important, it will give them a much greater opportunity to manage their own affairs; they will have the benefits of local freedom and initiative inherent in our system of democratic government. They will be able to put into effect much more fully their own concept of the unified development of all the resources of their vast territory.

In addition, when Alaska is a State, its people will be able to do much for themselves which they now find difficult or impossible. For example, through their State government a sound, modern tax structure can be established to replace the present obsolete and inadequate system prescribed

thirty-five years and more ago by the Federal Government. Alaskans will also be able to provide more adequately for education and health, problems which are especially difficult under frontier conditions.

Moreover, Statehood will permit Alaskans to take a greater part in the affairs of the Nation. Through voting representation in the Congress and participation in national elections, they will have a direct voice in national decisions. At the same time, as a State Alaska will participate fully in many national programs, such as the Federal-aid highway program, which are now withheld unless special legislation is passed.

While Statehood is a wise and necessary step, certain other immediate actions should also be taken, if Alaskans are to achieve steady and balanced industrial, agricultural and community growth.

2. *Improving the transportation system*

In many respects, Alaska is still a pioneer land, and one of the principal problems is that of developing a satisfactory transportation system. The Territory is about one-fifth the size of the United States, yet has less highway or railroad mileage than many of our smaller States. It is a country of vast distances, sparsely settled, which together with difficult weather conditions and terrain creates unique transportation problems.

Under these circumstances, the Federal Government has a special responsibility to help in improving the transportation system. Traditionally, the Government has aided the development of transportation in frontier areas. From the standpoint both of military and civilian development, much needs to be done immediately to improve transportation in Alaska.

Nearly all the freight and many of the passengers carried between the States and Alaska move by sea. The only access by land is over the Alaska highway, built during the war, largely through Canadian territory.

Shipping services between Alaska and the States are not now easily provided on an economical and regular basis, nor will they be for some time to come. Weather conditions are difficult, adequate ports are few and scattered, and traffic is very unbalanced at different seasons. As a result, rates have been high and service somewhat unsatisfactory to the Territory. A new development has recently taken place in the establishment of barge transportation, which seems to offer possibilities for competition with the steamship services, although at present barges only operate to a few ports.

The Government has recognized that in view of the special need for effective sea transportation, assistance should be given to the development of efficient low cost service, for the best interests of Alaska and the Nation as a whole. Assistance should be provided that will encourage the establishment of new industries in Alaska and consequent migration and settlement. At the same time Government assistance should be directed toward the establishment of a sea transportation system which will become independent of Government subsidy as conditions permit. To this end the Government should audit the efficiency of subsidized operators as well as control the rates.

Present legislation permits nominal-rate charters of surplus Government-owned vessels to private operators. It is apparent that this type of Government aid is sufficient to keep shipping in the Alaska trade and can be administered to achieve even more desirable rate and service standards than have been provided since the present legislation was approved in March, 1947. I recommend, therefore, that the present legislation be extended, in modified form, for one year. The modifications should prevent exclusive ar-

rangements with any carriers and should provide financial incentives for efficient operations. The Maritime Commission has presented these recommendations in detail to the Congress. The Commission will also change its present contractual arrangements with the Alaska carriers along similar lines.

At the same time, because of the unique transportation conditions existing in Alaska, I recommend that our maritime laws be amended to remove the present bar to shipping goods in bond between the United States and Alaska via Canadian rail, port and shipping facilities. This bar does not apply between any of our States, and there is no reason thus to discriminate against Alaska. Furthermore, Canadian ships should be permitted to transport passengers and freight between Alaska ports, in order to provide more adequate service. These recommendations are also in accord with the mutual interest which we will continue to have with our Canadian neighbors in the development of the great northwest territory of this continent.

Another factor hampering transportation is that in several Alaska ports, docking and storage facilities are insufficient. Some ports are now being developed and others are being studied by the Navy, the Corps of Engineers and the Coast Guard to determine the extent and nature of local improvements needed. A number of private construction projects are awaiting the completion of these reports.

Land transportation in Alaska is provided principally by the Government-owned Alaska Railroad and the present inadequate highway network. The 1949 Budget now before the Congress includes funds for carrying forward a five-year program of rehabilitation and improvement for the railroad. Upon reconsidering the urgency of these improvements and the possible rate of construction I now recommend that this program be accelerated, in order to accomplish most of the work within three years.

There is also pending before the Congress a long-range program for improving the present highway system and building some important new roads. I shall shortly submit supplemental estimates to accelerate this program, as well as the railroad program.

In addition to these improvements of the highways in Alaska, it is important also to consider the roads through Canada. The Canadian government has done an excellent job in maintaining the main Alaska highway, and it is being used increasingly by truckers and tourists. The so-called "Haines Cut-off Road" is an important link connecting southeastern Alaska at the head of the inland passage with the Alaska highway in the Yukon Territory of Canada. Since this road is of importance to the United States, but is so located as to be of less use to Canada, special arrangements will have to be made for its improvement and maintenance.

Because of the great distances and sparse settlement of Alaska, air transportation has developed rapidly. Both large-scale airlines and small-scale "bush pilots" operate extensively through the Territory and often provide the only direct link between town and settlements. It is especially important therefore that air transportation be encouraged.

The 1949 Budget, now pending before the Congress, includes funds for the improvement of air navigation facilities in Alaska. In addition, I am glad to note that the Congress has just completed action on legislation for the construction of new airports at Fairbanks and Anchorage, where the present civil airports have become obsolete largely as a result of the establishment of military airports close by.

3. *Constructing housing and community facilities*

Another problem facing Alaskans and the Government in establishing proper con-

ditions for further settlement and development is that of constructing badly needed housing and community facilities. The towns and cities of Alaska have grown so rapidly in recent years that the lack of these facilities is causing considerable hardship now and constitutes a serious bar to further growth.

To assist the construction of schools, hospitals and community facilities such as water, sewers, streets, and electric services, I recommend that special legislation be enacted to permit the Federal Works Administrator to provide such facilities and transfer them to the Territory and its municipalities upon terms which will assure a proper sharing of the cost. It is necessary and proper for the Government to assist in providing the elementary facilities necessary for sanitation, health and education.

The Territorial government and Alaskan communities face difficulty in financing these facilities because of the inadequate financial structure imposed by the present Federal law. In particular, the Territory and the municipalities are unnecessarily hampered in obtaining funds for community development. Even in advance of Statehood I recommend that these restrictions be removed, so that Alaskans may do as much as possible to obtain their own facilities and may carry their proper share of the cost of construction under the Federal program I have recommended.

In addition to the hospitals to be provided under this proposed legislation, special provision should be made for hospital facilities for tubercular patients, as the rate of tuberculosis in Alaska is about nine times that of the rest of the United States. The 1949 Budget and a supplement request for funds which I shall shortly submit to the Congress provide for a substantial increase in the available number of beds for tubercular patients.

The housing problem in Alaska is extremely acute. In spite of the rapid increase in population during and since the war, there has been very little residential construction. This situation results from a number of special circumstances, including the limited residential building industry, the shortage of funds for home financing, the high cost of building materials transported from the States, and special land and utility problems.

Many of the actions recommended in this message will assist in removing these obstacles. Thus the improvement of transportation, the provision of community facilities, and the modification of the public land laws will all aid the development of the home building industry.

In addition to these measures, I recommend that special financial terms for home construction be provided under existing programs of aid to private housing. The need for such special treatment of Alaska problems has already been recognized in some of our present housing legislation. Furthermore, I recommend that special development funds should be made available on a revolving-fund loan basis, in order to encourage immediate construction.

4. *Lands for natives*

A special legal problem is at present hampering the development of Alaska. This is the question of whether or not Alaska natives have claims to the ownership of certain lands. Until this problem is settled, it will continue to create some question concerning the title to land needed by individuals and companies for development in many parts of the Territory, including the national forests.

The determination of native claims under existing law would require a considerable period of time. In the interest of the development of Alaska, and for the benefit of all concerned, I recommend that the Con-

gress authorize the Secretary of the Interior to grant to the natives their village sites and burial grounds, and such lands and hunting and fishing rights as are necessary for their economic livelihood, with due regard for the integrity of the national forests, provided that the natives waive claims to any additional lands. In addition, the Congress should extinguish by law any rights which the natives might have to other public lands. At the same time, the natives who do not accept such grants should, of course, be free to assert claims against the Government in a proper court with respect to any asserted rights lost by such extinguishment. These actions would clear title to the land granted and all other land and permit industrial and agricultural development to go forward.

I believe that this will be the fairest and most expeditious method for settling this long-standing problem.

5. *Encouraging land settlement*

Another step which should be taken to improve the opportunities for industrial, agricultural and community development in Alaska is to improve our laws concerning the disposal of public land. More than 95 per cent of the land area of Alaska is now in the public domain. It can be settled, and is being settled, under the present public land laws. But those laws should be amended to take account of unique conditions in the Territory.

Because of the isolated nature of the new farming and industrial areas which will be opened, and of the peculiar conditions found there, I recommend that legislation be enacted to permit land settlement on a group basis, in tracts of a size and shape appropriate to the terrain, and to permit homesteaders to live in communities rather than in isolated farm houses, where appropriate. Furthermore, I recommend that the Congress authorize appropriate technical and financial assistance for settlement and development. Together with necessary administrative changes to improve the handling of land applications and funds necessary to permit speedier surveying of land areas, I believe these actions will permit easier and more rapid settlement in Alaska.

All of the recommendations I have made, concerning Statehood, transportation, housing and community facilities, lands for natives, and land settlement, are designed to make possible the early and sound development of industry, agriculture and stable community life. These actions will establish a proper framework within which individuals and private companies can use the abundant natural resources of Alaska.

Until now the principal industries have been gold mining and salmon fishing and canning. Substantial expansion of these industries under present conditions is unlikely.

There are, however, numerous other promising opportunities for economic development. Many minerals, other than gold, including such scarce minerals as lead and zinc, have been located, although most of the Territory has not been thoroughly prospected. It can be expected, therefore, that the mining industry will continue to grow for many years. Funds have been included in the 1949 Budget for an expansion of mineral exploration and the establishment of a Bureau of Mines laboratory in Alaska, both of which will be important aids to new development.

While salmon fishing and canning are fairly stable, and are necessarily operating under careful conservation standards, there are possibilities for new fisheries of different types.

Sources of energy are basic elements in

economic developments. Oil and coal, the present main sources of energy, are being shipped to Alaska. It is extremely important to develop more power sources within the Territory. Considerable coal is now mined there, with substantial possibilities for more. There are also oil deposits.

In addition, there are numerous potential hydroelectric power sites, although few of them have been sufficiently studied to prepare detailed construction plans. These power sites should be studied as rapidly as possible in order that power development can proceed promptly.

In southeastern Alaska, and to a lesser extent elsewhere, extensive timber resources are available which can, when accompanied by suitable power development, be the foundation for substantial forest products industries. The most promising opportunities at present appear to be in establishing pulp and paper mills in the Tongass National Forest, where timber sales are available to private companies on a sustained yield basis.

There are also many opportunities to produce construction materials, such as cement, brick and lumber. Most of these materials are now being transported at high cost over long distances, and their production in Alaska will be of great value to home building and other construction industries.

In addition, there are extensive opportunities for tourists and sportsmen to enjoy the spectacular scenery and unspoiled wilderness of Alaska. With improvements in highway, water and air transportation there will be an increasing stream of visitors. Many economic opportunities will be present to provide accommodations and other services for such visitors.

Another important possibility for economic development is that of agriculture. Only small areas are now being farmed, and our knowledge is very incomplete concerning the farming methods, crops and marketing systems best adapted to the special conditions of Alaska weather and soil. Several additional areas seem to offer good opportunities for farming, and the Agriculture and Interior Departments are conducting detailed studies of them this summer. Furthermore, the Agricultural Experiment Station in Alaska is expanding its program of investigating crop and livestock possibilities.

It will necessarily be a slow process to develop further agricultural areas on a sound basis. Nevertheless, I believe that considerable expansion of agriculture will be possible, and it is certainly desirable for the government to support agricultural settlement so that Alaska can become less dependent on imported food.

All these opportunities are now present or potential. With imagination and far-seeing effort by the people of Alaska and the Government, the resources of Alaska can play a growing role in our national economy and can provide a sound livelihood for the people now there and many thousands who will join them.

In the long view, the most important action the Government can take to assure this end is to permit Alaska to become a State. With the additional measures I have recommended, there is every reason to foresee a strong and expanding population of permanent residents, and to expect that the State of Alaska will be a strong partner in our great union of States.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

106 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Providing Funds for Military Aircraft. *May* 21, 1948

I HAVE today signed H.R. 6226 providing funds for the procurement of military aircraft. The prompt action taken by Congress, on my request for legislation authorizing the immediate availability of funds included in the 1949 budget, and supplemental funds, means that this program can move ahead at an earlier date than would otherwise have been possible.

The Congress has seen fit to provide $822 million beyond the amount which I considered necessary in submitting my request for the acceleration of the program. Provision has been made, however, that the funds shall not be spent without a finding by the President that the "contracts let are necessary in the national defense," and that the procurement results in the "maximum utilization of improvements in aircraft and equipment consistent with the defense needs of the U.S." To assist me in discharging this responsibility, I have asked the Secretary of Defense and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to formulate and recommend appropriate procedures.

I informed the Congress on May 13 that I intend to review the entire military program in September and again in December. Our national security requires that the total national defense program be based on a strong economic system and depend on a level of expenditures which can be supported in subsequent years. It is therefore my intention to carry out the provisions of the present Act with this in mind.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 6226 is Public Law 547, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 258).

107 Special Message to the Congress on Social Security. *May* 24, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

I wish to urge upon the Congress the necessity for action at this session to strengthen our system for the protection of our people from the hazards of economic insecurity. We must not let our concern with the pressing problems of post-war adjustment cause us to neglect the human needs of our people.

On several occasions during the past three years, I have recommended to the Congress the type of legislation which I believe should be enacted to strengthen our present social security system. The Congress has not acted on these recommendations. Instead, it is considering legislation which would actually remove the protection of our social security system from many persons now entitled to its benefits. I believe that instead of limiting coverage it should be expanded, and that a number of other improvements should be made.

I urge, therefore, that the Congress take early action on the following recommendations.

1. *More adequate benefits under old-age and survivors insurance.*

The benefits being paid under old-age and survivors insurance are seriously inadequate. They were adjusted last in 1939. Even then, the benefits in most cases replaced only a small part of the income that the worker or his survivors had lost because of his retirement or death. Earnings and the cost of living have risen sharply since that time and

cannot be expected to return to prewar levels. Consequently, further adjustments in benefit rates are imperative.

People whose sole income is from social security payments have just about reached the breaking point. Many of them are widows of workers who were insured under our social insurance system, and others are parents in families receiving aid to dependent children. Many have retired on old-age insurance benefits; others are receiving old-age assistance. All of them face a desperate struggle in trying to procure bare necessities at present prices.

The present average payment for a retired worker is only about $25 a month, and is substantially less for dependents and survivors. If the insurance system is to prevent dependency upon public and private charity this amount is obviously far too low. I recommend that the Congress increase benefits by at least 50 per cent.

I also recommend that women be made eligible for old-age benefits at 60 years, rather than the present 65 years. Wives are usually younger than their husbands. In most cases, therefore, an insured worker cannot retire at 65 because it will be some years before his wife becomes eligible for a wife's benefit, and both of them cannot live on his benefit alone. Lowering the eligibility age is also important for women insured in their own right, for widows, and for mothers who depended on the earnings of a deceased insured worker.

The present law also works hardship by denying benefits to any person who earns $15 in any month. I recommend that this limit be raised to $40, so that the law will permit more older workers to supplement their benefits by part-time employment.

At the same time that these changes in benefits are made, I recommend that the limit on earnings taxable under the law be raised from $3000 to $4800, and that the date for increasing the tax rate from one per cent to one-and-one-half per cent be moved forward from January 1, 1950, to January 1, 1949.

2. *Extended coverage for old-age and survivors insurance.*

The protection afforded by old-age and survivors benefits under our existing social insurance program is unfairly and unnecessarily restricted. More than 20 million persons at work in an average week are in jobs where they cannot earn any rights toward these benefits. People in these jobs are in at least as great need of insurance protection as those in jobs already covered. Many of them are in greater need because their earnings are low and uncertain or irregular.

These groups were originally excluded largely because of various special administrative problems. Simple procedures have now been worked out to collect contributions and pay benefits for these people without undue cost or administrative difficulty, and with little inconvenience to employers.

I strongly recommend that the protection of the Federal old-age and survivors insurance system be extended as rapidly as possible to the groups now excluded.

3. *Extended coverage for unemployment insurance.*

In the case of unemployment insurance, coverage is even more restricted than under old-age and survivors insurance. The principal difference is that under unemployment insurance employees of small firms (those firms employing less than eight persons) are not covered by the Federal law, whereas they are covered under old-age and survivors insurance.

Because of differences in the administrative problems under the two programs, it is more difficult to extend coverage under unemployment insurance. Nevertheless, we

should extend coverage at this time to at least two important groups now excluded.

I recommend, therefore, that Federal legislation be amended to extend coverage to those persons who are now excluded merely because they are employed by small firms. These workers are already covered in many States, and I see no reason why they should not be covered in the others.

In addition, I recommend that legislation be enacted to provide unemployment compensation to persons employed by the Federal Government. It seems absurd that the Federal Government does not provide to its employees the same protection that private employers are required to furnish for their employees.

In unemployment insurance also, benefits should be more adequate, particularly for the unemployed person who has a family to support. Not all States have raised benefit amounts and extended duration to meet present conditions or to recognize the special needs of workers with dependents. I believe that all States should do so. In addition, the unduly harsh provisions of some State laws for disqualifying claimants should be eliminated.

4. *Insurance against loss of earnings due to illness or disability.*

I recommend that our social insurance system be broadened to include insurance against the loss of earnings due to temporary or extended disability.

Disability may have an even more serious effect on family income than old age or death. It may occur without warning in early or middle life when the worker has heavy responsibilities for family support and has had little time or chance to make individual savings. It usually involves medical costs as well as loss of wages.

On an average day sickness and disability keep out of the labor force three and a half to four million persons who otherwise would have been working or looking for work. Of these, more than a million and a half have been disabled for six months or longer.

Two States now provide insurance benefits against loss of income from temporary illness or disability. Other States are considering establishing such protection. I believe that the Federal Government should provide a strong financial inducement to all States to provide such insurance.

In the case of disability extending for six months or more, I recommend that insurance against loss of earnings be established in connection with the present old-age and survivors insurance program.

5. *Improved public assistance for the needy.*

All of the foregoing recommendations relate to measures to strengthen our contributory social insurance system. Social insurance is a practical and tested means by which individuals can join together for self-protection. It does now, and should increasingly in the future, constitute our social security system's first line of defense against want. Our constant aim should be to extend and improve this means for providing protection through mutual efforts by employers and employees, on a basis which emphasizes independence and self-reliance, rather than relief.

But we cannot neglect our second line of defense. Needy persons who are not yet protected adequately by insurance have to fall back on public assistance. And we may expect that there will be some who will continue to need public aid even after the desirable expansion in our social insurance system becomes effective. We should therefore strive to make this assistance adequate throughout the United States.

The recent rise in living costs bears especially heavily on old people, fatherless chil-

dren, and others who cannot earn and must depend on small fixed incomes or on savings. Many who can no longer make ends meet have been obliged to ask for public aid.

The aid now available to needy people is inadequate in many cases and in some areas of the country. This inadequacy stems in large part from three major deficiencies in the Federal Government's program for helping the States to finance public assistance.

The Social Security Act sets undesirably low maximum limits on the amount of the payment to an individual in which the Federal Government will share. The limits are even lower for aid to dependent children than for aid to the needy aged and the needy blind.

Even within the present maximum limits, the amount of the Federal grant to a State depends on the amount the State itself provides for the program. Where need is greatest, State resources are usually smallest. A needy person in a poor State therefore benefits less from Federal funds under the Social Security Act than a person in no greater need who happens to live in a rich State.

Moreover, Federal grants to States under the present Act may be used only for three groups of the needy—the aged, the blind, and dependent children. Other persons in equal need do not share in these funds. Nor is there any provision under which the Federal Government shares with the States the costs of welfare services which avert or reduce the need for continued assistance.

I recommend that the Act be amended to meet these deficiences (1) by permitting the Federal Government to match more fully the higher payments which many States find necessary to meet the needs of recipients; (2) by relating Federal grants more equitably to the financial resources and needs of each State; and (3) by providing Federal grants to help cover the cost of aid to persons not included in the present categories and the cost of essential welfare services which avert or reduce the need for assistance.

The measures I have recommended have had long and careful consideration, and I strongly urge their enactment without further delay.

It has long been recognized as an inescapable obligation of a democratic society to provide for every individual some measure of basic protection from hardship and want caused by factors beyond his control. In our own country, the obligation of the Federal Government in this respect has been recognized by the establishment of our social security system.

Under this system, most of our people now enjoy some degree of protection against the insecurity resulting from old age or unemployment or the death of heads of families. But the protection that is given them is far from adequate, and there are other millions of our people who are excluded from such protection altogether.

It is especially important to strengthen our social security system at this critical time, when the false claim is constantly being made that democratic societies cannot protect their people from the economic and social uncertainties of modern civilization. We have studied with care and at great length the manner in which the system should be strengthened and we have the knowledge now to take many specific steps for that purpose. We should act upon that knowledge without further delay.

The passage of the Social Security Act in 1935 marked a great advance in our concept of the means by which our citizens, through their Government, can provide against common economic risks. Although this Act is still under attack from some quarters, it is regarded by a vast majority of

the American people as an essential and basic element of our democracy. A strong social security system is recognized as an essential part of our national program to insure maximum levels of production and employment and to insure fair distribution of the output of our economy.

The original Act was necessarily experimental in many respects, and was deliberately limited in its coverage and in the benefits provided until experience should permit its extension. In 1939, substantial amendments were made to improve the Act on the basis of the experience gained by that time.

Since 1939, we have gained much further experience. Furthermore, extensive study has been given to the problem, both by the Executive and Legislative Branches. From this experience and these studies has come a wide area of agreement concerning most of the steps needed to improve our social security system. Even where agreement has not been reached, the evidence and arguments have been so fully developed that nothing can be gained by further delay.

I wish to emphasize that, because of general economic conditions, this is a particularly opportune time for taking these steps. Now, when employment and earnings are at the highest levels on record, is the most favorable time for our working people to earn protection against serious economic risks which face them and their families as a result of unemployment, disability, old age, and death. Moreover, the increased coverage and higher contribution rates which I have proposed will result in a greater excess of income over expenditures in the social insurance trust funds than is at present the case. Even when the expanded public assistance program is taken into account, the net effect of my recommendations is still to increase substantially the excess of income over outgo. Such an excess of income over outgo is valuable to reduce present inflationary pressures and to store up purchasing power for future use.

The measures I have recommended will extend and broaden our social security system to provide protection to millions of our people now excluded and against risks now pressing heavily upon individual families. They will provide protection to our people more and more on an insurance basis, and reduce our reliance on relief and similar types of public aids. They will do much to prevent distress and to continue our progress toward the great goals of individual welfare and independence.

It would clearly be unfair to the millions of our people for whom we know how to provide better protection to delay longer these sound and practical measures.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

108 Letter to the Speaker on Federal Aid to Education. *May 26, 1948*

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I wish to express my earnest hope that the House of Representatives will take favorable action at this session upon legislation providing Federal aid for elementary and secondary schools.

It will be recalled that, at the beginning of the present session, I repeated the earlier recommendations which I had made to the Congress for legislation of this character, and that I included in the Budget for the fiscal year 1949 an estimate of $300 million to

cover the cost of such legislation. Since the Budget was submitted in January, it has become apparent that large expenditures above those contemplated in the Budget will be required for national defense purposes and for carrying out the provisions of new legislation which has been enacted by the Congress. The necessity for meeting these additional expenditures emphasizes, of course, the importance of practicing careful economy in other Federal expenses and postponing items that can be deferred. In the light of these circumstances, the question has been raised, quite properly, as to whether it is necessary for us to forego providing Federal aid to education at this time.

I think it appropriate, therefore, that I should make clear the position of the Executive in view of the changed conditions with which we are confronted.

I regard the proper education of our youth as a matter of paramount importance to the welfare and security of the United States. Public provision for education has been primarily the concern of the several States, and must remain so. The maintenance of freedom of thought and expression depends in large measure upon keeping our systems of education free from central control. But it is necessary and proper that the Federal Government should furnish financial assistance which will make it possible for the States to provide educational facilities more nearly adequate to meet the pressing needs of our Nation.

The cost of providing adequate systems of schools has long been beyond the financial resources of many of our States. Now a real crisis exists. Rapid increases in school population have resulted in overcrowding. Higher prices have brought sharp increases in construction and operating costs. Expanding employment opportunities in other fields have attracted teachers away from the schools. Many of the teachers who have stayed in the schools because of their interest in their work are underpaid and must have their salaries increased. We cannot expect to hold our present teachers, no matter how strong their devotion, nor to attract the additional teachers we need, unless they are properly compensated.

Unless the Federal Government comes to the aid of the States in meeting these needs, there is danger of a serious breakdown in our systems of education. We cannot take such a risk.

I am therefore convinced that the increases which have become necessary in other Federal expenditures present no valid reason for delaying Federal aid to education. On the contrary, I consider that such assistance will be a major contribution to the vitality of American democracy, which is the foundation of all our efforts toward peace and freedom.

A bill to provide Federal aid to education has recently been passed in the Senate by a substantial majority of both parties.

I hope that legislation for this purpose will soon be passed also by the House of Representatives.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives]

NOTE: The bill to provide Federal aid to education (S. 472), passed by the Senate on April 1, 1948, was referred to the House Committee on Education and Labor on April 2. The House of Representatives took no action on the bill.

109 Letter to the Chairman, Senate Appropriations Committee, Urging Restoration of Funds for a TVA Steamplant at New Johnsonville, Tennessee. *May 26, 1948*

My dear Mr. Chairman:

I am advised that the Senate Committee on Appropriations is currently considering the appropriation request for the Tennessee Valley Authority, including particularly restoration of the budgeted amount of $4,000,000 to begin construction of a steam plant at New Johnsonville, Tennessee, which amount was deleted by the House of Representatives.

The New Johnsonville plant is needed to provide a minimum reserve capacity for supplying firm power to the Tennessee Valley, assuming a normal peacetime growth of demand, and it is urgently needed at this time to meet potential requirements in the event of an emergency affecting the national security. There is no equally effective means of assuring to the nation the prompt installation of this new capacity, and of integrating the power available from this source into that provided by the hydroelectric system of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

I am attaching for the information of your Committee a copy of a letter received by me from the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board, which indicates the importance of this project to our national security.

I urge, in the strongest possible terms, the favorable consideration of your Committee and of the Congress.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable Styles Bridges, Chairman, Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The letter from Arthur M. Hill, Chairman of the National Security Resources Board, was released with the President's letter.

For the President's statement upon signing the Government Corporation Appropriation Act of 1949, which included funds for the Tennessee Valley Authority, see Item 148.

110 The President's News Conference of *May 27, 1948*

THE PRESIDENT. I have no special announcements to make. If you have any questions you think I can answer, why fire away.

[1.] Q. Mr. President, how are you coming on the appointment of the advisory board to the economic administration?

THE PRESIDENT. Working on it and will shortly announce it.

Q. Advisory board for what, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Economic communication setup.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, it is beginning to look as if there will be no public housing bill. I wonder if you would like to comment on it?

THE PRESIDENT. No comment. I have made comment in the form of messages on four different occasions. You can take anything you like out of any one of those messages. Still good today.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, do you plan to veto the Bulwinkle bill?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that question until it gets here, because I don't know what's in it.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, do you plan to

appoint a Presidential board on the threatened maritime strike?

THE PRESIDENT. It has not come up to me yet. I will think of that, though, when it does.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, Senator Ellender, coming out of your office today, said that you plan to visit the South this year. Will that be before election time?

THE PRESIDENT. Senator Ellender invited me to pay a visit to the South, and I told him nothing would please me better if it could be arranged, but I could make no definite appointments.

Q. You have been invited to Roanoke Island, N.C. Are you planning to go down there any time——

THE PRESIDENT. I will have to give you the same answer that I did to that other question. I can't tell whether I can go or not. I would like to go. I have been invited on these occasions in the past, for the same purpose, and couldn't go, but I would like to go if I could.

Q. Mr. President, if you went to South Carolina, you will perhaps go to Oak Ridge and Knoxville and some of those——

THE PRESIDENT. I can't promise. [*Laughter*]

Q. Can you give us the itinerary now, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that question.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, the Senate Appropriations Committee voted 17–2 today to request General MacArthur to come home and testify on Far East relief. Will you join in that request?

THE PRESIDENT. The Senate Foreign—Foreign Relations Committee——

Q. Appropriations Committee.

THE PRESIDENT. ——Appropriations Committee has a perfect right to ask for the presence of General MacArthur, if he can give them any information that will be valuable to them. And of course I would be happy to see him come and accommodate the Appropriations Committee. He has been invited on numerous occasions by me to return and make a personal report to me, but his business has always kept him in Japan.

Q. You have invited him, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, Dr. Weizmann[1] indicated the other day that you had given him hope of lifting the arms embargo. I wonder if you will give us a little more detail——

THE PRESIDENT. The arms embargo is under consideration by the United Nations, and I have no comment on it.

Q. Mr. President, that is the United States embargo, isn't it?

THE PRESIDENT. It's an embargo by the United States made at the request of the Security Council of the United Nations, and it's a matter pending in the United Nations.

[8.] Q. In the civil rights message you said you had given instructions to end discrimination in the Armed Forces. The word from the Hill now seems to be that the draft bill is in jeopardy because of that instruction. For instance, the Russell amendment has been introduced which would permit a Negro to request that he be assigned to a unit of Negro troops only, which would of course offset your instructions. Are you apt to modify those instructions, or leave——

THE PRESIDENT. I can't comment on the legislation because it has not been formulated. You never can tell what a bill is going to be. Usually, when it is introduced it has everything in it but the kitchen stove, and when it comes out of committee it's something entirely different.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, your Ambassador in England has been in conference with—repeatedly with the Foreign Office spokes-

[1] Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Provisional President of Israel.

man—representative of Britain during the past few days. Can you say anything about relations between America and Britain in relation to Palestine, which seem to be strained to——

THE PRESIDENT. I cannot.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, is there any comment on Senator Capehart's long reading of the Voice of America broadcast yesterday in the Senate? [1]

THE PRESIDENT. I am having that looked into. You see, that broadcast was not made by the State Department; it was made under a law passed by the Congress that private enterprise should control these broadcasts. I am having an investigation to see just who is at fault.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, have you had any recent communication from the Premier of the Russian state, Mr. Stalin——

THE PRESIDENT. No I have not.

Q. —— directly to you?

THE PRESIDENT. I have never had any communication from Mr. Stalin since Potsdam.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, do you favor registration of the Communist Party and its members?

THE PRESIDENT. I'll comment on that when the bill comes before me.

Q. In that regard, Mr. President, this morning Attorney General Clark handed down an administrative ruling to the effect that the Hatch Act prohibits Communists from holding Federal jobs, and he further stated definitely that the Communist Party does advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. Are you backing him up in that, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't seen the ruling of the Attorney General, and I know nothing about to what the ruling refers.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, there seems to be some difference of opinion between General Spaatz and Admiral Denfeld on whether the Joint Chiefs of Staff approved this 65,000-ton carrier. Secretary Forrestal reported that you and he approved it.

THE PRESIDENT. It was recommended in the last Budget Message. I signed that message, so undoubtedly it was an approval.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us anything about the status of requests from the Jewish State of Palestine for a loan of $90 or $100 million?

THE PRESIDENT. So far as I know, no application has been made. If one is made, it will be handled in the usual manner and through the usual departments.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us anything about the occasions on which you asked General MacArthur to return to Washington?

THE PRESIDENT. When General MacArthur signed the surrender document in Japan, I invited him to come home and accept a medal out here on the lawn. Admiral Nimitz, General Wainwright, General Marshall, and General Eisenhower have accepted, and he wired me that conditions were such that he thought he should remain in Japan.

On another occasion, a year or so after that, I told him that at his discretion I would be happy to have him return to the country and pay a visit to his relatives and his friends, and also pay a visit to the White House along the lines that the other commanders had paid to the White House. And the same answer was returned by General MacArthur.

Q. That was about a year later, you said?

THE PRESIDENT. That was about a year later, I judge.

[1] Senator Capehart read translations of several scripts prepared and broadcast in Spanish by the National Broadcasting Company under contract with the Voice of America. (See Congressional Record, vol. 94, pp. 6462–6473, 6552–6564).

Q. He said he was too busy?

THE PRESIDENT. No, no, he didn't think it was proper for him to leave at that time, and being he was there on the spot, he had entire discretion in the matter. He was not ordered to come home. It was just merely an invitation.

Q. Mr. President, as Commander in Chief you don't feel disposed to order him to come home?

THE PRESIDENT. That is not necessary.

Q. No.

THE PRESIDENT. He is in absolute control out there on the order that I gave. And you can't interfere with things of that sort, if you are going to have operation of it. I believe in delegating the authority and then backing the man up. And that is what we have done with General MacArthur.

Q. In substance, you will be very happy for him to come here and testify?

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly. If it is proper for him to leave Japan to testify before the Appropriations Committee, that is perfectly proper.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, among your various requests to Congress, is there any so important that if you do not get them you might call them back into special session?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I will answer that as to the condition of the country at the time, just as I did last fall. I can't answer that now.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment on the settlement of the labor dispute between General Motors and the United Automobile Workers?

THE PRESIDENT. The only comment I have to make is that I am glad the dispute was settled by collective bargaining.

Q. Do you feel that the wage increase which General Motors granted will have an inflationary effect?

THE PRESIDENT. I know nothing about the details of the contract, and I can't comment on that.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, would you like to comment on the selection of Mr. Joe L. Blythe as Democratic Treasurer?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have no comment. I know he must be all right, or Mr. McGrath wouldn't have selected him.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, there is a report, recently published in a West Coast labor publication, that you are making it easy for Labor Secretary Schwellenbach to retire from the Cabinet by urging him to remain in the hospital?

THE PRESIDENT. That's a lie out of the whole cloth.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, it just occurred to me that perhaps you might have some report on the investigation of alleged Communist activities—disloyal activities within the Atomic Energy Commission, in particular at Oak Ridge and Hanford and at——

THE PRESIDENT. I have no information on that.

Q. Did you order the investigation, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. The investigation as ordered was at the time—very early in the game. There has been no report on it. There is no disloyalty there.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, did Dr. Weizmann suggest a loan to Israel?

THE PRESIDENT. He did not suggest a loan. He said he would like to have a loan, just like every other country. [*Laughter*] If you know of any other country that wouldn't like to have a loan, I wish you would name them.

Q. Did he suggest the amount?

THE PRESIDENT. He did not. We did not go into details. We talked about the question just as with you gentlemen here this afternoon.

Q. Is there any way financial aid could be extended to the Jewish State other than by

special act of Congress? Are there any funds or any appropriations which we could use without consulting Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. There is the Export-Import Bank, and there is the World Bank. They make loans of that kind all the time.

Q. Mr. President, Dr. Weizmann said that he wanted part of that loan to be used for tanks and antitank guns?

THE PRESIDENT. He did not discuss the details with me. All I know about it is what he says in the paper.

Q. Well, that obviously would not come under the Export-Import Bank?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer the question. Those sources of supply are for money in this country as well as the Treasury of the United States.

Q. Did Dr. Weizmann say what he wanted the loan for?

THE PRESIDENT. He did not. He said he wanted a loan. Period. [*Laughter*]

Q. What did *you* say?

THE PRESIDENT. You have to have that? [*More laughter*] I simply told him that if the loan was necessary, after the state was fully in existence, he would have to go through the usual channels that such things go through.

[22.] Q. Mr. President, regarding the arms embargo shipments to Israel, the British, as I understand it, are shipping arms to the Arabs. What is the difference between the position of the British and our position?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know that there should be any difference.

Q. Well, is the United Nations stopping us from shipping arms to them?

THE PRESIDENT. The United Nations Council requested an arms embargo several months ago, and we have complied with the request, in the interests of peace and to prevent bloodshed, and that request is still in effect.

Q. Well, did they also ask the British not to ship——

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know about that. You will have to look up the record of the United Nations Security Council.

Q. Parallel case?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think so. I think we are in much better shape to ship arms than any other country.

Q. Do you propose that the United States initiate in the United Nations a reconsideration of this——

THE PRESIDENT. Well now, let's wait and see what the United Nations—what our representative in the United Nations decides to do. Whatever he does will have my backing.

Q. Mr. President, is there any clue on when some action of any kind might be taken?

THE PRESIDENT. No, there isn't.

[23.] Q. Mr. President, would you care to comment on the exchange of diplomatic representatives between the United States and the State of Israel?

THE PRESIDENT. No. General Marshall commented on that I think yesterday to good effect.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and forty-eighth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 3:50 p.m. on Thursday, May 27, 1948.

111 Letter to the Federal Works Administrator on the Flood Disaster in the Pacific Northwest. *June* 1, 1948

Dear General Fleming:

The disaster caused by the unprecedented floods in the Pacific Northwest makes it imperative that the full resources of the Federal Government be mobilized immediately to furnish such emergency assistance as can be made available through the various Federal agencies. The Housing and Home Finance Agency and the Corps of Engineers are already rendering emergency assistance, but their efforts can and should be supplemented by those of other Federal agencies. Accordingly, I am directing you to coordinate the efforts of all Federal agencies in alleviating hardship and suffering caused by this disaster.

All Federal agencies will cooperate with state and local governments and relief agencies and render such assistance as may be within the power and authority of the Federal Government.

I am also requesting that you, together with the Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of the Army, and the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, make an immediate investigation and report to me the facts concerning the disaster and any recommendations you deem appropriate concerning the need for additional legislative authority to meet emergencies of this character.

I am asking the Secretary of the Army and the Secretary of the Interior to begin at once a review of the long range plans of those agencies for the Columbia Basin development with a view to proposing such modifications as may be appropriate in the light of the present disaster.

Sincerely,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Major General Philip B. Fleming, Administrator, Federal Works Agency, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: On June 2 the President transmitted to Congress a supplemental appropriation estimate for $600,000 to be used for disaster relief, and on June 25 he approved a bill which appropriated $500,000 to remain available until June 30, 1949 (62 Stat. 1031).

On June 11 the President approved a joint resolution providing $10 million for temporary housing for Vanport, Oreg., flood victims (62 Stat. 356).

112 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Admitting Canadians to the Military and Naval Academies. *June* 1, 1948

IT IS with personal pleasure and satisfaction that I have today approved S. 1723, a bill to admit young Canadians to Annapolis and West Point. These men should benefit by the experience gained at the two institutions, while our young men will derive a broader background and perspective from knowing Canadians at closer range. The associations formed in common during these undergraduate years should serve to strengthen still more the excellent relationship, founded on full friendship and mutual confidence, which exists between the two countries.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 1723 is Public Law 564, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 279).

113 Letter to the Federal Works Administrator in Response to a Report on Fire Prevention. *June* 3, 1948

My dear General Fleming:

I am happy to receive the report of the Continuing Committee which clearly shows the progress made in fire prevention during the past year. It is indeed gratifying that so many organizations and individuals gave such wholehearted support to this cause. Please express my appreciation to all of your co-workers.

Though this is a final report of the Continuing Committee, I personally feel that our battle against fire and fire hazards has only begun. As long as fire kills and injures so many people and destroys such vast amounts of property each year, we must all strive for better fire prevention and fire protection.

Therefore, I am asking you and the members of your committees not to consider your work completed. Wherever possible I trust that all of you will continue to play an active role in supporting the programs which you helped our states and communities launch. We must carry forward the program of education to show our people the constant need for fire prevention in their homes, schools, factories and offices.

Only by these means can we hope to achieve the full objectives adopted at the conference last May.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Major General Philip B. Fleming, Administrator, Federal Works Agency, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: A summary of the report was released with the President's letter. It stated that notable progress in the development of a national fire prevention program had been achieved in the past year, and that State and local programs had also advanced. It added that a model statute had been prepared and was ready for submission to State legislatures. The statute would permit adoption by reference of existing fire prevention codes, thereby enabling smaller communities to obtain effective codes without having to undergo heavy drafting and advertising costs. In conclusion the summary stated that the National Education Association had undertaken a program of fire safety education in the Nation's school system.

114 Rear Platform Remarks in Ohio and Indiana. *June* 4, 1948

[1.] CRESTLINE, OHIO (12 p.m.)

Thank you. Thank you very much. It is a very great pleasure for me to see you out here this morning. It is a pleasure to me. You know how intriguing it is, and helpful it is, for the President to get away from the White House and get to see the people as they are.

The President, you know, is virtually in jail. He goes from his study to his office and from his office to his study, and he has to have guards there all the time. And they do a good job, too—I am not criticising the guards—but when you get out and see people and find out what people are thinking about, you can do a better job as President of the United States.

It has been a most pleasant trip, so far. This is the biggest gathering we have had anywhere.

I understand that this is top of the world in Ohio.

On this nonpartisan, bipartisan trip that we are taking here, I understand there are a whole lot of Democrats present, too.

It is a pleasure to have been able to see

the Governor. I know he is going to be the next Governor of Ohio.

[2.] FORT WAYNE, INDIANA (2:20 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of Fort Wayne:

It is a very great pleasure indeed for me to have a chance to stop at Fort Wayne. I have always, all my life, been an admirer of Mad Anthony Wayne. You know, Mad Anthony had a dictionary without the word "can't" in it. Whenever he was given a job to do, he did it. These northwest territories are very much beholden to him for being a part of the greatest republic in the world.

In his day people were thinking just as they are now. They were anxious for peace and security, and they themselves contributed to making that peace and security. They usually had their own squirrel rifle up over the door, the bag full of powder and shot, and a King James version of the Bible. It took all those things to make this great community what it is now.

Now people are asking today: Will there be a permanent peace?

I can say to you categorically that there will be a permanent peace if the United States of America assumes the role that God Almighty intended the United States of America to assume in 1920.

There are three things necessary for peace in the world.

The first is to have the United Nations to work as the United Nations Charter intends it to work, and that is what we have been working for ever since that charter was agreed to.

The next most important thing right now is the success of the European recovery program. If the 16 nations that agreed at Paris to the European recovery program are encouraged and we carry out the agreements which we made with them without stint, Europe will recover and we will have peace in Europe. It is just as necessary that we have peace in Asia as it is to have it in Europe, and since we are the leaders in world government, we will see that we carry out those agreements to the letter. And, I sincerely hope that the Congress will carry out the agreement that was made by these 16 nations to the letter, and not quibble on it.

The next most important thing we are faced with is the necessity that we have the strength to maintain that peace. In November 1945 I requested the Congress to give us a universal training program, so that we could be in a position, after our demobilization, to maintain the peace. In January 1946 and again in 1946, and in January 1947 and again in 1947, and last November and last January, I asked Congress for the same thing, for the same reason. We must be strong enough to maintain the peace if we expect to have peace in the world. If we did not have a police force in Fort Wayne, capable of enforcing the city ordinances, you wouldn't have any peace. That's all I am asking for, that's all we need. And I sincerely hope that this Congress will give us that temporary draft and universal training that is necessary to keep this country in the lead. That means peace in the world.

If those three things which I called to your attention are carried through to the logical conclusion, there will be peace, and there will be permanent peace, and there will be prosperity in all the world, for there are enough resources on this old globe to give everybody his fair share, and that's all the United States Government is working for.

Thank you very much.

[3.] GARY, INDIANA (2:40 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, Congressman Madden:

It is a pleasure to me, I assure you, to have had the privilege of stopping here this

afternoon and to have had the privilege of meeting this most intelligent audience, as Mr. Madden said. I appreciate that privilege. I wish I had the time to look at some of the great industries you have in this fast-growing community. I am told that this is the youngest town in America over a hundred thousand inhabitants. That is quite a record. You have done some great things here in this town. I made some investigations here during the war, and the plants in this city made a magnificent contribution to that war effort.

Everybody was worried and uneasy when the war ceased suddenly on V–J Day—in September—and everybody wondered whether he was going to have a job or not, and everybody wondered whether he was going to have enough to eat, and when he was going to be able to get what he needed to live.

Well, that worry about the job went out the window. The last part of last year we passed the 60-million mark in jobs in this country. At the end of May, in this year, there were 61,800,000 people at work in this country. But that 61,800,000 people at work in this country had another worry. They were very much worried about the cost of living.

Now that cost of living has been skyrocketing ever since July 1946. In July 1946—that is on the 30th of June 1946—the Congress sent me an impossible price control bill, and I vetoed it. Thirty days later they sent me one almost as bad, and I had to take it or none. I had suggested to the Congress leaving the powers with the President for a gradual release of controls, as production caught up with consumption. They did not see fit to do that. And therefore the price of living—the cost of living has been gradually going up. It made a tremendous jump from August 1946 to January 1947, and it has been steadily rising ever since. I asked the Congress last November in the message to the special session to restore Federal controls to the President so he could in his discretion hold down the cost of living to the common, everyday man. This 80th Congress has not seen fit to take any action. They have decided that the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Chamber of Commerce of the United States know all about prices and price controls.

Well now, we have price controls and rationing now, just as we have under Government controls, only those price controls are controls so that only the man who has the money is able to get the necessities of life.

Your dollar now in the purchase of food is worth only about 60 cents of what your dollar was in 1946, when the Government was controlling prices in favor of the consumer.

This is a producer's market under which we are living now. The cost of living now is still going up.

The 80th Congress, I am afraid will adjourn without doing anything about it. And then we will be faced with a continued rise and rise in the cost of living. It can only go so far under this boom and bust program. I am hoping that when we get a new Congress—and we are going to get one this fall—maybe we'll get one that will work in the interests of the common people and not the interests of the men who have all the money.

Bear that in mind carefully when you decide that you want a new Congress. That is absolutely essential for the welfare of this country, and we need a Congress that believes in the welfare of the Nation as a whole and not in the welfare of special interests.

The welfare of the world is wrapped up

in the welfare of the United States. We now, whether we like it or not, are the leaders in the world, and in order to get a lasting peace, the economy of this country must be absolutely sound and solid. I have been preaching that ever since July 1946, and I am going to keep on harping on it as long as I am President of the United States, and if you support me, we will probably get it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on June 4 the President referred to former Governor Frank J. Lausche, Democratic candidate for Governor of Ohio, Mayor Eugene Swartz of Gary, and Representative Ray J. Madden of Indiana.

115 Address in Chicago Before the Swedish Pioneer Centennial Association. *June* 4, 1948

Mr. Chairman, Governor Green, the Mayor of Chicago, distinguished guests:

I am delighted to be here to welcome His Royal Highness Prince Bertil, the Most Reverend Bishop, and the representatives of the Swedish organizations who are here with us tonight as guests of the Swedish Pioneer Centennial Celebration.

We are meeting here in Chicago tonight to do honor to that group of American pioneers—the men, women, and children who came from Sweden 100 years ago and joined the great procession of pioneers that was moving out to the prairies of the Middle West.

The first of the Swedish people to seek a new future in this land of freedom and equality were religious leaders and scholars from the universities. But the main stream of Swedish migration to our shores consisted of men and women with a deep love of the soil. In the great American West they saw a chance for a future that was denied them in the Sweden of their day.

The America to which these Swedish settlers came was a land that needed the hardy qualities they brought. It was not a land that was particularly softhearted towards newcomers, but everyone believed that each should have a fair chance regardless of his origin.

The newcomers quickly learned their way about and soon felt at home. The Homestead Act of 1862 provided them, as well as many other pioneers, with an opportunity to acquire land and establish family farms. To the land-hungry immigrants, the tough prairie sod seemed a golden opportunity and they conquered it by hard work.

Before the Swedish migration slowed down, a million people had come from Sweden to the prairies of the United States. Today, more than a quarter of all people of Swedish decent in the world live in the United States of America. There is scarcely a family in Sweden which does not have relatives in this country. This is the kind of personal tie which strengthens friendly international relations. I am sure we can look forward to a continuation of the long period of friendship between our two countries.

This friendship is heightened by the fact that Sweden today is one of the most prosperous and progressive democracies in the world. We are very proud of our citizens of Swedish descent and the part they have played in building up the Middle West. We are all familiar with the development of the cooperative movement in Sweden and I am happy that the same movement which has brought such prosperity to Sweden has many

adherents among Swedish-Americans in this country.

When I think of the great epics in our history, like the Swedish immigration of a century ago, I am reminded again of the source of our strength as a nation. Early settlers in the United States came here to escape harsh restrictions on personal liberties in their homelands, or to find economic opportunity. Here the people were proud to be democratic, and they looked on individual liberty as something sacred. The law recognized no aristocracy, and a man was respected according to his own merits. The rights of the little man were just as important as the rights of the big man.

And we must fight today to see that America stays that way.

Since the days of the first settlers, America has been a beacon of hope to the victims of oppression everywhere. The best fighters for freedom have brought to us their talents, their ideals, and their labors. They have helped this great country to grow and to become a world power both in strength and in moral leadership.

Today, persecution and oppression again cause a new group to seek homes in foreign lands. They are innocent victims of the war. They are the displaced persons in Europe.

Their present situation is a result of World War II. As the Nazis swept over Europe, they uprooted millions of people and sent them off to serve in a Nazi war machine or to suffer in concentration camps. Millions of these victims were killed. Many of those who remained when Europe was liberated have returned to their former homes.

But more than 3 years after V–E Day, there are still 800,000 displaced persons living in Germany, Austria, and Italy. These people are the heroes of democracy—and that is the reason they cannot go back home. They are anti-Communist. They hate totalitarian governments. Originally they came from Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Ukraine, and Yugoslavia. All of us know only too well why anti-Communists cannot safely go back to those countries.

Look at the reward these people are getting for their opposition to communism! Most of them are living in camps under conditions that violate all the principles of freedom that are dear to them and to us. They have no homes. Few of them have jobs. Under present conditions, the future holds no hope for them or their children.

They are being given temporary shelter by the International Refugee Organization. The United States is, as it should be, the largest contributor to this organization. But the present arrangement offers no permanent solution. These people and their children cannot be regarded indefinitely as wards of international charity. We must help them to become self-supporting. We must not go on maintaining this barren, fruitless life for people who want to work and who are qualified to work. They are young. Most of them are skilled workers. Their skills are badly needed in every country, especially our own. They must be given an opportunity to settle in permanent homes and live like human beings, so they can make their full contribution to society as useful citizens.

This is not solely an American problem. It is a world problem. But we must do our part. Other nations have already provided homes for some of these displaced persons, but there is no prospect that all of them will be able to get a new start in life unless the United States accepts its fair share.

I have repeatedly asked the Congress to permit a substantial number of displaced persons to enter this country as immigrants. Some of the legislation for this purpose which the Congress is considering sets limits and quotas on countries and occupations.

These are crippling amendments. They work unfair discrimination against groups which are already represented in this country and which have helped to make it great.

I hope that the Congress will soon enact displaced persons legislation, and enact it without any qualifications which would depart from our established American principles.

I would remind the Members of Congress that it is not they who are waiting. It is not I who am waiting, but young people and little children whose hope for a life of freedom and equality is getting dimmer with every day that passes.

Freedom and equality are among the greatest of human aspirations. They are universal to all mankind, but they have their greatest fulfillment in our own country. To Americans, they will never be remote ideals, but something to work for and be close to every day.

Americans rightly expect that their Federal Government will be a friendly, vigilant protector of these ideals. This is a primary duty of government, which I, for one, accept gladly. To discharge this duty requires each of us to defend the integrity of our ideals against all who would alter or weaken them, whether from within the country or from without, whether the harm comes from willful destruction or from misguided enthusiasm.

The American people are rightly concerned these days about the attack on our ideals by international communism. There has been a great deal of discussion on this subject throughout the country, and recently we have been hearing some people say that the way to avoid the danger of communism in the United States is to pass a law—a law, for example, to check certain kinds of political activity. Some people think you can combat communism by outlawing the Communist Party.

It seems to me that such proposals miss the point entirely.

You cannot stop the spread of an idea by passing a law against it.

You cannot stamp out communism by driving it underground.

You can prevent communism by more and better democracy.

As far as the United States is concerned, the menace of communism is not the activities of a few foreign agents or the political activities of a few isolated individuals. The menace of communism lies primarily in those areas of American life where the promise of democracy remains unfulfilled.

If some of our people are living in slum housing, and nothing is done about it, that is an invitation to communism.

If some of our people are forced to work at substandard wages, and nothing is done about it, that is an invitation to communism.

If some of our people are arbitrarily denied the right to vote or deprived of other basic rights, and nothing is done about it, that is an invitation to communism.

If some of our people do not have proper medical care, or opportunities for a good education, or adequate assistance in time of sickness, or unemployment, or old age, and nothing is done about it, that is an invitation to communism.

And finally, if high prices are depriving some of our people of the necessities of life, and nothing is done about it, that is an invitation to communism.

Communism succeeds only when there is weakness, or misery, or despair. It cannot succeed in a strong and healthy society. The nations of Western Europe, with our help, have checked the spread of communism by working together to build up their economies, improve the welfare of their peoples, and so strengthen themselves. If they can meet and defeat communism on its own ground, certainly we can do it here.

Let us adopt legislation that will provide our citizens with the homes they need, the opportunity for universal good health and universal free schooling, the extension of social security, the full rights of citizenship, an equal chance for good jobs at fair wages, and a brake on inflation that will hold the purchasing power of these wages at a high level.

This is the method of democracy. These are the goals of abundance. A nation which reaches these goals will never succumb to the evils of communism.

I am confident that we will reach these goals. No foreign agents will succeed in slowing us down on our forward march. The record shows that we are thoroughly able to protect ourselves from foreign agents. During the recent war, they failed to interrupt vital production or to perform a single important act of sabotage. We have on the books good laws to deal with spies and saboteurs, and we have the machinery in our security forces to protect us from their activities.

I do not underestimate the challenge of communism. It is a challenge to everything we believe in. Communism exalts the state and degrades the individual; communism holds that the individual is only a means to an end; communism holds that the duty of the individual is to conform to the state's definition of what is good for him.

This we are against. We must resist it, and we must provide aid and hope to those in the world who resist it. But we cannot resist it with our full strength unless we all work for the success of our democracy continually and reaffirm our faith in that democracy.

We believe in human freedom and human equality, and it is that belief which makes us strong today. We inherit that belief from the pioneers—Swedish and others—who settled this great Nation. We also inherit from them the lesson that it takes hard work, and lots of it, if the practice of our daily lives is to live up to our principles.

Here on the prairies of the Middle West is a living example of the truth of this philosophy. The abundance we enjoy here was created out of the riches of the soil and out of the labor of the men who work it, and, above all, out of American faith. This faith has enabled people from many lands to come together, to live in peace, and to learn to respect each other as individuals.

We are a diverse people, and in this diversity we have great strength. We have room for differences and room for disagreement. Part of our respect for the dignity of the human being is the respect for his right to be different. That means different in background, different in his beliefs, different in his customs, different in his name, and different in his religion.

That is true Americanism; that it true democracy. It is the source of our strength.

It is the basis of our faith in the future.

It is our hope, and it is the hope of the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. in the Chicago Stadium. In his opening words he referred to Vilas Johnson, General Chairman of the Chicago Swedish Pioneer Centennial, Dwight H. Green, Governor of Illinois, and Martin H. Kennelly, Mayor of Chicago. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

116 Informal Remarks in Nebraska. *June 5, 1948*

[1.] OMAHA, NEBRASKA (At the dedication of the War Memorial, 2:15 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, Governor of Nebraska, His Honor the Mayor of Omaha, distinguished guests, and ladies and gentlemen:

I am happy that I am present today to assist in the dedication of this Memorial to the war dead of Douglas County. I am somewhat personally interested in this dedication. I understand it is to be the custom to plant a tree for each war hero from this county in this park.

A tree has been planted to the son of one of the soldiers of the First World War who served with me in France—Eddie McKim, Jr.

Eddie was a fine boy. I knew him from birth until the day he sailed away.

All the boys and all the girls, and all the men and all the women who made a contribution to the winning of this war did it because they had an ideal. They believed, and I believe, that that ideal is a peace in the world for all the world, and the fundamentals of that peace, as I said yesterday at Fort Wayne, Ind., are based on three things. We must make the United Nations continue to work, and to be a going concern, to see that difficulties between nations may be settled just as we settle difficulties between States here in the United States. When Kansas and Colorado fall out over the waters in the Arkansas River, they don't go to war over it, they go to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the matter is settled in a just and honorable way.

There is not a difficulty in the whole world that cannot be settled in exactly the same way in a world court.

If we make this peace what these young men who died believed it would be, they will not have died in vain.

And with this memorial ever before you, you in Douglas County can always look forward to the accomplishment of that ideal.

And I am sure you will.

[2.] BOYS TOWN, NEBRASKA (3:05 p.m.)

Father Walsh, Mayor of Boys Town, and citizens of Boys Town:

This is a very great pleasure for me, to pay a return visit to this wonderful city. I have been here many years ago, and I was very well acquainted with Monsignor Flanagan. I never called him anything but Father Flanagan, and I shall always think of him as Father Flanagan. I was in the White House when he called on me, just before he started for Europe, and we had a long conversation about the welfare of the world and its future. And I requested him to prepare for me a report on Austria and Germany and Italy, and those countries he intended to visit. He got a chance to prepare the Austrian report, and I received it today. Unfortunately, the others were not prepared.

The country and the world lost a real citizen, and a man who has made a contribution to the welfare of this great republic, when Father Flanagan passed on to Heaven.

You young men are extremely lucky to be citizens of Boys Town. You are just the right age for the future welfare of this great republic of yours. Don't let anybody tell you that there are no more opportunities. There are more and greater opportunities now than ever before in the history of the world. We are on the edge of the greatest age that man has ever seen, and you are the right age to help implement that, and make it work.

Look forward to the future as the greatest that the world has ever faced. We are work-

ing heroically and manfully for world peace that will be permanent and that will be lasting. We are going to get that peace.

You know, in 1920 Almighty God intended this country to assume the leadership of the world, which it would not assume—which it shirked. This brought on another cataclysm.

We are now faced with the necessity—with the leadership which we were intended to take in 1920. If we are successful in that leadership—and we are going to be successful in it—your future is assured.

I want to thank you very much for the pleasant day I have had here, for the choir singing, and for the presents for Mrs. Truman, and for Margaret, and for me. I shall treasure them all my life.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on June 5 the President referred to Val Peterson, Governor of Nebraska, Glenn Cunningham, Mayor of Omaha, Edward D. McKim, Jr., whose father served with Mr. Truman in Battery D, 129th Field Artillery, Father Edmond C. Walsh, Acting Director of Boys Town, Eddie Dunn, student mayor of the school, and Msgr. E. J. Flanagan, founder of Boys Town.

117 Address in Omaha at the Reunion of the 35th Division. *June* 5, 1948

Mr. Chairmen, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I am very happy to be back again tonight with the men of the 35th Division—one of the greatest fighting outfits this country ever had!

It is good to meet again with old friends who were my buddies in the First World War. I am proud, also, to meet the young men who brought new glory to the Division in the Second World War.

The story of the 35th Division is to me an example of one of the finest features of our democracy. This was a National Guard division. Here were trained civilians, ready to come to the defense of their country. When the need arose, these men, and thousands of other National Guardsmen throughout the Nation, answered the call—and answered on time. I won't go so far as to say that the National Guard won the war. But I will say that if it had not been for the National Guard and the Reserve components of our Armed Forces, the story would have been quite different.

You and I have shared the privilege of serving in the defense of our country. Now that the fighting is over, we have an equally great privilege to serve in another cause. In time of war, we worked together for victory. Now we must work together to secure the peace and the blessings which that victory has made possible.

This time, we must make sure that the tragic events that followed the First World War are not repeated. Looking back, the mistakes that were made in the years following the First World War are so obvious, and their consequences were so terrible, that there can be no excuse for repeating them.

Fortunately, we have learned from that bitter experience. After the First World War, the chief hope for keeping the peace was the League of Nations—the great dream of Woodrow Wilson. But shortsighted men in the United States Senate blocked our entry into that League, and it never recovered from that blow.

This time, the United States took a leading part in organizing the United Nations. In spite of the difficulties it has had, the United Nations is working. And we are determined to make it succeed!

In addition to learning that we must co-

operate with other nations to keep the peace, we have learned something, also, about how to maintain our prosperity at home—at least, most of us have. As a result of the boom and bust of the 1920's and the 1930's, we have learned that the welfare of our people cannot be divided. The farmer, the workingman, and the businessman must prosper together, or they go down together.

At present we are all busy and our economy is prosperous. But that prosperity can be lost if we fail to safeguard it. Right now it is threatened by inflation and by the high prices which are causing real hardship to millions of our people.

On the other hand, our prosperity can be maintained and greatly increased if we act with vision and with courage. This is essential for our own comfort and well-being. It is essential also in order that we may contribute to the economic recovery of other nations, to help secure world peace.

Consequently, it is with a sense of real urgency that I speak to you tonight about one element of our economy, one which is fundamental to all the rest. That is agriculture in this United States.

You remember what happened to the farmers shortly after the First World War? I'm sure most of you do. The farmers were hit by a disastrous slump. I ran a 600-acre farm, which I was running myself with my brother. Then I went into business with a buddy, and you all know what happened to me in that slump of 1921!

In those years of farm depression, farmers could not sell their crops for a decent price, they could not pay for the equipment they needed, they could not provide a decent living for their families. In many cases they even lost their farms and were evicted from their homes because they could not keep up the unequal struggle.

The fact that farmers were unable to recover fully from this slump helped to bring on the Great Depression of the early 1930's and carried everybody—farmers, workers, and businessmen—down together. We can't let that happen again, and if I have anything to do with it, it won't happen again!

Since the dismal period of the 1920's and the early 30's, farmers and the Government have cooperated in what can truly be called the rebirth of American agriculture.

Now, most of the Nation's farmers are enjoying the best financial position they have ever known. Cash farm income last year reached a record high level of more than $30 billion. In 1932 it was $4,700 million. Farm mortgage debt has dropped 25 percent since 1941. Bank deposits and savings of farmers are $22 billion, the highest in our history. In 1932 you were afraid to go into a bank if you had any deposits to make, because you were afraid it would blow up in your face. In the last 3 years we haven't had a single bank failure in the United States.

While the present agricultural prosperity is due partly to special factors in the postwar situation, the sound farm legislation which has been adopted since 1932 provides a much better basis for sustained agricultural prosperity than we have ever had before. If you think back for a minute to 1932, you'll remember that we then had no soil conservation program, no price support program, no school lunch program, only a limited research program. In the years since that time, we have built up these and other valuable farm programs, until today there is a solid basis for further agricultural progress.

But even though most of our farmers are better off than they have ever been before, farmers are concerned lest a sudden change may result in the bottom falling out of agricultural prices, as it did in 1921.

The American farmer has done a great production job during and since the war. That is the greatest agricultural production job in the history of the world. In spite of

shortages of labor, machinery, fertilizer, and many other materials, he has stepped up farm output to meet our needs. This was an essential contribution to winning the war, and to helping worldwide recovery after the war. Our farmers have earned the right to real protection against a postwar slump.

We need not—and we must not—allow an agricultural depression to happen. This is part of a larger problem—that of preventing general economic depressions. I believe that we should use every power and resource of the Government to maintain maximum employment, production, and purchasing power throughout the whole economy. I believe that a most vital part of this effort must be directed toward meeting agricultural problems.

We need action, and action now, to make sure that our farmers hold the gains they have made since 1932, and that we move forward with the job of providing future organized, sustained, realistic abundance for American agriculture.

We should also be deeply concerned about the many farm families who are not sharing fairly in the progress of American life.

In far too many farm communities, housing, medical services, and educational facilities are inadequate. Some farmers are isolated by poor roads. Some still do not have electricity.

Here again we need action, and action now, so that more farm areas will have better housing, adequate health services, good schools and good roads, electricity, and all the other benefits of modern living.

I believe that the Federal Government has a definite part to play in building for lasting agricultural prosperity and in assisting farm areas to obtain better living standards. The sound and far-reaching agricultural legislation we now have constitutes an excellent basis for continued progress. But we do need a number of extensions and improvements in our present farm programs.

First, the Congress should provide a permanent system of flexible price supports for agricultural commodities. For the benefit of farmers and the whole Nation, we need price support legislation which will assure reasonable stability of farm income while encouraging desirable adjustments in production.

Wartime legislation for price support programs will expire next December. It must be replaced. Farmers right now don't know what to expect in case of crops that go beyond the end of the year, including the important winter wheat crop.

I believe that the American farmer has the right to expect his Government to prevent prices of farm commodities from falling to ruinous levels.

I believe also that the entire Nation should be protected against the wide swings in farm prices that have contributed in the past to economic insecurity for us all.

A second important program for the future of the American agriculture is that of soil conservation. Our present soil conservation program must be vigorously supported and rapidly extended.

We have been preaching conservation in this country for more than 40 years, but it was not until the 1930's that we began to make important progress in conserving the soil—the most basic of all our resources. Today, the soil conservation program is going strong. We have come to realize more and more the vital necessity for protecting the thin layer of topsoil which sustains our national life. Throughout the country, farmers have organized 2,000 soil conservation districts to push this work forward, and the operators of nearly 3 million farms are cooperating today in the agricultural conservation program.

But I don't think we should be satisfied until every acre of farmland in the United

States is being properly managed so that its fertility will be permanently maintained. We must not, through ignorance or misguided economy, lose any more of our vital soil resources.

You know what I think? A large part of the fertile topsoil of Iowa and Nebraska and Missouri and Kansas is down at the mouth of the Mississippi River trying to make another county for Louisiana, and we mustn't let that keep up!

As a third element of major importance to agricultural prosperity, we must take steps to maintain adequate markets for farm products and to improve the methods of distributing them to consumers.

The principal market for our farm products is here at home, among the American people. The best assurance of farm prosperity, therefore, is general prosperity for the whole country.

But, aside from doing all it can to assure general prosperity, the Federal Government should take specific steps to maintain strong and steady farm markets. For example, we need to press forward with our research program to develop new uses for farm products. We must also continue to take steps, in cooperation with other governments, to encourage export markets for many of our important farm commodities.

American farmers cannot expect to be prosperous if our trade with other nations is strangled by high tariffs or other trade barriers. In this regard, the most important step we can take is to extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for 3 years in its present form.

The bill that is now pending before the Congress has been amended to death. Just as well repeal the Reciprocal Trade Agreements and go back to Hawley-Smoot, because that's what a lot of people in the Congress would like to do.

We have a great opportunity, also, to develop programs which will help to assure stable markets for the products of our farms and at the same time will improve the health and diets of our people. Excellent school lunch program which has been worked out in recent years, for example, should be extended and strengthened.

I believe that we should also start now to develop a practical plan for safeguarding the diets of low-income families. We should have such a plan ready all the time on a standby basis, to be put into operation on short notice in case of need. We must never again allow Americans to go hungry while agricultural surpluses are going to waste.

Both farmers and consumers will be helped by continued improvements in the distribution of farm commodities. We all have the right to expect reasonable efficiency and minimum of waste in processing, transporting, and distributing farm products. And we have the right to expect a reasonable relationship between the price the farmer receives for his commodities and the price the consumer must pay for them.

I believe very strongly that the Government should continue to encourage farm cooperatives. Cooperatives have proved their usefulness and their right of survival in a free enterprise system. But they are now under heavy attack. Some people, through selfishness or lack of foresight, seek to destroy cooperatives or to limit their effectiveness. We must stand firm against these attacks.

I have spoken of price supports, and soil conservation, and the marketing and distribution. The fourth major element which I believe should continue to be a part of our national agricultural program is this: The Federal Government should assist farmers in meeting special problems of their occupation, just as it gives assistance to other great segments of our population.

I have recommended to the Congress, for

example, measures to provide better health services to farm communities, and measures to help farm families get better houses. Better roads should be provided in many agricultural areas. We should go forward with rural electrification as rapidly as possible to bring the blessings of electricity—and they are real blessings—to the farms which they have not yet reached.

All the measures I have been discussing tonight are sound, practical steps needed to assure the future welfare of American agriculture. They represent no great change in our national policy, but instead are designed to improve and build upon the sound foundation we already have.

A number of measures I have been talking about need to be enacted into law. Since the beginning of the 80th Congress, in January 1947, I have been recommending action on this necessary legislation. The Secretary of Agriculture has presented the program in detail to the Congress on a number of occasions. The Congress has considered it, and studied it, and weighed it, and pondered it. But the Congress has not acted upon it.

We must not give up hope, however. There is still time for Congress to act. I am sure that American farmers join me in the wish that the Congress will not leave Washington without passing the farm legislation we need.

Here in Nebraska a few weeks ago there was a primary election. A lot of prominent politicians were interested in the outcome of that election. It happens that Nebraska is justly famous as a great independent farm State, in the heart of the agricultural region of the Middle West—the breadbasket of the Nation and the world. So, these prominent politicians got the idea that they should come out here to Nebraska and make farm speeches. And that's what they did.

They came and said they were for the farmers; they said they were for a farm program; they said they were for the enactment of legislation needed for a farm program. Now, I must confess to you that these same politicians have great influence with the present Congress. So, I think we might properly ask, "Why doesn't Congress act?"

Now I believe that is a fair question. I believe the time has passed when a man can be *for* a farm program in the West and against a farm program when he is back East. If everybody is in favor of a farm program, now is the time for Congress to act upon it.

We have it within our power to bring sound and lasting prosperity to our farms and to improve the standard of living here in our own country and in other countries.

This is the course we must follow to build for our future and to make our full contribution to the peace and freedom of the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:15 p.m. in the Ak-sar-ben Coliseum in Omaha. His opening words "Mr. Chairmen" referred to Edward D. McKim and Robert A. Drum, who served as cochairmen of the reunion. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

118 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Nebraska and Wyoming. *June 6, 1948*

[1.] GRAND ISLAND, NEBRASKA (Rear platform, 10:05 a.m.)

Mr. Mayor, and citizens of this great city of Grand Island:

I appreciate most highly your cordiality and your welcome to this town. I am not in the habit of making speeches on Sunday of any kind, but I couldn't, to save my life,

refuse to say to you how much I appreciate all this hospitality. This goes to show that the Middle West is the most hospitable part of the United States of America, and I was raised in the Middle West, and I know.

I appreciate this peace pipe and plaque from the Sioux Indians of Nebraska, and what it says on there, "Peace to All. The Sioux Indians of Nebraska."

I can use this sugar. I understand it came out of the first beet sugar mill in the United States. The only trouble with it is there isn't enough of it.

Now I'll see what's in this box. I understand that it is a pair of spurs. I want to see what they look like.

Voice: Put them on, Harry!

If that's what I need, that's what I'm going to do.

These spurs are wonderful. When I get them on, I can take the Congress to town. Give them a trial, just as soon as I get back to Washington.

My daughter and Mrs. Truman are very appreciative of your reception to them and for the beautiful flowers and everything; and I hope sometime or other it may be possible for me to come to Grand Island and discuss the issues before the country with you. I can't do it this morning, much to my regret.

[2.] KEARNEY, NEBRASKA (Rear platform, 11:45 a.m.)

I want to say to you that I am not in the habit of making speeches of any sort on the Sabbath, but I couldn't help but say to you that I appreciate most highly the cordial reception which you have given me and my family here today.

We had a most wonderful service over at the Baptist Church and a sermon that I wish all of you could have heard. It would have done you good. And I hope that sometime you will hear that sermon and that you will practice it after you have heard it.

Thanks a lot. I hope I can come back to Kearney sometime when I am not in such a hurry.

[3.] NORTH PLATTE, NEBRASKA (Rear platform, 1:40 p.m.)

I have an idea that General Miltonberger has not recuperated from the 35th Division reunion in Omaha yet. He told me a story yesterday that I think was very good. General Miltonberger was in the 35th Division, and he was afterwards Chief of the National Guard Bureau in Washington. I have known him a long time. He told me that story out of this reunion. There are always stories at every reunion.

He said he was going up to the front and they began to shell the road, and he got under a tank. And there was a private under the tank with his back to him. And after the shelling let up a bit, why General Miltonberger said to the young man, "That was worse in this war than it was in the last." And the boy whirled around and said, "Were you in the last war?" And the General said "Yes." And the boy said, "You are the damndest fool I have ever seen."

Well, I am very happy to see this wonderful welcome that you are giving me here in North Platte, and I wish it were possible for me to discuss national and international subjects with you. But I do not make speeches of any sort on Sunday.

I went to church back in Kearney and heard a good Baptist preacher preach a good sermon. And so I hope that every one of you have been to church this morning and that you heard a good sermon and that you are going to act on it.

Sometime, when the going gets a little lighter, I will be glad to come back and dis-

cuss with you the issues of the day, if my arrangements committee will arrange it so I can. Now it is up to you to see that that is done.

Somebody told me that there were nine hundred Lions in town today. I wonder if that is true or not. But if there are nine hundred Lions here, you ought to have some cages, because I am well acquainted with that organization. They made me an honorary member and gave me a gold card, which I thought very happily of, and was highly elated over—to get that gold card. I hope you have a successful convention, and I hope nobody gets clawed.

Thank you again most sincerely for this fine welcome you have given me, and I will now introduce to you Mrs. Truman and my daughter Margaret.

[4.] SIDNEY, NEBRASKA (Rear platform, 3:25 p.m.)

It certainly is wonderful to be welcomed this way in this wonderful town of Sidney.

I wish it weren't Sunday so I could discuss some of the issues of the day with you, but I have made it a rule never to make political speeches or speeches of any other kind on a Sunday.

We got to Kearney this morning and went to church. I hope all of you went to church today and that you learned something from that trip to church, and will act upon it accordingly.

It is lovely country through which we have been going. I have been across it on several occasions—in an automobile and on this railroad. But I like to go across it again, and I hope I will have a chance to come back some day and discuss with you the things in which you are interested.

It almost overwhelms me to see all the people in western Nebraska in this town today.

It is a pleasure indeed.

[5.] CHEYENNE, WYOMING (Governor's Mansion, 5:55 p.m.)

Governor Hunt, and citizens of Wyoming:

It certainly is a very great privilege and a pleasure for me to be here today. I received an invitation from Governor Hunt to call on him this afternoon, and I was most happy to accept it. I have known him a long time, and I like him, and I think he is a good Governor.

I have always been very much interested in this great city. I was here while the war was going on in my official capacity as chairman of an investigating committee to look after some construction that was going on here. And I found nothing wrong.

I hope sometime I can come back and be able to discuss the issues before the country with you. I always make it a rule never to make speeches of any kind on Sunday. I don't think it's the proper day for speeches that are not of a religious character, and since I am not a Doctor of Divinity, I can't preach you a sermon.

But I do appreciate most highly the cordiality of your welcome. It is a pleasure for me to get to see you, and it is a privilege for me to stop in Cheyenne long enough to call on your Governor.

Again, I hope that when I come here I can talk to you straight from the shoulder on certain things that confront this country.

[*At this point the President was presented with an invitation and a hat. He then resumed speaking.*]

Thank you very much. The invitation says, "Mr. President, your many friends in Cheyenne, Wyoming, will be greatly honored if you can attend the Cheyenne Frontier Day, July 27–31st, 1948." I have always wanted to do that, and I hope some day I will be able to do it.

Now I am going to see just how this hat works. [*Putting it on.*] That's all right.

[6.] LARAMIE, WYOMING (Rear platform, 8:50 p.m.)

It is certainly a pleasure to see you here tonight. I am glad to have an opportunity to speak a few words of greetings. I am not in the habit of making political speeches, or speeches of any other sort on Sunday, but I couldn't resist the temptation when I saw all this crowd out here to come out and say how happy I am to see you here.

I understand that the Girls State is meeting here. If you have elected a Governor, I would be glad to meet her.

The Girls State, of course, is a great institution. We have them back in Missouri, and we have a Boys State there, too. It is an education in government, and it will be very helpful to the next generation in operating the Government.

Wyoming was the first new State to give women the vote, and Wyoming, I think, had the first woman State Governor, who is now Director of the Mint. I reappointed her the other day.

I certainly am happy to see this enthusiastic crowd, and with your permission I would like to introduce my family to you. Mrs. Truman—[*who was introduced*]. I am henpecked by another member of the family, whom I would like to introduce to you—my daughter Margaret.

[7.] RAWLINS, WYOMING (Rear platform, 11 p.m.)

This has been a most pleasant trip from Omaha today. Nearly every city along the way—it seems to me all the population of the county and the State turned out, and I feel very highly complimented at that. It shows that you want to see what your President looks like. And I am glad you do.

I am not in the habit of making Sunday speeches. We went to church in Kearney, Nebr., this morning, and heard a good sermon. And if you could abide by what that preacher told us, we would have the greatest country in the world, more than we have now, and it would be a lot easier to live in.

I am told that not very far from here we are setting up an experimental station on this oil shale. I hope that is a success, and I wish I could go and see how it works, but of course, I can't. I have always been interested in that sort of thing. Maybe sometime before this brawl is over next November I can come back here and discuss the issues of the day with you. I sincerely hope that I can do that.

Some of the most beautiful country in the world is out here, and I am going to see some more of it before long—I hope.

Your Governor is in your capital city, and we went to his house and had a most pleasant visit with him and the Governor of Colorado. We also had a most magnificent crowd at Cheyenne. It looked to me as though everybody in Wyoming was there, but when I passed through these other towns, that was not true, because there were still some of you not in Cheyenne.

Mrs. Truman and Margaret have had a very strenuous day. They left Kansas City last night at midnight, and arrived in Omaha at 7 o'clock in the morning, and they couldn't stay up any longer. I am sorry that they are not here to greet you. I know that they would like very much to see you, and I hope you would like to see them.

Again, I want to thank you very much for your cordiality and your hospitality. I appreciate it. I love this country. I have been out here time and again in an automobile and on this railroad, and I never get tired looking at the scenery, and meeting the people.

I have been very lucky today. In Nebraska they gave me a pair of silver spurs, and I got a pair of cowboy boots. Later on I got a fifty-dollar hat in Cheyenne, so I am ready to do business now. And I think that when the situation is finally developed, everybody will have had a good time—including me.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on June 6 the President referred to Ben Cunningham, Mayor of Grand Island, Maj. Gen. Butler B. Miltonberger, President of the 35th Division Association, and Lester C. Hunt, Governor of Wyoming.

119 Rear Platform Remarks in Idaho. *June 7, 1948*

[1.] POCATELLO, IDAHO (7:50 a.m.)

Well, I can't tell you how highly pleased I am to see this turnout at this time of day. You know, I am an early riser myself, but a lot of people aren't. I have been up since a quarter to six, looking over this trail that the Union Pacific follows up here, and I have been highly intrigued at what I saw.

Coming up that valley, I saw a mare mothering a mule colt. Looked just like Missouri. And I saw sheep on one side and a herd of cattle on the other, and I can remember the day when they couldn't get that close together. You see, my grandfather on one side was strong on cattle and the grandfather on the other side was strong on sheep, and they didn't get along very well; but through my mother and father, and diplomacy of the third generation, we see that they can live together very creditably. And that is a good thing, I think.

I also saw this mountain scenery which we don't have in Missouri. We have some hills down in the south part of the State which they call mountains, which is supposed to be the oldest formation in the United States, but when you get down there, there aren't any mountains. There are hills up one side and down the other, although the elevation goes up as high as 3,000 feet. I think you are a little higher here than that.

I have been looking over a report that the Interior Department has sent to me—sent it to the train just as I was about to leave. It is really a sample of the reports that the President is supposed to read and study all the time. You know, I fool them—I get up early in the morning and I read them! I think you would be interested in seeing that report. [*Holds up report*] Look at that! That is only a sample! That is only a sample. That is called the Columbia River Basin Report. And I have a report like that on the Central Valley of California, on the Colorado River, on the Missouri River, and on the Ohio River, and on all the coast around the United States. And I am supposed to know all about them. Well, I try and get as familiar with them as I possibly can, and I fool them sometimes by being acquainted with things that they think I don't take time to read.

There is a map in here that is most interesting. This is a map of Idaho and the Snake River Basin, in which it shows the projects that are already in effect and those that ought to be in effect, and those that are partly in effect.

Now, from my viewpoint, I have always tried to use as much of the budget as could be distributed for that purpose, for the development of these reclamation and power

projects. But we have some people in these United States who follow the lead of Daniel Webster who didn't think the West was any good, who didn't think we should do anything with it.

We also have some people in the United States who would like to restore the Insull era, when they put the welfare of the few promoters above the welfare of the people.

That situation we have to meet right now. We are faced with it in this Congress. At the last meeting of this Congress they cut the budget for the development of these reclamation and power projects. They are trying to do the same thing right now, and I hope that we may be able to save some of the funds that are necessary for the developments set out in this Columbia River Basin Report.

Had we had some of those projects which have been pending for several years, we might to some extent have alleviated the flood in the Columbia River which caused so much damage.

I am going to go out to look that situation over. I have looked over the Missouri River Basin. In fact, I am familiar with it from its source to its mouth. I should be. And I am somewhat familiar with this situation. I have been out here time and again. I have been to the Columbia River almost from its mouth to the borderline of British Columbia. I was out here when they were building plants which are dependent on the Grand Coulee Dam and the Bonneville Dam. Had we not had that power source, it would have been almost impossible to win this war.

I want to see this development out here and in every other section of the country carried out for the welfare of the people as a whole, and not for a few who want to exploit the people.

I am coming out here so you can look at me and hear what I have to say, and then make up your own mind as to whether you believe some of the things that have been said about your President.

I have been in politics a long time, and it makes no difference what they say about you, if it isn't so. If they can prove it on you, you are in a bad fix indeed. They have never been able to prove it on me.

120 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Idaho and Montana. *June* 8, 1948

[1.] ARCO, IDAHO (Rear platform, 9:50 a.m.)

Governor, Mayor Marvel, the chairman of the Democratic Committee:

I am indeed happy to have had the opportunity to stop here this morning. It is a surprise to me, I didn't know it was going to happen. It looks to me as if about half of Idaho is here this morning. I have had a very pleasant ride—seen a lot of things I have never seen before. Got a chance to see some dry farming, some irrigated land, and untold thousands of sheep. I saw some kind of animal down here on the left-hand side of the road a while ago, I don't know whether it was a deer or an elk or what it was. It was so far away, I couldn't recognize it. Probably couldn't have recognized it if it had been up close!

I appreciate very much the cordiality of the reception that has been given to me in the great State of Idaho, and I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the privilege of meeting all of you this morning. You are

very, very kind to take the trouble to turn out and to give me a welcome like this. Thank you very much.

[2.] BLACKFOOT, IDAHO (Rear platform, 11:35 a.m.)

It is a pleasure indeed for me to pass through here. I have observed the countryside on the way, and I hope we can get more water for this part of the world, and impound more water so that you will have more to use.

I sent a message to Congress on that very subject not so long ago, but they didn't pay much attention to it. Maybe we can wake them up. That is what I hope to do on this trip.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this turnout. It is wonderful.

[3.] IDAHO FALLS, IDAHO (Rally, 12:25 p.m.)

Thank you very much. I appreciate most highly that cordial reception and that kind introduction. And I also appreciate very much that Boy Scout shirt and the cards and the pictures of Idaho which the Eagle Scout here handed to me. He has all the badges that it is possible for a Scout to get, I think. He is a fine looking young man. I understand you are going to have a Scout rally here tonight—a Scout circus. I wish I could be present. You know, I am the Honorary President of the Boy Scouts of America.

I appreciate the privilege of getting a chance to stop at Idaho Falls. I understand you raise a lot of potatoes here. You also have a very loyal citizenship.

During the war I was up in Presque Isle, Maine, making an investigation of an airfield up there, and I heard that there was an Idaho boy in the guardhouse. I inquired as to why he was in the guardhouse. He had been on kitchen police and he refused to peel Maine potatoes.

I also understand that you have an industry here of making potato flour. It is a pity that Maine did not have that setup last year, they could have saved all those potatoes.

This town also, I am informed, has an electric plant all its own, the largest municipally-owned hydroelectric plant in the country. I like municipally-owned electric plants, and I like public power. I have been trying to improve the public power situation in the Northwest. I am not receiving very strong cooperation from the Congress. I came out here to see if we couldn't needle them a little bit and get some action on some of the things that should be done in this part of the world.

As I came up here from Blackfoot, I think I saw some of the prettiest country I have ever laid eyes on. I noticed a house out here in the west of town, built in 1914, looked to be in the center of a very prosperous community. And I just wonder what this country looked like before we made use of this water. You can see what water can do where it is properly applied. That is the reason I am so interested in public power and in the development of the power and water of all these great rivers in the Northwest. I would like very much to see them developed to the extreme extent.

The contribution which this part of the world made to the feeding of the world during the war, and the feeding of the world after the war, is beyond compare in the history of the country.

I do appreciate this wonderful turnout here this morning. It seems to me that everybody in Idaho Falls is here. I can look both ways and I can't see the end of the crowd on either side of the street.

Thank you very much. I can't tell you how much I appreciate the courtesy which

you are paying to the President of the United States.

[4.] IDAHO FALLS, IDAHO (Rear platform, 12:35 p.m.)

This wonderful reception you are giving me warms the cockles of my heart. I just told the people up the street that I was glad to be in a town of your reputation. I have been told that you have the largest municipally-owned electric plant in the country, and that you have the cheapest power here. That is the reason you can carry on all these great industries.

I can't tell you how very much I do appreciate the cordiality of your welcome to me as President, and I hope that sometime or other I can come back and stay longer and talk to you further, but we are behind schedule. We had to make so many stops coming over here. Nearly every town between here and Sun Valley, all the people in the towns turned out, and I couldn't be discourteous to them and I had to stop and speak to them.

This is certainly a welcome that I had not anticipated.

Thank you very much.

[5.] DILLON, MONTANA (Rear platform, 4:40 p.m.)

My goodness, looks like half the State of Montana is here! I didn't know I was going to stop in Dillon. I wish I had known I was going to stop here. I never saw a more enthusiastic crowd on this whole trip.

I have been having a most interesting and educational trip across the country. I have met a lot of people and a lot of people have met me. I wish it were possible for me to individually shake hands with every one of you. Of course you know that is absolutely impossible when the train is only supposed to stop a minute, but we will see if it won't stop a little longer. They would hardly ever go off and leave the President talking.

I have just been down in Idaho and Wyoming and Nebraska and Ohio and Illinois, and I find that all the people are exceedingly friendly, and all the people are extremely anxious to find out just exactly what their President looks like, and what he proposes to do. And I have been trying to tell them all along the line.

I was particularly interested in the scenery back here in Montana. When we came into it, I was sitting at this back window here watching the land go by, or the train go along past the things that are worth looking at. We stopped at a little town called Lima and I had a chance to talk to some of the people around the train. The town has only 500 people, and the whole 500 were out. They were kind enough to tell me some of the things that they did. They told me that it was a railroad town, not much pasture land in that part of the country, but I found out afterwards that the great pastures in Montana are in the east of the State. I know something about trails. They run up from Texas and the South when they used to bring grass-fed cattle. Now they ship them in trains from one State to another and it doesn't take so much time as it did at the time of the trails. I also know something about Montana's mining assets, and they are magnificent, and I know something about Montana's agricultural and irrigation problems, in which I am vitally interested, as I have said time and again.

I think the more of those problems that are consummated, the better it will be for the country and for the world. Had it not been for the production of our agricultural Midwest and Northwest, I don't know what the country and the world would have done in this terrible war which we have been through.

You contributed to the food and the fiber

and the minerals that have made it necessary to win that war. And now you are making that same contribution to win the peace. And of course the most important thing before us now is to win that peace. And if we can keep up our production and if we can keep up our support of the United Nations, so as to make it work, we are going to have that peace, because we are the most powerful Nation in the world, and we want nothing but peace in the world. That is what we fought the war for, and we don't want to fight another one to get that peace. And if we will support the projects which I have sent to the Congress, you won't have to fight that war.

Thank you very much, and I wish I could stay longer and see more of you, but I can't. I have got a definite date in Butte tonight, and I must get there on time. That is a fetish with me, I try not to be late, and I don't like for people to be late with me, either.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on June 8 the President referred to C. A. Robins, Governor of Idaho, and W. S. Marvel, Mayor of Arco.

121 Address at the Stadium in Butte, Montana. *June* 8, 1948

Governor, Mr. Mayor, Mr. Chairman:

You know what I think? I think it would be a fine thing if your band would play just one more piece before I have to speak. [*The band played Sousa's "Stars and Stripes Forever."*]

Thank you very much. I think that one half the reason for this great crowd being here tonight is just to see and hear this good band. I understand that they went out to Hollywood and stole the show. I wish you would come back to Missouri sometime and steal the show.

I can't tell you how overwhelmed I am at the welcome you gave me this afternoon on the streets. In Kansas City, which is a suburb of my old hometown, I have never had such a welcome. There are only two other places that I know of to compare with it; one was at Mexico City and at Rio de Janeiro, the capital of Brazil.

I am indeed happy to be here tonight, to say a word or two to this great city in Montana, this city which made such a great contribution to the winning of two world wars. I have been here before on several occasions. On one occasion I was here as a candidate for Vice President of the United States. I had a wonderful reception. Of course it wasn't anything like this one because I was only a candidate for Vice President at that time. But I enjoyed the visit immensely, and it evidently did some good.

I am also happy to be here in the State of Senator Murray, and Congressman Mike Mansfield. Both these gentlemen are close personal friends of mine. They both ably and capably represent Montana in the Congress of the United States, and I have confidence in both of them.

I would like to discuss with you just for a little while some of the things with which this country is faced—domestically. We have a bipartisan foreign policy, and I hope that bipartisan foreign policy will always continue. We are now the world's leader and we must have a foreign policy that is continuing. That is the reason it is necessary for our political fights to stop at the water's edge.

But there are other things which I can discuss, and things in which you are vitally interested.

When the World War ceased, when Japan

folded up, everyone was afraid that things would go into a tailspin—that there would be no jobs and there might be a depression. On September 6, 1945, I sent a policy message to the Congress of the United States and among other things I asked the Congress to make an extension of price control which would expire in 1946. And then again in January 1946, I made the same request of that Congress. And again along in May I made the same request of that Congress. The price control was not extended until June 30, 1946, on the day on which it expired, and they sent me a bill that I couldn't sign. I had to veto it. It took 30 days for them to write another bill, which was almost as bad, and I had to sign that or get nothing, and I signed it. It didn't work. Prices immediately began to climb, and I immediately began to warn the Congress and the country what would happen if we couldn't control prices. And along in November 1946 about 66⅔ of the voters stayed at home, and you elected the present Congress. You elected the present Congress. I had a telegram just a little while ago from a group of laboringmen out on the west coast requesting me not to appoint a board to settle the dispute between them and their employers because under the present labor law it was not to be to their advantage. I sent them a reply to that and told them that I am the President of the United States, and I am sworn to enforce the laws that are on the books of the United States, and I shall follow the law. They should have thought of that situation in November 1946 when they weren't voting.

But I am extremely interested in the present situation with regard to prices. They are still going up. Now, three times since this Congress has been in power I have asked for a control of prices. In January 1947, again in 1947 when I called a special session of Congress, and again in 1948 in the Message on the State of the Union, I asked for the conditions to be met with which we are faced.

You know the results I got? I was told that the prices would control themselves. Well, they will. Now the prices are so arranged that the people who have a lot of money can get anything that they want, and people with very little money can't get what they want, and food prices are at the top of the ladder. They have one of these graphs where they run up prices, and the prices run up over the graph, it has gone so high, and it is the poorer man that is affected by that.

Now under Government control of prices the consumers' interest is looked after. Under this control we have now, it's the man who controls the food and the clothing and the other things, and he can take all the traffic can bear, and let the common everyday man go hang. If he can't get them he can do without.

In fact, one of our candidates for President said the best way to control prices was not to buy. I guess he would let you starve, I don't know. I am not in that class. I am out here to tell you people just exactly what you get when a situation such as price controls are released too quickly.

Production did not catch up with consumption. We have now more people at work than ever have been at work before in the history of the country, and the gloom artists said that we would have people out of work. Well now, when people are at work they have money to spend and they want goods and services, and when these goods and services are not available, and there is no ceiling to prevent them from going out of sight, then the poor man can't get what he needs to wear and to eat and to live.

And speaking about places to live, there is a housing shortage all over the United States. A lot of houses were just washed away at the mouth of the Columbia River. Some 18,000 people, I am told, have been made homeless

by the rampage of the Columbia River. Part of that rampage started here at Silver Bow Creek. If we could control the Silver Bow Creeks that go to make up the Columbia River, we can stop these floods. That is what I have been fighting for ever since I went to the Congress in 1935. But the housing condition is a condition and not a theory, as Mr. Cleveland once said. Way back when I was in the Senate more than 4 years ago, there was introduced into the Senate a bill called the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. They turned it around the other way, now they call it the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. I am going to call it the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. That is a housing bill in the interests of the whole country and not just in the interests of the real estate lobby. That bill passed the Senate three times. It even passed this Senate by the help of a lot of good men in there who knew what they were doing. It has been shelved in the House and it is still shelved, and the poor man is still going to be out of housing and the veteran is going to be out of housing because he can't afford to pay the prices that are on now, because the prices have gone out of sight, just as they have for food and clothing.

I asked for the proper controls and I have asked for the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, but I don't think I am going to get it. I think that this Congress is going to adjourn, and I think some of this Congress is going to Philadelphia to try to fool the people into making them believe they have done something for them in this Congress. Let's wait and see. If this Congress goes away without passing an agricultural bill, without passing a housing bill, without doing something about prices, this Congress has not done anything for the country. They should stay there until they get those things done.

Now this Congress said in its platform—the Republicans said in their platform—of course that is the platform of the Congress now—they said that they were going to make a strong Labor Department. They were going to make something out of the Labor Department. Well, you know what they have done? They have almost completely abolished the Labor Department! They have almost completely abolished the Labor Department. They wouldn't pass an employment bill. Way back right after the war, along in 1946, Senator Murray introduced the Employment Act of 1946, and it was passed by the Congress at that time. Now this Congress has spent its time trying to tear the Employment Act of 1946 to pieces, and they succeeded admirably.

They were not satisfied with that. They have cut out the appropriation—or most of it—for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and you know what that Bureau does? That Bureau shows us what the economic situation in the country is. It shows us what prices are and what causes their condition. You see, they not only knocked out price control and refused to enact another one which would be a control and a brake on the situation, they have taken off the speedometer which tells you how fast you are going and how high those prices are going up—in the form of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. They don't want to hold the brake on prices. They don't want us to know by the speedometer what the prices are and how they affect the country.

If that is helping the Labor Department, then I don't understand government.

I wish I could stand here all evening and enumerate the things that should be done that have not been done by this famous 80th Congress. I could stand here for I don't know how long and tell you how they tore up the budget, what they were going to do to the budget and how the budget really came out. They said last year they were going to cut billions off the budget.

Well, you know what they finally did?

They came out with an expenditure of $200 million more than I asked for. And you know how they saved money on that budget? The Treasury every year has to make tax refunds to people who overpay their taxes, and there are a lot of people like that in this country. We return about $2,300 million every year to people who pay too much taxes. And they took out of the sum that was necessary to be returned to these people $800 million, and said they were saving money.

You know what they had to do? They had to put back over a billion dollars more to take the place of that $800 million which was drawing 6 percent interest all the time the Treasury did not have the money to return the taxes.

Now that is economy, if I know anything about it, in reverse.

As I say, I wish I could stand here all night and talk to you about these things, because you ought to know them. That is the reason I am out here, to tell you the truth, which you haven't been getting.

They have been telling you a lot of things about your President, that he doesn't know what goes on, that he can't handle the Government. It seems to me that it has run pretty well for the last 3 years. Everybody has got something to eat, and has got a little more money in his pocket—more than he ever had before. Business has been the best in the history of the country. There is more money on deposit in the banks, and the banks are not going to blow up in your face like they used to. That is one thing you can be proud of.

But I want to say to you that the welfare of this country is at stake. I want you to inform yourselves on the facts as they are. And sometime later when the lines are drawn, I am going to tell you just what you have to do to meet the situation.

It has certainly been a pleasure to me to come out here and discuss these things with you. I know you are interested. I know this is an intelligent audience, for I have been here before and talked to you, and you believed in me. I hope you will continue to do that.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:45 p.m. in the Naranche Memorial Stadium in Butte. His opening words "Governor, Mr. Mayor" referred to Lt. Governor E. T. Eaton of Montana and Mayor Barry O'Leary of Butte.

122 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Washington. *June 9, 1948*

[1.] SPOKANE, WASHINGTON (To Communications Workers of America, 8:40 a.m.)

I certainly appreciate all that applause and I appreciate this reception. You know, I am running on a schedule and this is run in on that schedule, and I am AWOL and nobody knows anything about it but you. Therefore, in order to conserve time, I just want to say that at the suggestion of the Governor of Washington, who is my good friend, I came over here to greet you.

I understand that you are not very happy over the Labor Act of 1947 as it is now in effect. But you know the reason for that is that in November 1946, just one third of the population voted. The people were not interested in what might happen to them. We have that law now, and I am the President, and I have to enforce it.

Your only remedy is November 1948. And if you continue that law in effect, that is your fault and not mine, because I didn't

want it.

I am very happy to have been here. I appreciate the chance to greet you, and I know you are having a successful meeting, and I know you are going to fix it so I can talk back to Washington.

[2.] SPOKANE, WASHINGTON (Outside the Spokane Club, 9:20 a.m.)

Governor Wallgren, Senator Magnuson, distinguished guests and citizens of the eastern half of the State of Washington:

I know the whole State of Washington must be here from the looks of this crowd. I can't help but be affected by a welcome like that. I am also intrigued with the sunshine that you have here. I understand that you need a little sunshine. You see I have my hat. I rode all day yesterday in this Western sun and got my face fried. I didn't want to get it turned over and done this time.

I am happy to be here because I am interested in the development of this part of the world. I have made many trips here. I was here when the aluminum plant was set up, when a lot of other plants were set up which were top secret, and still are top secret, in this part of the world. At that time I was chairman of an investigating committee in the Senate, of which Senator Wallgren was a member, and we made some very important trips out here for the purpose of helping win the war. And this part of the world—this part of the United States made a magnificent contribution toward winning that war. Had it not been for the immense powerplants along the Columbia River, which we had insisted on being built for the benefit of the public, we wouldn't have won that war as quickly nor as thoroughly as we did win it.

Now the thing that is staring us in the face is to make that same contribution to the peace. And I know that is just what you are going to do.

I am going from here to Grand Coulee, and then I am going to go over the flood areas that have been affected by the Columbia River. I know something about floods. The Missouri has a habit of going on a rampage about once every 3 years, washing away all the farmlands in the valley. When we came down the Columbia River this morning on the Northern Pacific Railroad, I could see scenes that reminded me of things exactly as they happened in Missouri time after time. And you know what that does. It has been a long time since you have had a flood like this, and you had forgotten what it means. Now you will be sympathetic when the Missouri and the Connecticut and a lot of other rivers overflow and ruin all the industries along the line. In that way we will get a cure for it. There is a cure for it.

I was told last night in Butte that the Silver Bow Creek which rises in Butte, Mont., is one of the headwaters of the Columbia River in the United States, and I told that audience that if we could control the Silver Bow Creeks that make up the Columbia River, as we should control the little rivers that make up the Missouri, we wouldn't have these floods. We don't have floods on the Tennessee River any more. They know how to control them. These same situations can be developed on the Columbia River, the river that empties more water into the Pacific Ocean than any other river on the western coast of the United States and it empties the second largest amount of water of any river in the United States. And that water ought to be utilized. You need it too badly here in the Northwest to have it go out in the Pacific Ocean and go to waste.

I would like to see that project carried out to its logical conclusion. But you are

not going to get those projects as long as you have a Congress that believes in the theory of Daniel Webster: that the West is no good and there is no use wasting money on it. There are still men in the Congress who are following Daniel Webster, and they are chairmen of key committees which make these appropriations.

If you don't do something about that, you don't deserve to have anything, that's all I can say to you.

I used to be a Member of the Congress myself—I was a Member of the Congress myself, but I happened to be a Member of Congress that was in favor of these things. I was a Member of the Congress which started way back there in 1933. I didn't get elected until 1934, so I didn't come to that Congress until 1935, but the vast majority of the development in this part of the world was made under those Congresses when Franklin Roosevelt was President of the United States. I was elected every time Mr. Roosevelt was, and the last time I was elected with him on the same platform, and I helped to write that platform. I am trying to carry out that platform, but I am not getting very much help from this Congress.

That is partly your fault! That is partly your fault. In the election of 1946 you believed all the lies that were published about your President. And two-thirds of you didn't even go out and vote. Look what the other third gave you! You deserved it.

Now, if you let that sort of situation continue—you have got a chance to remedy it this fall—if you let that sort of situation continue, I won't have any sympathy with you. You will get just what you deserve.

I would like to see this Columbia River controlled. I would like to see the Columbia and Central Valley, California and Colorado and the Missouri—all those rivers kept in their banks and the waters put to use so the country can prosper. We need everything that can be produced in the United States now, just as badly as we needed it during the war. And we must get people in charge of the Government who believe that way. And if you don't get them, that is your fault.

I am certainly glad to be here. It makes me happy to see all this sea of faces.

I hope that some time later on I can come back and talk politics to you.

Thank you very much.

[3.] EPHRATA, WASHINGTON (Rear platform, 2:45 p.m.)

Thank you, Senator Magnuson; it is certainly a pleasure to see all these red hats, and it certainly is a pleasure to be in this part of the world.

I just had a most interesting and instructive ride this morning through the Grand Coulee Dam. I have been there before. Of course, there was not anything like the volume of water going over the dam that is going over this morning. Mr. Banks told me that a million acre-feet a day was going over that dam. That is almost unbelievable. Turn that into gallons and you get figures that look like light-years from here to the North Star.

It is an education to people who do not know anything about what reclamation means to this part of the world. Reclamation and public power are two things in which I have been vitally interested ever since I have been in public life, and I'll be out here in Seattle tomorrow night, and I am going to make a clear statement of my position on those two principal things in which this Northwest country is interested.

Had it not been for the developments in this part of the world, we would have had much more difficulty in winning the Second World War. You made a great contribution

up here, both in food and in power to the winning of that war.

Now we want to use that food and that power to win the peace. And I think that is just exactly what we are going to do. We are trying to find a way to make that fit into the peace pattern just as it fit into the war pattern. And it can be done. I know that can be done. I know that atomic energy can be used in exactly the same way and that is the ambition of me, as President of the United States, to see that that is done.

I am glad to be in the great State of Washington. I hope I will be able to come back here sometime later in the year, and talk politics to you.

Thank you very much.

[4.] WENATCHEE, WASHINGTON (Rear platform, 4:10 p.m.)

Governor Wallgren, ladies and gentlemen of Wenatchee:

I regret exceedingly that our speaker system has gone out. It has been on the blink ever since we got to Pocatello. I don't know whether that name had anything to do with it or not, but that is where it went out first, anyway.

I have had a very pleasant day today, in that I have been over to see Grand Coulee Dam again. That is the third time I have been there. And I spent all the time since I returned discussing the Northwest power and flood control situation with Dr. Aber, who knows more about it than anybody in this part of the world, unless it is Mon Wallgren. Mon used to bore me to death telling me about all the things the Northwest needed. He does it yet— but I like it. That is the reason I came out here at Mon's request to take another look. Of course, I didn't know there was going to be the greatest flood on the Columbia River that had ever happened since 1894, but it did happen before I arrived. And I have had every Government agency on the job that has anything to do with recovery after flood control. I am going to have a special meeting down in Portland, to see what we can do to prevent it from occurring again—and to meet that situation with which we are faced right now.

In times past, it has been customary for the Congress to vote an emergency fund to the President of the United States to meet just such situations as this. This 80th Congress wiped out my emergency fund. They did not trust their Democratic President to take care of just such situations as this.

Maybe we need a Congress next time that will have a little more confidence in the President, and when things like this come up, we can meet them head-on.

I am familiar with your apple situation, and we have been trying to get it worked out. I hope we can meet it. You know, Missouri is an apple State. And I know something about apples, too, as well as other farming matters. I am also familiar with the problems in this corner of the world, and I am going to discuss them in detail in Seattle, Wash., tomorrow at 1 o'clock. And if you are really interested, I would advise you to listen, for I am going to tell you just exactly where I stand on the problems with which you are faced, and I am going to ask the Congress in that speech to quit talking and saying what they are going to do, and do something about it!

Thank you very much.

[5.] SKYOMISH, WASHINGTON (Rear platform, 6:45 p.m.)

It is a pleasure to see all of you. I was sound asleep and I got up just to come out and say "Howdy" to you.

I am glad to have as guests on this train

today, the Governor and his First Lady. I would be willing to make you a bet that Mrs. Wallgren has not been introduced to you, is that true? No. I caught him on that a while ago, and I guess he caught up with me.

I have had a very, very fine time in this great State today, seeing a number of things I have always wanted to see. I have had a very pleasant visit with your Governor, and Senator Magnuson, and I think that the welcome I have received in this State has never been exceeded anywhere.

I hope some time, in the not far distant future, I can come back and discuss with you all the issues that face the country; and then I hope that later on I may be able to implement those issues from my viewpoint.

Thank you very much.

[6.] EVERETT, WASHINGTON (Rear platform, 7:50 p.m.)

Thank you, Mon. I am not fooled a bit. This crowd turned out for the home town boy who is Governor of Washington. And that is just exactly what they should have done.

Mr. Mayor, I can't tell you how very much I appreciated that cordial welcome. I am overwhelmed at the turnout, even though Mon is on the train. I have been here before on two different occasions. I came here and spent the time with Mon Wallgren at his home, when his father and mother were living here. And I don't know when I have ever met a person I thought more of than I did of Mon's father. His mother is a grand person—she is just like my mother—she raised a good son, and here he is.

You know, a boy or a girl reflects his parents, and I think Mon is a shining example of a good beginning.

I have been in this State all day—started at Spokane—got in a car—went up to the Grand Coulee Dam. I have been there twice before, but I have never seen as much water in my life. And I have seen the Missouri and the Mississippi in flood stage, and I have been to Niagara, and I have been up the Hudson. I have not seen the Yukon, but I have seen every other river in the United States.

The Columbia is really on a rampage, and I am sorry. They tell me there has never been a flood like it since 1894. Well, in 1903 we had a flood on the Missouri River, and they said there never had been another like it since 1844. That's a long time, too. My grandmother saw both floods, and she said the 1903 one was worse than the 1844 flood. There were no houses or buildings there, and that was true here in 1894—there wasn't anything on the Columbia River to wash away so nobody heard about it.

Now that river has been developed—partly, not completely. And I came out here at the suggestion of your Governor to see what could be done to complete the development of the Columbia River from a power, reclamation, irrigation, and flood control standpoint.

You know, the people on the Columbia River will appreciate what flood control means now. Since 1894 they haven't appreciated it because they didn't think it could happen to them. That's the way everybody feels, unless he has the experience.

Now I think the Columbia Basin, and the Missouri Basin, and the Ohio Basin, and the Mississippi Basin can get together and really work for a good control and a proper development program. I hope that is the case. I am going to try to see that it is the case. And I think I know something about the situation here and at home and in the eastern side of the United States.

I brought a lot of reporters with me on this trip, and I venture to say there isn't half of

them ever saw anything west of the Appalachian Mountains. Now they are going to find out where the country lies! And where the resources of the country come from. And I hope they will tell their eastern readers and constituents just exactly what they have seen in the last 3 or 4 days. If they do, we will have a united country for the development of our resources, and the things that make us great.

You know, this Northwest section made one of the greatest contributions to the war that was made in the whole setup. We would have had a hard time winning the war if it hadn't been for this Northwest power section.

I had an old man testifying before a committee of which I was chairman, and Senator Wallgren at that time was a member of that committee, and that old man in a high, squeaky voice told us that the Aluminum Company of America was making 300 million pounds of aluminum. At that time that was all the country needed. Well, you know what we are making now—3500 million pounds now, and we are short! If it hadn't been for these powerplants, we never could have made aluminum and magnesium and the things that are necesarsy to win the war.

Now then, let's take that asset that we have and use it to win the peace. I know we can do that. I am sure we can do that. We must do that. Nobody wants another war. Nobody wants to go through what we have gone through in two generations.

I was a captain of field artillery in the other war. Wallgren here was a lieutenant of field artillery. I ranked him.

Governor Wallgren: As he does now.

Mon, I wasn't going to say that.

Because in the great State of Washington—and I am talking protocol to you now—the Governor is the ranking officer in the State. The President is only his guest. Don't let anybody fool you on that.

But we don't want to do that again.

In 1920 we should have assumed the leadership which Almighty God intended us to assume. We have got another chance now. We are rated as the greatest and most powerful nation in the world. We want to use that greatness and that power for the welfare of the world, just as we have used it for the welfare of the 48 States of the Union.

And that can be done, and we must do it!

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this cordial welcome in the hometown of the Governor of Washington, my friend Senator Wallgren, which his title was then, on the so-called Truman committee when I was in the Senate.

Thank you very much.

[*After receiving a rod and reel*]

I am more than happy to receive this rod and reel on this bipartisan, nonpolitical trip of mine. Over at Sun Valley, I had a lot of lessons in casting, with a rod not half as good or half as light as this one.

And I will tell you what I am going to do. When things warm up, and we get into politics, I am going to take this rod out and try to catch votes as well as fish with it.

[*After receiving a shirt*]

Well, it's all right! I will accept it, and I will wear it. It's well made—seems to be out of a good piece of cloth. I will have to examine it with a microscope to be sure—[*laughter*]—but I know that the citizens of Everett wouldn't give me anything that wasn't all right.

[*After receiving a salmon derby entry*]

Thank you very much for that. As you remember, when I was out here the last time, Mon and I went fishing, and Mon had a sweater made by the Siwash Indians. When they saw that sweater on me, they made me one. It is much better looking than Mon's.

Look what I have here now, from my Fraternal Members of the Order of Eagles! Isn't that something!

Well, I will make use of it. I don't think I will have any chance to use it in the salmon derby, because I don't know what the conditions are, but I want to say to you I am going to do that just like I do everything else, I am going to do my damndest!

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on June 9 the President referred to Governor Mon C. Wallgren and Senator Warren G. Magnuson, both of Washington, Frank A. Banks, District Manager of the Grand Coulee Dam, and Henry Arends, Mayor of Everett.

123 Statement by the President on the Death of Secretary Schwellenbach. *June* 10, 1948

I HAVE heard with deepest grief of the death of Lewis Schwellenbach. He was my warm personal friend. He was a great Senator, a great judge, and a great Secretary of Labor.

NOTE: Lewis B. Schwellenbach served as Secretary of Labor from July 1, 1945, until his death on June 10, 1948.

124 Informal Remarks in Washington. *June* 10, 1948

[1.] BREMERTON, WASHINGTON (Elks Club, 11:40 a.m.)

Mr. Mayor, Governor Wallgren, Secretary Krug, and citizens of Bremerton:

I can't tell you how highly pleased I am to see this wonderful turnout this morning. I think it is always well to travel in good company, and I am sure that I am in good company this morning when I have the Mayor of this great city, the Governor, and the Senator from Washington, and the Secretary of the Interior. That certainly ought to bring you out; as it has.

I have had a most pleasant trip across this great State. I spent yesterday morning at Grand Coulee Dam where there is more than a million acre-feet of water pouring over that dam every 24 hours. It is a magnificent sight. I tried to figure that out in gallons, and there are so many figures it looks like light years from here to the North Star. It is a pity that we couldn't put all that water to work in this great State, and in other States in which the Columbia River runs or borders. Sometime or other, when we get this program finished in the Columbia River Basin, there will be very little waste water, and there will be few floods that do any damage.

I am very much interested in the welfare of this Northwest country. You know, you made a great contribution to the war effort here, particularly in this town. I made two investigations over here, when I was chairman of a committee in the Senate whose job it was to see that that war effort was properly carried out, and I am happy to say that the then Senator Wallgren and myself found nothing wrong here and at this Navy Yard. You worked efficiently. You turned out the work. We are now trying to arrange things so as to have a national defense program for peace, just as we had a war program to win the war. We must have a defense program

for peace because in order to enforce the peace you must have the power behind it to enforce it. That is axiomatic and fundamental. You couldn't even have a government in this town if you didn't have an efficient police force to see that the laws were enforced.

We are endeavoring now to make the United Nations work, and it is working. I was very happy this morning to find that the truce had been signed between the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine. That is a victory for the United Nations. And it is also a victory for the United Nations when they signed a truce in the East Indies—in Indonesia. We must keep working at this thing until we get the peace implemented.

When I speak before the University of California graduating class, I want to tell you a lot of things about the foreign affairs of this country in which you are interested.

Again, I am most happy to be in this great State of Washington. I have just had an honor conferred upon me right here. The Olympic Junior College has made me an Honorary Associate in Arts. You know, my daughter graduated from George Washington University a year or two ago to receive a degree, and they gave me one, too. She worked 4 years to get hers, and I got mine right then and there, without any effort! That is the way I got this one, this one here, without any effort on my part, although I hope to deserve it, and I hope to earn it at a later date, maybe. Some time or other, a little later on in the year, I hope it will be possible for me to come back here and discuss the issues before us at that time.

I am not on a political tour this time, at least that is what the newspapers say. But I want to say to you that it doesn't make any difference what the President does, if you just take a walk in the morning, it has political significance. That is as it should be, because the Office of the President represents the people. He is elected by all the people. He is the only official except the Vice President who is elected by all the people. He is responsible to all the people when he is President, and the people have a right to know what he thinks and what he is trying to do.

I have taken this tour over the country here to let you know what I am trying to do as President of the United States. I have been so hopelessly misrepresented on various matters that I thought I had better come out and let you look at me to see whether I am the kind of fellow they say I am or not.

A little later on, when politics really begins to boil, you can make up your mind as to whether you had a President the last 3 years or not. The country is running—the country is prosperous, and everybody is happy except for one thing, and that is the way that price spiral has been going up. If they had carried out all the recommendations which I made to the Congress, we would have had control of that, too.

You know, this Congress is interested in the welfare of the better classes. They are not interested in the welfare of the common everyday man. They said if we lifted price controls, and things of that sort, business would take care of prices. Well, business has taken care of prices, for the welfare and the benefit of the fellows at the top. The poor man is having to pay out all his money for rent and for clothing and for food at prices that are certainly outrageous.

Voice: Pour it on, Harry!

I'm going to—I'm going to! As I said in Butte the other night, if this Congress adjourned before it had done something about prices, and something about the welfare of the laboringman, and something about housing, it would be a disgrace to this country. I want to bring that home to you strongly in every place I can, for the simple reason that this Congress is going to adjourn

pretty soon. They say on the 18th. Then they are going down to Philadelphia in a few days and are going to tell you what a great Congress they have been.

Well, if you believe that, you are bigger suckers than I think you are.

Again I want to thank you very much for this cordial welcome. I was in Spokane yesterday, and there were just about 2 or 3 acres of people, as there are here. It looks to me like there are more people here this morning than I have seen together in a long, long time—in one place. And I appreciate that. I think that is a compliment to me.

I have sad news this morning—very sad news. I heard that the former Senator, former judge and former Secretary of Labor passed away this morning. Lew Schwellenbach, one of the closest friends I had in the Senate when I was there. A close friend of your Governor, a close friend of Senator Magnuson. He passed away this morning at Walter Reed Hospital in Washington. It was a sad blow to me. He was an able Senator, a just judge, and I think the greatest Secretary of Labor that I have known. I am certainly sorry that I have to make that announcement to you. I thought very highly of Lew Schwellenbach. He was an able, efficient public servant. And that is just what he was. Thank you very much.

[2.] SEATTLE, WASHINGTON (On the Pier, 2 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, Governor Wallgren, and other distinguished guests:

I am most happy to be in Seattle again. I have had a very pleasant and instructive morning over at the Bremerton Navy Yard. I made some inspections of that Navy Yard during the war, and found it efficiently operated.

It is interesting to see the Navy ships that are tied up now that were in operation during the war. I sincerely hope that it will never be necessary to untie them, although we should keep them in shape so that if it is necessary, we can do it efficiently and quickly.

I wish I had more time here, but I am running on a schedule and we are late, so I will have to bid you a howdy-do and good-bye.

[3.] SEATTLE, WASHINGTON (Press club address, 2:30 p.m., see Item 125)

[4.] TACOMA, WASHINGTON (5:25 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, Governor Wallgren, distinguished guests, and ladies and gentlemen of Tacoma, Washington:

I am very happy that we were able to stop at Tacoma today. I was here some years ago with the then Senator Wallgren and the then Congressman Magnuson and we had a setup right here on one of these streets on a truck. We all three made speeches for the Democratic Party. And after that Mon ran for Governor and was elected, and Magnuson ran for Senator and was elected. And, well—you see where I am!

I am very happy that Mr. Krug could come out to this northwest corner of the Nation while I am here, because Mr. Krug is a responsible officer in the Cabinet for the things in which this part of the world is most interested, and he does an excellent job of it. I appreciated most highly what he said awhile ago. I have never heard him say it before. It made me feel right good. All of us like to have a pat on the back once in a while, and since your President usually gets kicks, a pat is very, very, very comfortable.

I am interested in this part of the country. I have always been interested in this part of the country. It was my duty during the war to make investigations in this part of the

State of Washington. I was in Seattle and Spokane, and I didn't hold any hearings here in Tacoma, but we examined the waterfront here in Tacoma and made a report on it.

I have been vitally interested in the food and the production capacity of the Northwest, especially with relation to those metals which were so vital during the war. This part of the country made an immense contribution to the winning of that war. It would have taken longer and have cost many more lives, had it not been for these immense power projects which were on the Columbia River. And that power project is not half finished.

I was told yesterday that there is a potential development of power in the Columbia River Basin of 50 million kilowatts. Now that is just as many kilowatts as all the privately-owned plants in the United States produce today. Think of that! You know what that would mean to this corner of the world, if that project is finally finished? That is what I am talking for. I am anxious to see that project finished. I am interested in a lot of things that I have been trying to get through the Congress. I have sent message after message to the Congress time after time on things which are in the public interest, and they have done nothing about them. They have shelved most of them. They have cut the appropriations on these particular projects I am talking about, and those appropriations which they have allowed they have tied them up with so many things and hampered what we are trying to do, that they might as well not have the appropriations as far as that is concerned.

I am sorry for that. I am sorry for this Congress, because they are going to have to come out and tell you what they did, and unless they do something in the next 3 or 4 days, it isn't going to be very much.

In 1945, in November, I asked the Congress to extend the price control law another year from June 30, 1946. In January 1946 I asked that same question of the Congress and suggested that they do that. In May 1946 I asked them again to extend the price control law so we could gradually release the price controls as production caught up with consumption. I didn't like price controls any better than the Congress did but I feared very much what would happen. On June 30, 1946, the day of the expiration of the law, they sent me an impossible renewal of the price control law, and I vetoed it. And in 30 days they sent me another one almost as bad, and I had to sign it, but it didn't work. And then in 1946, along in November, about two-thirds of the people stayed at home, and you elected the 80th Congress.

After that price control law went out, prices began to skyrocket. The price of food has gone all the way off the graph, and is still going. The price of clothing is just about to catch up with it. And if the real estate lobby in Washington has as much influence as the other lobbies have, they are going to take rent controls off, and then we will be gone, sure enough.

I am afraid of inflation. And I have been trying to stop inflation. But I can't do it by myself. I can't do it by myself. You housewives who have to pay for the food know what the difference in the pay envelope is now, and what it was just after the war was over. You see, that price control law—that wartime price control law—was a consumers price control law. These fellows told us that if price controls came off that prices would adjust themselves. Well, prices have adjusted themselves, in favor of the fellow who is gouging the public today. He is in this position: he is fixing the prices for all the traffic will bear, and *you* are paying the bill—

you are paying the bill, and so am I.

Last November, when I called the special session of the Congress, I asked for ten major controls, on a standby basis, to meet the situation with which we were faced. They passed an innocuous law which did not mean a thing—didn't do a bit of good, because those prices are still going up.

I hope Congress—although I haven't much hope—will take notice of the situation and do something about it, and quit listening to the lobbyists. They have got the greatest gathering of lobbyists in Washington that has ever been formed in the country, and they are working for a special interest Congress. And that is a special interest Congress. Just bear that in mind—a special interest Congress. They passed a rich man's tax law, a relief tax bill law—relief for the rich. That is just exactly what it was. I suggested that they let that tax bill alone and pay some of our debts. We owe $257 billions in debts, although that debt has been reduced $20 billion since I have been President. We could have reduced that debt another $7 billion, if they hadn't tinkered with that tax bill.

But, you know, this is 1948. This is 1948, and everybody wants to get elected, and doesn't think much about paying off debts. When a man has money that is when he ought to pay his debts, and when a government has money incoming, that is when the government ought to pay its debts.

They knew the European recovery program was coming on. They knew very well what we were going to be faced with. Do you know what they have done now? We have got a surplus this year—had a surplus last year for the first time in a long time, and they are transferring part of that surplus into 1949 so far as to cover up the deficit which will be caused by this rich man's tax law.

Now, if that is commonsense, and if that is good government, then I don't know anything about government, and I do. I do know something about it, for I spent 10 years in the Senate of the United States, and I have been President of the United States for 3 years, and I have had a lot of experience. And I am trying to work in your interest, in the public interest.

That is why I had to come out here and let you look at me, and let you see for yourself what the facts are with regard to what has been going on in the last 3 years. I don't think there is a President in the history of the United States who has been as thoroughly misrepresented as I have been. I never thought much of a lie, because nobody believes a lie if he has a chance to find out the truth. And that is the reason why I am here, to find what the truth is, to help make up your mind whether you have had a good President or not. We are going to find the records, and I am going to explain them from one end of the country to the other, and the people are going to know just what the conditions are, so that when this 80th Congress adjourns, and they go off to Philadelphia later on, and they will be telling you what they did, I am going to tell you what they didn't do. Then you can make up your own minds.

Thank you very much.

[5.] OLYMPIA, WASHINGTON (Sylvester Park, 6:50 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, Governor Wallgren, and the citizens of Olympia:

It certainly is a pleasure to see this turnout at this time of the day. I should think everybody would be hungry and would be at home getting something to eat. I never have had in all my life a more cordial welcome

than I have had today. Never have had a more cordial welcome than at Bremerton, and we had an ovation at Seattle. The Mayor said it was the greatest show he had seen in Seattle in all time. Then Tacoma was a repeat. Now here we are in the capital city of the great State of Washington, just waiting to land on the Governor in the Governor's mansion. It is a fine place. I offered to trade the White House for it, but he wouldn't trade with me.

This has been an education to me, this trip through the Northwest. I have seen a great many things of vital importance to this Nation. I know that all of you are interested in the welfare of the country. The welfare of the country consists of the welfare of all the people. That means that we will have a prosperous Nation. We have got to have prosperous labor, prosperous capital, prosperous farmers, and all the citizens have to be prosperous. And they are just about that now, if we can hold those prices down like it ought to be done. We haven't been able to do it so far because we haven't been able to get the right kind of cooperation from the Congress, but I know eventually we are going to do the thing as it ought to be done.

Everybody in the United States is at work. There are more people at work this month than there ever have been at work in the history of the Nation. There are 61 million people at work now in the United States.

The national income is about $200 billion. The banks are full of money, and that money is safe, because it is guaranteed by the Government of the United States—as a result of the policy of this administration.

There has not been a bank failure in the United States for 3 years. That is a record never equaled before in the history of the country. And that is because the people of the country have confidence in their banking system, and in their country.

I want you to know your Government. I want you to look into public affairs as they are. Educate yourselves. You don't want to do like you did in 1946. Two-thirds of you stayed at home in 1946, and look what a Congress we got! That is your fault, that is your fault. I am not to blame for that. I have been telling them for 3 years exactly what to do. Well, you will hear them say in Philadelphia next week that they have done many a big thing in this Congress, but I want you to edit that very carefully, and I don't think you will find there is very much, unless they do something in the next 2 or 3 days. I have been pouring it on them pretty heavy here lately. Maybe they will take the hint and do something. I would be very happy if they do that. Of course it would make a much better campaign if they don't.

Then I am going to come out here and go all over the country, and tell you people exactly what has taken place in the last 3 years. Then I am going to let the country know what has taken place in the last 12 years. Then I may tell them what took place 12 years before that. Then if you people want to continue the policies of the 80th Congress, that will be your funeral.

Thank you.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on June 10 the President referred to L. Kean, Mayor of Bremerton, Mon C. Wallgren, Governor of Washington, Julius A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior, William F. Devin, Mayor of Seattle, Val Fawcett, Mayor of Tacoma, and E. Mallory, Mayor of Olympia.

125 Address in Seattle Before the Washington State Press Club. *June* 10, 1948

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, Governor Wallgren:

I have a distinguished lady to introduce at this time, the First Lady of the great State of Washington, Mrs. Wallgren.

I am very happy to be with you today. The trip west has been an education to me, and I hope it will be an education to the country before I get through.

I received a very sad message from Washington this morning. I was notified about 5 o'clock this morning that Secretary of Labor Lewis Schwellenbach had passed away last night. Senator Schwellenbach—I always called him Senator Schwellenbach—he introduced me here in this city the first time I was ever here. He and I served in the Senate. He was an able Senator, a just judge, and a very great Secretary of Labor. The country has lost a real public servant, and I have lost a close personal friend—and I am sorry.

Yesterday, I visited Grand Coulee Dam for the third time. The sight of that great project moved me deeply, as it has moved me in the past. For Grand Coulee has a significance far beyond the direct contribution it makes to the prosperity of the Pacific Northwest, vital as that is. To me, that magnificent structure stands for many things—it stands for many things for which I stand, and for which I have always voted in the Senate.

It stands for the wise use of the natural resources with which God has endowed us for the benefit of all the people.

It stands for the use of water for two purposes essential to the growth of the West—irrigation and power.

It stands for the industrial development of the West, which is so vital for the growth of this whole Nation.

It stands for the courage and determination of farsighted citizens, who kept up the fight for the construction of this dam until that fight was won.

It stands for the use of the powers of the Federal Government to promote the welfare of its citizens.

And, finally, it stands for the great heart and the great vision of one who did so much to make it possible—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

When I saw Grand Coulee Dam yesterday, it was pounded by the waters of the worst flood that has visited the Columbia River in 54 years. Mr. Banks, who is in charge out there, told me that a million acre-feet of water per 24 hours are going over that dam. That is almost incomprehensible. This flood has taken precious human lives. It has done tremendous damage to towns and farms. I cannot express too strongly the concern that this disaster has brought to me. But it is an experience from which we can learn a lesson—or rather get added proof for a lesson that many of us learned a long time ago.

The Federal Government must go forward vigorously with projects to control the waters of our rivers and direct them to useful purposes.

The waters of the Columbia River can be controlled. The shock of this tragedy should reinforce our determination to build the dams and other structures needed to bring about such control.

Nothing can ever completely repair the damage caused by this flood, or replace the lives that have been lost. But we can do something to see that it does not happen again.

We know what must be done to achieve this. We have already proved it in the Tennessee Valley. The Tennessee River used to flood every year or so. But that doesn't happen any more. The waters have been checked by dams. Now, they are used for electric power, and for navigation and recreation. Now, those waters that used to rush down to the sea in floods are held and put to work. Every year, in the Tennessee Valley, millions of dollars—and probably many human lives as well—are saved because the floods have been stopped. And they can be stopped on the Columbia, too.

What we have done in the Tennessee Valley, we can do elsewhere. We have already been moving in that direction in other great river basins—the Missouri, the Colorado, the Central Valley of California, and the Columbia. Our purpose is the same in all of them—to conserve the use of water, instead of wasting it. But to achieve that simple purpose, we must follow a unified development of all the resources of each valley. And that is no easy job, for a number of reasons. Let me use the Columbia River Basin as an example.

The Columbia and its tributaries comprise a mighty river system draining parts of seven States and Canada. It discharges the second largest flow of water of any river in the United States. To harness this vast flow, will take many dams and many years of effort.

Furthermore, the Columbia Basin is rich in other resources besides water. It has fertile lands, vast bodies of timber, valuable minerals, and a multimillion dollar fishing industry.

We cannot plan in terms of water alone. The water and the land must be considered together. They must be studied in relation to the fisheries and the forests. Hydroelectric power must be considered in relation to the processing of minerals. All natural resources must be related to the industrial development of this region.

There must be, in short, a great vision of what the resources of a region can achieve if they are wisely conserved and developed together. And we must have the faith and the courage to carry out that vision.

It will take the toughest kind of fight to put over these great projects for western development. For there are people in this country and in the Congress who will not support the development of western resources. A few of them, unfortunately, hold influential positions. They are opposed or indifferent to the development of these western regions for the benefit of the people here. They still seem to look on the West as some sort of wilderness in which the Nation should invest as little as possible.

I think the record is conclusive on this point. It was only 15 years ago that the tremendous waters of the great Columbia River rushed unused to the sea. At the same time, good farm lands in the Columbia Basin lay barren and dry. Industries which needed huge volumes of low-cost power stayed elsewhere. The same story was true throughout the West. In those days, too many of the West's raw products were shipped East to be processed; and the people here got neither the jobs nor the profits involved in their manufacture into finished goods.

Prior to 1933 the Reclamation Act had been on the books for 30 years. In all that time water for reclamation had been extended to less than 3 million acres throughout the West; and the hydroelectric power capacity installed on these projects was only 35,000 kilowatts. Compare that with the present situation. The Grand Coulee project alone will produce 92 million kilowatts of power, and water for nearly a million acres of land. And there are projects on a similar scale under way all through the West.

It is easy to accept conditions as they are

today, and to forget the bitter struggles we went through to bring about this progress. But I am sure most of you can recall those days. When the Bonneville and Grand Coulee projects were before the Congress, they were bitterly opposed by the private power lobby. And that lobby is just as busy today as it was in that day. The lobby pointed out that there wasn't much industry in the Northwest. They claimed that these projects would turn out to be "white elephants" because there would be no use for their power. And a lot of people believed them.

But the projects were put through, and the cries of the private power lobby were proved to be absurd. The low-cost power produced at Bonneville and Grand Coulee attracted new industries to the Northwest at a rapid rate. During the war this power proved of tremendous importance. I am sure that Bonneville and Grand Coulee speeded up the victory to such an extent that they more than paid for themselves in money and men during the war.

Since the war, the growth of the Northwest has continued. The demand for power, instead of decreasing with the decline of war production, has greatly increased. I wish those Congressmen—and there are a lot of them—who are still listening to the private power lobby, would look at these projects now. I wish they could have been with me yesterday. They are turning out every last kilowatt of power they can, and new generators are being installed as fast as they can be obtained—or as fast as Congress will let us obtain them.

Moreover, the rapid industrial development of the Pacific Northwest is going to require a great deal more power in the years ahead. Let's look at some of the facts about this industrial development. In less than a decade the power from the Bonneville and Grand Coulee projects has led to the establishment in the Northwest of electric-process industries turning out $140 million worth of products each year. And those unbelievers said it couldn't be done. Many other new industries have sprung up in the Northwest. The indirect effects of industrial growth here have been felt across the Nation in higher employment, higher income, and greater wealth.

For example, the new aluminum rolling mill at Spokane is selling its products to 600 plants throughout the Nation which employ 350,000 workers. This shows that industrial development here in the West does not detract from the prosperity of any other region. Instead, it adds to the prosperity of the whole Nation. The United States is still growing, and growing fast. The growth of the West means a better life for people here, and better markets and sources of supply for the rest of the country as well.

You might think that the private power interests and others who have fought against the development of the West would have learned by now that western growth means increased national prosperity. But they still haven't learned. Again the record is clear.

Last year, I asked the Congress, in my annual Budget Message for an appropriation of $146 million to carry forward the reclamation program for the development of water resources. There was a powerful move in the Congress to cut this back to less than $50 million. Even in the face of protests from all the Western States, the House of Representatives voted to cut my figure by more than half. And this year the Congress doesn't seem to be quite so interested in holding back the development of the West. But I have a suspicion that this might have something to do with the fact that this is 1948. I do not believe that the people of the West will go along with a system that appropriates enough money for western development only 1 year in 4. And even this

year, the appropriation of adequate funds is in doubt.

Some of the people who oppose western development represent selfish interests who are more concerned with present profits than with future growth. They refuse to admit that funds spent for reclamation projects and powerplants and navigation locks and fish ladders are investments which pay huge dividends as the years go by to the people of the United States.

This administration is determined that it will continue to move ahead with a constructive, practical program against the delaying tactics of ignorance and selfishness. It will fight in the future with the same vigor as it has fought in the past.

The private power lobbyists are still fighting. Where they can't block the production of public power, they're trying to block its distribution at low cost. For example, down in California, Shasta Dam has been completed and has begun to turn out power. If that power is to be used for the people's benefit, it must be moved over the transmission lines to the areas where it's needed. But the Congress has blocked the building of the necessary transmission lines year after year. This has been at the expense of the public, and to the benefit of a private company. We can't stand for that. And if you people out here stand for it, it is your own loss. I am fighting for you. Now you do some fighting for yourselves. This is the same company which has so little faith in the future of the West that it failed this spring to be ready to furnish vitally-needed power. As a result, the whole of Northern California has to resort to a "brown-out." Those people are just like the Aluminum Company of America, where not so long ago old man Davis came down and told me that 300 million pounds of aluminum was all the country would ever use, and that was enough. You have got 3500 million capacity now, and we are short!

There is no reason why the public should be forced to suffer in this manner. Utility companies must not be allowed to block publicly-owned transmission lines which will bring public power to the people at low cost.

As more and more public power becomes available from the great dams all through the West, we can see the time when all the great systems will connect together. From the Colorado through the Central Valley up to the Columbia Basin, there should be a vast network of high voltage transmission lines. I suppose when that time comes we'll still have to battle with the men of little faith! I am sure of it. You had better wake up.

The fight over whether or not publicly-produced power shall be used for the public benefit is only a part of the larger battle concerning the development of the basic resources of our great river valleys. One important lesson we have learned from the Tennessee Valley experience is that the resources of a watershed area must be developed jointly and in relation to each other, if they are to contribute everything possible to the development of the region. A second great lesson we have learned from the Tennessee Valley is that the local, State, and Federal Governments must work together in regional development, if that development is to be in fact for the benefit of the people.

I have urged time and time again that the experience of the TVA shows the way in which we should move in other great river basins.

We are only a small distance along the road we want to travel. Water that can be used for power, for irrigation, for navigation, is going to waste all over the country. Millions of acres of land that are now dry or swampy can be put to work in productive

agriculture. Soil, water, and forest conservation is just beginning to be understood and put into practice on the scale needed.

In the Columbia River Basin, Bonneville and Grand Coulee mark a fine beginning. But we must have more dams in that mighty stream if it is to be effectively harnessed for useful purposes. I believe the present flood shows that we should try to make progress even faster than we had planned—not slower. Last year the Congress threw us backward when it cut the appropriations for this work. The cuts that are threatened this year will throw us back again if they are made. Such cuts as this are the worst kind of false economy. You know what they are doing with these appropriations now? They are tying them up in such a way that even if we get them, we can't use them to the best advantage and the best interests of the public.

All of us should take to heart the tragic events that have happened here in the Northwest in the last few weeks. If we don't conserve our resources wisely we shall pay a terrible price. We cannot afford that price, if we are to remain strong and to enjoy a better life in the years to come. Let us keep before us the goal of using all our natural resources fully, for the benefit of our children as well as for ourselves.

But we will have to battle every step of the way. There will still be men of little faith who are afraid to trust to the people the development of the resources of the Nation.

I believe we have the courage and the will and the vision to carry the program through in spite of these men. I believe the people here in the Northwest, and in every other part of the country, understand the issue clearly, and will choose the path of growth and progress.

We know what must be done and we know how it can be done.

But in order to get it done, you must make your voices so plainly heard in the Congress that there will be no mistaking your will and your faith in the future of this great Nation.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:30 p.m. in the Memorial High School Stadium in Seattle. In his opening words he referred to William Devin, Mayor of Seattle, and Mon C. Wallgren, Governor of Washington. Later he referred to Frank A. Banks, District Manager of the Grand Coulee Dam. Dudley M. Brown served as President of the Washington State Press Club, and Emil G. Sick served as General Chairman.

The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

126 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Oregon. *June* 11, 1948

[1.] PORTLAND, OREGON (American Red Cross Broadcast, 1 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, Acting Governor Scott, ladies and gentlemen:

I tried very hard this morning to get a chance to see from the air just what this flood looks like here, but one of your western mists prevented me from seeing it. It certainly wasn't a rain, although I got wet. I wanted to have a first-hand look at the situation and I am still hoping that I can take a look after this meeting is over.

I had with me, however, the Chief of Engineers of this District of the U.S. Army, and the Federal Works Administrator, General Fleming, and we had about 40 or 50 pictures taken within the last 2 or 3 days, which showed me the effects of the river from the Canadian border to its mouth.

It is a terrible disaster. And I am in sym-

pathy with trying to get that disaster met. I ordered out every agency of the Federal Government to cooperate with the Red Cross and the State of Oregon, and the city of Portland, too, to meet the situation as best we can.

I am told by General Fleming that there is complete harmony between all the agencies, both State and national, and the Red Cross, and that every effort is being made to meet the situation as far as we can.

Ordinarily the President of the United States has an emergency fund for such things as this, but last year that fund was eliminated, and it was not renewed again this year. There was only $25,000 left in that fund, and I gave that to General Fleming so that some immediate emergencies could be met as far as possible.

There is on the way to me now a joint resolution of the Congress authorizing the expenditure of $10 million from the housing fund, which has already been appropriated. As soon as that arrives and that resolution is signed, which I hope will be before I leave Portland today, that much money will be available for immediate emergency relief. We are trying to get a resolution to authorize the Department of Agriculture to make grants to those farmers who have had their livestock washed away and whose stock had to be moved from farms to other places. I hope that can be arranged immediately.

Now that is so much for the present immediate situation. I have always been interested in the development and the control of the great rivers of this country. I live on the Missouri River at Independence, Mo., where a great many people started when this town was first organized over the Oregon Trail. Independence, Mo., is by the Missouri River, and about 1 year in 3 the damage from that river basin has been all the way from $100 million to $500 million. This same situation has been true in the valley of the Ohio, and true in the lower valley of the Mississippi until the lower valley of the Mississippi has been controlled so that these floods that came in the last few years have not affected the lower Mississippi.

I want to see a regular flood control program in all these river valleys.

As I said yesterday at Seattle, I want to see the river developed for the benefit of the people, for power, for navigation, for reclamation, and for flood control, and that can be done, and should be done.

I was informed by the Chief of Engineers before I left Washington that the Missouri plan is completed, so far as the plan is concerned, but it will take 6 more years to get that flood control into effect.

There is a plan for the Columbia River Basin, not only for flood control but for power and for irrigation and for navigation. And I am hoping to see that Columbia River plan outlined completely.

Had it not been for the immense power dams on the Columbia River, it would have been much harder to win World War Two. These immense dams at Bonneville and Grand Coulee—I went to see the Grand Coulee just the other day, and there are a million acre-feet of water pouring over that dam every 24 hours. That is the cause of some of your trouble down here. But if those dams had not been built over the opposition of people who wanted to look backward, it would have taken longer, and many more lives, to win World War Two.

There is not any reason in the world why these plans should not be carried out, and if we can get the cooperation of every branch of the Federal Government, we can get that done.

There are some people, you know, who do not like public power, and there are some

people who do not like to expend money for the reclamation of the land in the West. You know, Daniel Webster said the West wasn't any good, and the further away they could keep it from the East the better he would be pleased. That was along in 1835. There are a lot of people who still believe like Daniel Webster. But I am trying to convert those people, and if I succeed in that, we will get the proper developments of those rivers.

I am extremely sorry that you are faced with this disaster, but every disaster has some good at the conclusion of it. This will give you more sympathetic hearts when you hear that the Connecticut or the Missouri or the Ohio or some other great river in this country has gone on a rampage. You will understand just exactly what other people are faced with. They understand exactly what you are faced with, and they are sympathetic, and they are going to help you. And I am glad they are.

I have had a most appreciative welcome in this part of the world. I have been out here time and again before, but I didn't attract so much attention as I do now. I was here during World War Two, in the capacity of chairman of an investigating committee of the United States Senate. I have been here in Portland on two occasions, and I have been in Bremerton, Wash., and San Francisco, and Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, and Sacramento—in nearly every town in the West. I have been out here before that, so I know something about what your problems are. I know something about what this country is in this part of the United States, and I know what a contribution it made to the war effort, not only in its power program which I have just talked about, but in the food production, in manpower, in ship production, and everything else that went to win that war.

Now I want to use those same facilities to win the peace, and I know we can do that.

Everybody thought that, when the war suddenly ended, that everything was going to pot, there wouldn't be any jobs, there wouldn't be any work, there wouldn't be anything to do. Well, you know what a surprise it has been to everybody during the last 3 years, since the war ended. There is more work, and more jobs, and more things to be done than has ever been the case in the history of the world. We finally have come to the conclusion that we must assume our position as leader in the world.

In 1920 Almighty God, I think, intended for this country to assume that position, but we turned our backs on it—and see what happened? We can't do that any more. We must accept our responsibility, and when we accept our responsibility—that leadership which God Almighty intended us to assume—there will be peace in the world. There will be enough for everybody to have the good things in life, not only in this country but in the rest of the world. We now have more than 61 million people at work—more jobs than ever before in the history of the country. And the income of the United States is $200 billion or over. Now that can be continued, if we use our heads and our judgment. That is what I am out here to explain to you. And I know how to do that. I know what to tell you to do. I told the Congress time and time again what they should do to continue that situation, and I hope eventually we will get action on it.

I sincerely hope that when this severe flood subsides out here, we can immediately go to work and begin to put in a plan of construction along this river so that it will never happen again; and by the next time I come out here you won't be afraid of floods, and you won't be afraid of not having power, not having a lot of other things that will be good

for you when they happen.

That will take several years, but I would like to come out and see it, when it is finished.

Thank you very much.

[2.] SALEM, OREGON (Rear platform, 4:30 p.m.)

You know, I never had a nicer, more appreciated introduction. I have known the Governor for a long time. He is my kind of a Democrat. He knows how this public power fight started out here. He knows what we had to go through with to get Grand Coulee and Bonneville, and we still shall have a fight to get the rest of the dams on the Columbia River that we ought to have, in order to make the Columbia River produce as much power as all the private power companies in the United States now produce. Did you know that?

The Columbia River has a potential of 50 million kilowatts of power. That is all the private companies produce now.

I am so glad that the Governor came down. I hoped he would. I have known him a long time, almost ever since I have been in politics. He was far and away my senior in the Congress, and as Governor of his State I am glad to come back here and rank him just this one time.

I landed here this morning. I flew here from Olympia, McChord Field at Fort Lewis, and I had hoped to be able to look at the Columbia River floods, but you had one of your early morning mists, and I couldn't see it. As I went through this town, I saw what I thought were all the people in Oregon, but here they are—I was mistaken. As I went along the roads from here to Portland, in order to see the flood damage in that city, it seemed that everybody in every town was out to greet the President.

Now I understand very well that that greeting is to the Chief Executive of the greatest Nation on earth, and is not to Harry Truman as a private citizen.

Voice: It is, too!

You have to be very careful always to keep that in mind when you are President of the United States, because if you don't keep that in mind, you will get a bad case of "Potomac fever," and then you are ruined. You know, Woodrow Wilson said that a great many men came to Washington and grew up with their jobs, and a very large number came and just swelled up. I am trying awful hard to keep that swelling down. My hat hasn't increased a single eighth of an inch since I have been President of the United States.

I am interested in flood control as well as power and navigation and reclamation in this part of the world. I understand that your Willamette River is due to go on a rampage. Well, its rampage can be controlled. All you need to do to control it is to control the tributaries. The Columbia River requires about 15 million acre-feet of storage to prevent such a flood as they are having now. The Missouri River and the Ohio River and the Connecticut River in New England have the same sort of floods, and the same sort of control would take care of those floods in every one of those valleys.

Since I have been in politics—and I hate to tell you how long that has been—I have been interested in flood control, because the old Missouri—when the old Missouri goes on a rampage, it goes on a rampage! The year before last, if my memory is correct, the Missouri wiped out 500 million dollars' worth of crops. And that happens once every 4 years on the average.

Now you haven't had a flood on the Columbia River in this region since 1894 that

was worthy of the name. I am sorry to say that sometimes disasters have their good points, and this one undoubtedly will make this part of the country flood-conscious, and you will sympathize with the Ohio and the Missouri and the Connecticut, as they sympathize with you now, because they know what you are going through.

And when we have that sort of a situation, we have the country working together as a whole—as a unit.

This is the greatest Nation on earth, I think. The greatest Nation in history, let's put it that way. We have done things that no other nation in the history of the world has done. We fought two wars in one generation for liberty and the right of the individual, and we have taken a part of the territory of a nation, with whom we went to war, and whom we defeated, and made a nation out of that territory. That never happened before in the history of the world. No nation ever gave back any territory it ever took.

We made a republic out of Cuba, we made a republic out of the Philippines, and we are giving Puerto Rico self-government.

All we ask in this world is peace, for the welfare of all the people in the world.

If we want it badly enough, and if we go along with the program which has been outlined as the foreign policy of the United States, we will get that peace, and it will last, I hope, indefinitely, or maybe a thousand years. There is plenty of room in all the world for everybody. The resources of this great Northwest would support 4 or 5 times the number of people that are in it now, if it was properly developed.

That is what I want to see done all over the whole world. Then we can live together as neighbors.

I have talked to you too much and on too many subjects. You have been very kind. You are very hospitable, and I wish we could stay longer, but I have a schedule that was made for me in Washington, and I have to keep it, so we have to go.

[3.] ALBANY, OREGON (Rear platform, 5:20 p.m.)

Well, this certainly is a very great pleasure. I thought I saw all of Oregon in Portland and Salem. Apparently, I didn't.

Voice: You're close enough to see your dimples.

THE PRESIDENT. Not dimples, they're wrinkles. You can't have dimples at 64!

I certainly have enjoyed the visit to Oregon, except for the fact that I had to go out this morning and look at those flooded areas north of the town. That was not pleasant. I saw where that city had been entirely washed away. You can count the chimneys where each chimney marked 14 apartments. Nothing there but the chimneys. All sorts of broken up houses and automobiles upside down, and everything you could think of, of that sort. It was not pleasant, and I hope that some time or other the country will come to the conclusion that those things can be controlled. And they can. All we need to do is to decide to do the thing and go ahead and do it.

I have had a most wonderful reception here in the West. I have been here many a time before, and I have driven from San Francisco to Portland through this city. I have ridden from San Francisco to Portland through this city. Nobody paid any attention to me.

Of course, I understand that the only reason they pay so much attention to me now is because I own the greatest office of the world.

Same voice: And you are a Democrat!

THE PRESIDENT. Well, of course, that may

have some bearing on it, too. But the office is the thing that causes every American citizen to be curious, to see how the man who has that office is wearing it, to see whether he is trying to use that office for their benefit, or to make a stuffed shirt out of himself.

I am trying my best to work in your interests, and in the public interest. I have no other ambition. And to see that this country continues to be the most prosperous and the greatest country in the world.

No President can do that by himself. He must have the cooperation of his constituents, and he must have the cooperation of the Congress. I haven't had either one.

I came out here so you might see and understand the things for which I stand, and so that you might get the truth and the facts, which you haven't been getting through the press.

I have only one ambition, and that is to get a peace in the world that will be lasting, that will work, and that will keep this country prosperous for generations to come.

I was a field artillery captain in the First World War. I had three nephews in the Second World War, and I wanted to go into the Second World War myself, but I was in the Senate, and General Marshall, who was then Chief of Staff, told me that I was too old to go into the field artillery. After I became President, one of my secretaries asked him what he would say now if the same question was put up to him by the same person. He said, "I would say the same thing, but I would be a little more diplomatic about it."

Same voice: If you call those wrinkles dimples then you *are* too old.

THE PRESIDENT. Now you're speaking for yourself, not for me.

Thank you a lot for your appearance and for your welcome, and I appreciate it most highly, and I hope some time I can come back and talk politics to you.

[4.] EUGENE, OREGON (Rear platform, 6:25 p.m.)

It certainly is fine to see all of you here today. The last time I was here it was 7 o'clock in the morning. There weren't quite so many of you up that time. I was going from San Francisco to Portland in 1944, in the campaign of 1944. It was my duty to start that campaign in Los Angeles, Calif., which I did, and I came to San Francisco, and then to Eugene, then to Portland, then to Seattle, and all the way across the country. Thirteen thousands miles I went on that tour. I won't go quite so far on this one, but I may take one later on that will take a little more time.

I came out here this time to discuss with you certain things in which you are interested, and I think I have been rather successful in making you see that there are things in which you are interested, and which I am interested in also, but I fear very much that the Congress is not so interested as we are in those things. I want you to find that out for yourselves. I understand that this is the seat of the University of Oregon, and that more than half the students are GI's. That is a wonderful thing. Those GI's found out that they needed an education and they found out that they could get it and they found out that those of us who had been in the Congress were thinking about them and trying to make arrangements so that they could get an education. You know that education is one thing that can't be taken away from you. Nobody can rob you of your education, because that is in your head; that is, if you have any head and are capable of holding it. Most of us are capable of holding an education, if we try to get it.

I sent my daughter to George Washington University, and it took her 4 long years to get a degree, and I got one the same night for

nothing! I have never been to the University of California either, but I am going down there tomorrow to get another degree, and I didn't do anything for it, only I am going to make a graduating speech there, and tell them all about the foreign affairs, and the foreign policy of the United States of America. I hope you will all listen to that because it is only a repeat of what I have said at least 100 times. It is the foreign policy of the United States that I am going to discuss tomorrow at the University of California, and you are all interested in it, because if we carry out that foreign policy we will have peace in the world. And that's what everybody wants. I want peace in the world just as badly as anybody in the world.

I went to Potsdam in 1945 with that in view, I went there with the kindliest feelings in the world toward Russia, and we made certain agreements, specific agreements. I got very well acquainted with Joe Stalin, and I like old Joe! He is a decent fellow. But Joe is a prisoner of the Politburo. He can't do what he wants to. He makes agreements, and if he could he would keep them; but the people who run the government are very specific in saying that he can't keep them.

Now sometime or other that great country and this great country are going to understand that their mutual interests mean the welfare and peace of the world as a whole. I am going to tell you about that tomorrow at the University of California.

[5.] OAKRIDGE, OREGON (Rear platform, 7:40 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor and citizens of Oakridge city, Oregon:

The Mayor tells me that he is a blacksmith by trade.

You know, that is what makes this country great. Anybody can be Mayor, Congressman, Senator, President, you see. And that is the reason I am happy to be a citizen of the great State of Missouri.

You know, all of you had to come through Missouri—your ancestors did—before you could get to Oregon. You all came down the Oregon Trail, which originated in Independence, Mo.

I am most happy that the train stopped here tonight, and I am most happy to have a chance to say a word to you.

Thank you a lot. I certainly appreciate this welcome.

[6.] KLAMATH FALLS, OREGON (Rear platform, 10:55 p.m.)

Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor. I have had a most enjoyable visit on this west coast. I don't think I ever received a more cordial welcome than I have received in Washington and Oregon. They have been exceedingly kind to me, and I can't tell you how much I appreciate it.

The President, you know, has to receive all the criticism that it's possible for a man to receive and still survive. So when he sees smiling faces such as yours, and such as I have seen along the railroad today, it is a compensation for what he has to go through with being President.

The President's job is a remarkable one. He is the Chief Executive of the greatest Nation in the world. He has certain responsibilities which he cannot forego. He must stay at the table and work day in and day out, and year in and year out, hoping that he will accomplish something that will be for the benefit of all the people of the Nation. And if he can do that, then he is satisfied. Sometimes he thinks he has succeeded. More often he is afraid he has not, especially if he believes the columnists that write in some of the newspapers.

Since I have been in the White House,

since April 12, on that sad day when President Roosevelt died, I have had a varied experience. Two wars have ended in that time, and we have been endeavoring ever since those two wars ended, to get a peace. That is my one ambition, to get peace in the world.

I had hoped in September 1945, when the Japanese surrender terms were signed, that by this time we would have peace in the world. We are going to get peace in the world, because that is what we must have. The United Nations is the vehicle through which we will get peace in the world. And when that peace comes, I am just as sure as I stand here that the atomic age is going to be the greatest age in history. I have said many times that I wish I were 18 years old, or younger, so I could go along with the world that is to come.

You know, way back in 1845, there was a certain Prime Minister of Great Britain who said that he was glad he was retiring as Prime Minister of Great Britain, because he thought the Empire was going to break up. Well, Britain accomplished its greatest period after 1845.

We had a Patent Commissioner along in 1843 who went down and told the Senate Appropriations Committee that the Patent Office ought to be abolished because there was nothing new to invent. That was in 1843. What great changes—this business I am talking over right now, this radio—the automobile, electric light, and everything else that we use and think we cannot get along today without, they were all invented and patented since 1843. Suppose the Senate Appropriations Committee had followed the advice of that old Patent Commissioner? We would be in exactly the same position that we will be if we listen to the gloom artists today.

I am not gloomy. I think we are facing the greatest age in history. And I think all you young people are going to have a glorious future. I think this great Nation has only begun to be great, because in 1920 Almighty God expected us to assume the leadership of the world, which we refused to assume, and we had another war.

We are faced now with that same situation. We must assume that leadership, and I am trying my best to see that this Nation does assume that leadership; and if you support me in it, we are going to assume it.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on June 11 the President referred to Earl Riley, Mayor of Portland, Leslie Scott, Acting Governor of Oregon, Lorenz F. Gerspach, Mayor of Oakridge, and Ed Ostendorn, Mayor of Klamath Falls. The remarks in Portland were not broadcast nationally.

127 Veto of Bill To Exempt Certain Carriers in Interstate Commerce From the Antitrust Laws. *June* 12, 1948

To the Senate:

I return herewith, without my approval, S. 110, a bill "To amend the Interstate Commerce Act with respect to certain agreements between carriers," because it would permit an important segment of the economy to obtain immunity from the antitrust laws, and would do so without providing adequate safeguards to protect the public interest.

This bill would authorize exemption from the antitrust laws for any carrier acting in concert with one or more competing carriers in the establishment of rates and related matters, if the Interstate Commerce Commission approves the procedural agreements under which such action would be taken. The

Commission would be required to approve these agreements if it should find that exemption from the antitrust laws would be in "furtherance of the national transportation policy."

Under this bill private carrier associations and rate bureaus, free from the restraints of the antitrust laws, could exercise broad powers over most forms of domestic transportation, including railroads, trucks and busses, water carriers, pipelines, and freight forwarders. Carriers could agree privately among themselves upon the rates to be filed with, or withheld from, the Interstate Commerce Commission. Acting through these bureaus, groups of carriers could exercise a powerful deterrent influence upon the filing by an individual carrier of proposed rates which might benefit the public.

The exercise by private groups of this substantial control over the transportation industry involves serious potential harm to the public. Transportation rates affect the cost of goods as they move through each phase of production—from raw materials, through finished products, to the consumer. Power to control transportation rates is power to influence the competitive success or failure of other businesses. Legislation furthering the exercise of this power by private groups would clearly be contrary to the public interest.

My disapproval of this bill does not signify opposition to carrier associations as such, or to all of their present functions. Many of their activities are useful and desirable. However, this legislation is not necessary for the continuation of such activities.

No legislation giving a major industry immunity from the antitrust laws should be enacted unless adequate alternative safeguards are provided for the public interest. This measure fails to provide such safeguards. Even the limited safeguards incorporated in the bill as originally passed by the Senate are omitted from the bill in its present form. It would require the Interstate Commerce Commission to approve any agreement which it finds to be in "furtherance of the national transportation policy." This is a vague and general standard and is manifestly neither adequate nor appropriate as a criterion for waiving the protection afforded the public by the antitrust laws.

Furthermore, the Commission would be placed in the position of applying this general criterion to the basic procedural agreements without being able to foresee fully the nature and effect of the joint actions which would be taken thereunder. Nevertheless, the exemption from the antitrust laws would extend to these subsequent actions without the necessity of further Commission approval. It would extend, moreover, even beyond the parties to the basic agreement to any "other persons" who participate in such actions.

Even though transportation rates are subject to regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission, the public interest nevertheless demands that the general national policy of maintaining competition continue to be applied to this industry. Our present transportation policy contemplates a pattern of partial regulation, within the framework of which the pressures of competition will remain substantially effective. Regulation cannot entirely replace these competitive pressures. It can guard against some of the potential abuses of monopoly power, but it cannot be an effective substitute for the affirmative stimulus toward improved service and lower rates which competition provides. By sanctioning rate control by groups of carriers, this legislation would represent a departure from the present transportation policy of regulated competition. This, I believe, would be a serious mistake,

with far-reaching effects on our economy.

Antitrust cases are now before the courts challenging some of the very activities which would be covered by this bill. Pending judicial clarification of the issues raised in these proceedings, it would be inappropriate to provide the immunity proposed by this bill.

I have repeatedly urged upon the Congress the necessity for a vigorous antimonopoly program. This bill would be inconsistent with such a program.

For these compelling reasons, I find it necessary to withhold my approval from the measure.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: On June 17 the Congress passed the bill over the President's veto. As enacted, S. 110 is Public Law 662, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 472).

128 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in California. *June* 12, 1948

[1.] ROSEVILLE, CALIFORNIA (Rear platform, 9:35 a.m.)

Mr. Mayor, this certainly is a cordial welcome, and I appreciate it more than I can tell you. I have been having a beautiful ride through this western country in the last 3 or 4 days, and I think I have had a liberal education on a lot of things. I have been sitting at the window this morning looking at this beautiful valley—the Sacramento Valley—and I am very happy that eventually we are going to get this Central Valley of California fixed so that water won't be such a problem, I hope. And between the Shasta Dam and the Folsom Dam and the improvements that are to be made at the mouth of the Sacramento River outside of San Francisco, sometime or other both the north and the south ends of this valley will be much happier about the water situation than they are now.

You know, back where I live water is not such a problem, only sometimes we get too much of it just like we are getting up in the Columbia River Valley now. The Missouri River goes on a rampage about once in 3 years and causes damage from a $100 to $500 million. We have been trying to get that worked out.

Now my theory is that all these river valleys are interested in just one thing and that is the welfare of the population that inhabits those valleys, but they have a common interest, and that common interest is centered in the Congress of the United States, and if you can get a Congress that understands the problems of the river valleys, as I am egotistical enough to say, as your President understands them, we can get most of these things solved. There isn't any fundamental difference. One river valley may be suffering from too much water. That valley gets flood control. One river valley may be suffering from a lack of water on the adjoining land. That is a reclamation and irrigation project. One river valley may be suffering from the fact that the potential power in that river has not been controlled. That is easy enough to overcome. We have proven that that can be overcome in the Tennessee Valley, which is one of the most successful projects of its kind in the world. The Columbia River can be controlled in the same way, and there isn't any reason in the world why the problems of the Central Valley of California can't be solved in exactly the same way.

But you must have people who understand the situation, and those people control the purse strings, and unless those purse strings

are properly controlled, we will never get anything done.

It has been a very great privilege to me to have a chance to personally see as many people as I have seen in the last 2 or 3 days in this part of the world. You know there has been a great deal of conversation about your President, and what he has done and hasn't done, and what he should do and shouldn't do. And I thought maybe it would be a very fine thing if I could come out here and let you know what, in the last 3 years, I have been trying to do, and to let you understand that for 10 years previous to that time I was a Member of the United States Senate from Missouri, and was on the Appropriations Committee of the United States Senate, and I know something about how the Government ought to run.

During the war I was one of the right hands of the President of the United States, Franklin Roosevelt. It was my business to investigate the efficiency of the production program which produced the machines and the ammunition and everything of that sort, so that the men in the field would never be left so they couldn't fight. I used to interview the President at least once a week, and we would outline the things that should be looked into. As a result of those investigations by the committee of which I was a member, I think it has been impossible for this hostile Congress to dig up any scandals that will reflect on President Roosevelt. And that is what I was working for at that time. Don't think they haven't tried their best. They have.

But the issues this fall are going to be clearly drawn. When the time arrives that your President doesn't have to run against the field and have a definite fellow who has a record, then we will see what's what, and it is going to be up to you to decide whether you want the country to go forward or whether you want to go back to 1920.

[2.] SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA (Rear platform, 10:20 a.m.)

Governor Knight and Mayor Cooledge, and citizens of Sacramento:

This certainly is a welcome and a turnout. It looks as if everybody in the Central Valley is here in the capital city tonight—this morning—I am so used to talking at night. The Central Valley, I know, is a most important part of California and the United States, so I judge that people in the Central Valley will be here to talk to the President about the various things that I have been interested in since I have been in the Congress of the United States. I went there in 1935 as a United States Senator from Missouri.

My grandfather, you know, owned the site of the city of Sacramento. You didn't know that, did you? He was a freighter from Westport, which is now part of Kansas City, Mo., to Salt Lake City and San Francisco. They made a deal one time and obtained 27 Spanish leagues of land in the Sacramento Valley on a part of that site that Sacramento City is upon, and if you look at those titles you will find his name in the titles somewhere.

The partner of the old man went south with the assets of the freighting company, and he had to sell that ranch for $75,000 in order to pay his share of the debts. Now think of that! I probably would not have been President of the United States if the old man had kept that valley.

But I have had a most remarkable tour and a most remarkable reception since I left the Capital City of the United States. I have been to Ohio, and Illinois, and Nebraska, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, and now I am in California.

I was invited to come to California by the President of the University of California to make the graduation address to the graduating class down there today, and at the same

time to receive a degree from that university. I am most happy that the president of the university invited me. That gave me an excellent excuse to make a nonpolitical trip across the country and tell the people what I think. And I think you are entitled to see your President and to understand what his policies are and what he is thinking about. It wouldn't make any difference where I went, on what excuse I went or what I did. It's a political matter so far as the Government of the United States is concerned. The President can't cross the street without creating an incident. But this President likes to create incidents.

And I am extremely happy that I have had the opportunity to see as many people as I have on this trip, and to explain to them the policies of the President of the United States, so that when these issues are drawn and when these conventions meet, and when they make their platforms, the record of the President of the United States will be one platform, and the record of the policy committee of the United States Congress will be the other. And then you will have a chance to take your choice and see which one you want. It is perfectly legitimate for me to come out here and talk to you and let you see me, and let you find out for yourselves whether I am just the kind of a bird that these columnists say I am.

I am very much interested in this Sacramento Valley—the Central Valley of California—which includes the whole San Joaquin Valley and the Sacramento Valley, too. I included the improvements for the Sacramento Valley and the San Joaquin Valley in the budget, and I included them in the budget last year. And the Congress decided that it wasn't necessary to spend all that money.

This year they have been a little more liberal. The reason for that, of course, is that this is 1948. Every fourth year those Eastern Republicans who control this Congress decide that maybe something ought to be done for the West. You know, old Daniel Webster said, way back there in 1835, when the Congress was trying to appropriate money for the development of the West, that the East was close enough to the West, he didn't want to get it any closer, there wasn't anything out there anyway.

I will say one thing, you have a Governor here that doesn't believe in that. Your Governor believes in forward-looking. Your Governor believes in getting things done. He has been back to see me time and again on the problems which are located in this Valley, and I am glad to talk to him because he is a man of sense and a man of ability. The facts in the case are he is really a Democrat and doesn't know it.

I sincerely hope that when the lines are drawn and when the facts are before you, that you will examine them carefully. That is your privilege and your right. That is what makes this country great. When I ride up and down the streets in these great cities, people stand on the sidewalk and say, "Hi, Harry." Now there isn't another head of a state in the world to whom that can be done. That means that the people are the Government of the United States. They elect the President, they elect the Vice President, they elect the Congress, and when they don't like what the Congress does, or the President does, when the time comes, they can turn him out and try another one, who may not be quite so good, but at least it's a change. In this instance, I don't think you will want to make a change when the time comes, but we will discuss that when I go on my political tour.

I have had, as I told you, a wonderful time. The welcome that has been given me since I have left Washington has surprised me as much as it has the newspaper columnists. And I appreciate it.

I am going on down to the university now, trying to tell these young men and young women who are graduating from that university that they are living in the greatest age in history, and that I am sorry that I can't start out with them and live through that age.

This country is just beginning its greatness. You know, we have more people at work now than we ever had before in the history of the country. Some 61 million people are at work and they are hunting for more people. The national income has been running over $200 billions, and I always thought that that is only a start.

You know, way back in 1843 some old Commissioner of Patents said that they ought to close the Patent Office because there wasn't anything else to invent. What would have happened if they had done that? All the great inventions under which we live now and which have made this country great have been invented since 1843.

We are on the edge of the same sort of an era, right now. And this is 1948.

I wish I could come back here in 1958 and read about some of these old birds that want to send this country back to 1920. They are not going to be able to do it, because I don't think you people are going to stand for it.

Thank you very much.

[3.] DAVIS, CALIFORNIA (Rear platform, 11:10 a.m.)

You know, I get a surprise every day. I was told that this was only just a pass-through stop, and all I should do is to come out on the back platform and wave to the populace, and look!—I believe half the town is here. Well, maybe the surrounding country is represented, too.

It is a pleasure. I certainly appreciate the cordial welcome which I have received since I have been in California, and since I have been in the whole West. Everybody has been good to me. And I like it. Everybody likes to be received when he goes into another man's home or another man's State. And I am hoping that sometime or other I may be able to come back and talk to you on the issues of the day.

You know, I am on a nonpolitical trip. I am going down here to Berkeley to get me a degree.

I understand that you have a college here. Now you know how to get the President here, don't you? I am giving you a little hint.

I certainly appreciate it, and thank you very much. If this hadn't been just a pass-through stop, there's no telling how big a crowd there would have been here.

[4.] BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA (University of California Luncheon, 1:50 p.m.)

Dr. Sproul, I don't know how to accept the hospitality of the University of California when it is delivered in that graceful manner. You remember some time back that you and Ed Pauley tried to get a reparations agreement out of the Russians. You got a very excellent reparations agreement out of the United States. I hope you will keep on working on the Russians.

I have a little hesitation about addressing this august body, shall I say, everybody with degrees emeritus and all the other $40 words that go with an education. The only degree that I ever earned was at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. My daughter went to school there for 4 years and earned me a degree.

But I am very happy to be here to talk to the graduating class of the University of California on a nonpolitical subject. And I hope that Dr. Sproul, when he goes to Phila-

delphia on the 21st day of June, will consult me, because I have got a candidate I would like to see nominated there.

I was very much interested in the address of the gentleman from the class of '98, when he said that the future before us for the next 50 years is a brighter, greater future than the 50 years just past. Back in 1843, a Commissioner of Patents appeared before the Appropriations Committee of the United States Senate, and I have seen the transcript of his testimony, in which he said that everything had been invented and there wasn't any sense in the world for the United States Government to go to the expense of maintaining a Patent Office, for there was nothing new to patent. That was in 1843. Consider that a little bit. There are people today who have that same viewpoint.

I haven't it. I wish I were 18 instead of 64. I would like to see the next 50 years because I think the greatest age in the history of the world is in front of us, and that age depends entirely on the proper leadership in the United States of America, because the United States of America is now the greatest Nation in the world and must set the pattern. Twenty years ago God Almighty intended this Nation to set that pattern and we refused to accept the responsibility. We must accept it this time, and it is up to you people—people such as you are—to see that that leadership is what it should be.

I know with what we are faced. I am sure of what we can do. I hope we will assume that responsibility and carry it out.

Thank you.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on June 12 the President referred to Harold T. Johnson, Mayor of Roseville, Goodwin J. Knight, Lt. Governor of California, Belle Cooledge, Mayor of Sacramento, Dr. Robert G. Sproul, President of the University of California, and Edwin W. Pauley, former U.S. Representative on the Reparations Commission.

129 Commencement Address at the University of California. *June* 12, 1948

President Sproul, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I deeply appreciate the privilege you have given me of taking part in these exercises at this great university.

I regret that I could not arrange my schedule to permit me to be here next week at the time for which you first invited me. Under these circumstances, I am pleased that an adjustment could be made on the part of the university so as to make it possible for me to be here today.

Three years ago this month, across the bay in San Francisco, I witnessed the signing of the Charter of the United Nations. That Charter represents man's hope for a world order based upon law, and for lasting peace based on justice.

Today, I have come back to the shores of San Francisco Bay to discuss with you recent world events and, in particular, to appraise the progress we are making toward world peace.

Many students here today and in colleges across the country are veterans. They fought for peace with freedom and justice. They, above all, have reason to expect a plain statement of the progress we are making in that direction.

The American people know from experience that our daily lives are affected not only by what happens in this country, but also by events abroad. Most American families bear the scars and memories of a war which began thousands of miles from this Nation. Every American wants to be sure that this country

is doing everything in its power to build a lasting peace and a just peace. We believe that such a peace can be achieved by the nations of the world.

Anyone can talk peace. But only the work that is done for peace really counts.

I propose to describe the specific steps the United States has taken to obtain peace in the world. I propose, also, to discuss what further measures we must take, and what measures others must take, if our hopes for peace are to be fulfilled.

The United States has consistently done its part in meeting the requirements for a peaceful world.

We fought through World War II with only one purpose: to destroy the tyrants who tried to impose their rule on the world and enslave the people. We sought no territories; we asked for only token reparations. At the end of the war, we quickly dismantled the greatest military machine ever built by any nation. We withdrew and demobilized the American armies that had swept across Europe and the Pacific, leaving only minimum occupation forces in Germany, Austria, Japan, and Korea. The nations which our army had helped to liberate were left free to work out their postwar problems without interference from us.

That was not the course of a nation that sought to impose its will upon others. It was not the course of an aggressor.

Long before the fighting had ended, our Government began planning for a world organization which could provide security for all nations. At Dumbarton Oaks, at Yalta, at San Francisco, the United States led the way in preparing for a strong and useful United Nations. In the past 3 years we have taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations, and the related agencies—such as the World Bank and the Food and Agriculture Organization—which are fundamental to world peace and prosperity.

No action by the United States has revealed more clearly our sincere desire for peace than our proposal in the United Nations for the international control of atomic energy. In a step without precedent, we have voluntarily offered to share with others the secrets of atomic power. We ask only for conditions that will guarantee its use for the benefit of humanity—and not for the destruction of humanity.

To assist world economic recovery, we have contributed nearly $20 billion in loans and grants to other nations. American dollars have been invested generously in the cause of peace because we know what peace is worth.

This is a record of action in behalf of peace without parallel in history.

Many other nations have joined wholeheartedly with us in our work for peace. They share our desire for international control of atomic energy, for the early conclusion of peace treaties, for world economic recovery, and for the effective development of the United Nations.

Why then, after such great exertions and huge expenditures, do we live today in a twilight period, between war so dearly won and a peace that still eludes our grasp?

The answer is not hard to find.

It lies largely in the attitude of one nation—the Soviet Union.

Long before the war the United States established normal diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union. In doing so we demonstrated our belief that it was possible to get along with a nation whose economic and political system differs sharply from ours.

During the war we worked with the Soviet Union wholeheartedly in defeating the common enemy. In every way we could we tried to convince the Soviet Government that it was possible and necessary for allied unity to continue in the great task of establishing

the peace. We hoped that the Soviet Union, secure in her own strength and doubly secure in respect of her allies, would accept full partnership in a peaceful world community.

The record, however, is clear for all to read. The Soviet Government has rejected the invitation to participate, freely and on equal terms, in a great cooperative program for reconstruction of Europe. It has constantly maneuvered for delay and for propaganda effect in every international conference. It has used the veto excessively and unreasonably in the Security Council of the United Nations. It has boycotted the "Little Assembly" and several special United Nations commissions. It has used indirect aggression against a number of nations in Eastern Europe and extreme pressure against others in the Middle East. It has intervened in the internal affairs of many other countries by means of Communist parties directed from Moscow.

The refusal of the Soviet Union to work with its wartime allies for world recovery and world peace is the most bitter disappointment of our time.

The great issues of world peace and world recovery are sometimes portrayed as disputes solely between the United States and the Soviet Union. This is not the case. The fact is that not a single one of the major unsettled questions of the postwar world is primarily a disagreement between this country and the Soviet Union. We are not engaged in a struggle with the Soviet Union for any territory or for any economic gain. We have no hostile or aggressive designs against the Soviet Union or any other country. We are not waging a "cold war."

The cleavage that exists is not between the Soviet Union and the United States. It is between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world.

The great questions at stake today affect not only the United States and the Soviet Union; they affect all nations.

Whether it be the control of atomic energy, aggression against small nations, the German or the Austrian peace settlements, or any of the other questions, the majority of nations concerned have found a common basis for action. But in every case the majority agreement has been rejected, denounced, and openly attacked by the Soviet Union and her satellites whose policy she controls.

Let me repeat: the division has not been between the United States and the Soviet Union, but between the Soviet Union and the free nations of the world.

The United States is strongly devoted to the principle of discussion and negotiation in settling international differences. We do not believe in settling differences by force. There are certain types of disputes in international affairs which can and must be settled by negotiation and agreement.

But there are others which are not susceptible to negotiation.

There is nothing to negotiate when one nation disregards the principles of international conduct to which all the members of the United Nations have subscribed. There is nothing to negotiate when one nation habitually uses coercion and open aggression in international affairs.

What the world needs in order to regain a sense of security is an end to Soviet obstruction and aggression.

I will give you two clear illustrations of what I have in mind.

The situation in Greece has caused a great deal of uneasiness throughout the world. It has been the subject of a series of investigations on the part of commissions of the United Nations. The facts have been established over and over again by these investigations. They are clear beyond dispute.

Some twenty thousand Greek guerrillas have been able to keep Greece in a state of unrest and to disrupt Greek recovery, primarily because of the aid and comfort they have been receiving from the neighboring countries of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania.

Last October, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution calling upon Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania to stop their illegal aid and comfort to the Greek rebels. This resolution was agreed to by more than two-thirds of the membership of the United Nations. But it has been boycotted by Russia.

The situation in Greece requires no special negotiation, or discussion, or conference.

On its own initiative the Soviet Government can cease its boycott of the United Nations recommendation. It can join with other nations in stopping illegal foreign support of the Greek guerrillas so that Greece may have an opportunity for peaceful reconstruction.

If the Soviet Union genuinely desires to make a contribution to the peace and recovery of the world, it can prove it in Greece.

The situation in Korea is also disturbing. There the Soviet Government has defied the clearly expressed will of an overwhelming majority of the United Nations, by boycotting the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. This commission was created last fall by the General Assembly to help set up a Korean national government based on free and democratic elections.

The Soviet boycott has prevented the residents of the northern zone of Korea from electing representatives to establish a unified national government for Korea.

The situation in Korea requires no special negotiation, or discussion, or conference.

On its own initiative, the Soviet Union can abandon its boycott of the United Nations Commission. It can permit the people of North Korea to work with their compatriots in the south in creating an independent and democratic nation.

If the Soviet Union genuinely desires to make a contribution to peace and recovery in the world, it can prove it in Korea.

In these questions, as in all others, there are practical ways for the Soviet Union to show its good faith by proper action.

The United States will always respond to an honest move by any nation to further the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

But no nation has the right to exact a price for good behavior.

What is needed is a will for peace. What is needed is the abandonment of the absurd idea that the capitalistic nations will collapse and that the instability in international affairs will hasten their collapse, leaving the world free for communism. It is possible for different economic systems to live side by side in peace, one with the other, provided one of these systems is not determined to destroy the other by force.

I have said before and I repeat now: the door is always open for honest negotiations looking toward genuine settlements.

The door is not open, however, for deals between great powers to the detriment of other nations or at the expense of principle. We refuse to play fast and loose with man's hope for peace. That hope is too sacred to be trifled with for propaganda purposes, or selfish advantage, by any individual or nation. We are interested in peace—not in propaganda.

We shall judge the policy of every nation by whether it advances or obstructs world progress toward peace and we wish our own policy to be judged by the same standard.

I stated our American policy for peace at

the end of the war. It has been restated many times, but I shall repeat the essential elements of our policy again so that there can be no misunderstanding anywhere by anyone.

"We seek no territorial expansion or selfish advantage.

"We have no plans for aggression against any other state, large or small.

"We have no objective which need clash with the peaceful aims of any other nation."

The United States has been conscientious and consistent in its devotion to those principles.

We have sought to assist free nations in creating economic conditions under which free institutions can survive and flourish.

We have sought through the United Nations the development of a world order in which each nation feels secure under law, and can make its contribution to world civilization in accordance with its own means and national tradition.

We have sought to help free nations protect themselves against aggression. We know that peace through weakness has proved to be a dangerous illusion. We are determined, therefore, to keep strong for the sake of peace.

This course is not an easy one. But it is the practical, realistic path to peace. It has required, and will continue to require, hard work and some sacrifice by the people of the United States. But from many quarters there is tangible evidence that it is succeeding.

This is the course we must follow. I do not propose that we shall be turned aside by those who want to see us fail.

Our policy will continue to be a policy of recovery, reconstruction, prosperity—and peace with freedom and justice. In its furtherance, we gladly join with all those of like purpose.

The only expansion we are interested in is the expansion of human freedom and the wider enjoyment of the good things of the earth in all countries.

The only prize we covet is the respect and good will of our fellow members of the family of nations.

The only realm in which we aspire to eminence exists in the minds of men, where authority is exercised through the qualities of sincerity, compassion and right conduct.

Abiding devotion to these ideals, and profound faith in their ultimate triumph, sustain and guide the American people in the service of the most compelling cause of our time—the crusade for peace.

I believe the men and women of every part of the globe intensely desire peace and freedom. I believe good people everywhere will not permit their rulers, no matter how powerful they may have made themselves, to lead them to destruction. America has faith in people. It knows that rulers rise and fall, but that people live on.

The American people, from the mighty rostrum of the United Nations, call out to all peoples of the world to join with them to preserve the peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4 p.m. in Memorial Stadium at the University of California. His opening words "President Sproul" referred to Dr. Robert G. Sproul, president of the university. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

130 Informal Remarks in San Francisco. *June* 13, 1948

[1.] FAIRMONT HOTEL (Breakfast of International Labor Organization, Red Room, Fairmont Hotel, 8:40 a.m.)

Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen of the ILO:

Mr. Morse persuaded me to come and have breakfast with you, and I am very happy that I am able to do it.

I have a hard and fast rule about speeches on Sunday. You see, I believe that 6 days in the week are for work, and one is for rest. Of course, I have never caught up with that. But I only consented to say a word or two here because I think maybe this organization can make—and is making—a greater contribution to peace in the world than nearly any other organization of its kind in the world. When I say any other kind of organization in the world, I mean parallel organization, because there is only one ILO, and there has only been one ILO.

I believe that if a cross-section of every country in the world could sit down at breakfast such as you are having here, and talk to each other so they can understand each other in a common language, we would never have any trouble in the world.

You know, honest men, when the facts are all in sight, never have any difficulty agreeing as to what the decision ought to be. It is my duty, as President of the United States, to make the decisions, because I can't pass the buck to anybody; and if I can get all the facts, I have found that the decisions that I make as a result of the facts are satisfactory to everybody.

Now I think this organization is in a position to do more for peace in the world than any other organization of its kind in the world, as I said a while ago.

I want to pay a tribute to Mr. Phelan, retiring president, or presiding officer, or whatever he is called, because he has built this organization up over the 29 years that he has been in charge of it. He came to the White House and invited me to come to this breakfast, and I told him that I thought I would be so busy I couldn't possibly get here. Well, I have been so busy that I managed to get here, incidentally, because I decided to accept a degree from the University of California yesterday, and it became convenient for me to come over here. And I am certainly happy that I have had that opportunity.

This organization is represented from the United States by business and labor, and government. Mr. Morse, and Senator Thomas—the great Senator from Utah—Mr. Morse, the Under Secretary and Acting Secretary of Labor, are representatives of the Government of the United States. Mr. Zellerbach represents the business cross-section of the United States, and Mr. Fenton represents labor in the United States.

If we could get congresses together representing all those organizations—and I think probably it might be well to add another organization, since this is Sunday morning—we ought to have a cross-section of religion in the world, a religion founded on a moral code.

I, the other day, was instrumental in starting a stamp sale dedicating the death of four chaplains in this Second World War, and those four chaplains represented Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. And those four chaplains, when their ship was sinking handed out all the life preservers that were available in the box, and then took off their own and gave their lives that four young men might be saved.

Now you can't witness, or hear about a thing of that kind, without understanding that the heart of the ordinary man is right. And that is what I want to impress upon you this morning, that when your heart is right, and you want to do only what is right, you will have plenty of help and assistance in doing it.

We want peace—peace. We want peace in the world. We want every country in the world to have the necessities of life, to be able to live with its neighbors on a basis of "doing as you would be done by." If we can accomplish that, there will be no difficulty whatever about our getting along in the world. I tried to make that perfectly clear yesterday over at the stadium, and I believe that we are approaching that sort of a situation in the world.

The United Nations is just a fundamental start in understanding. The United Nations, some day, will come out just as the United States came out after 1787, when they adopted the Constitution of the United States. It took 80 years to implement that Constitution. And if we can get the United Nations to work as a court of justice, in which all the difficulties between the United Nations can be settled as we settle them between States in the United States, we will have no difficulty whatever; and never, never will we have to use this atomic release for anything but for the welfare of mankind.

That's all I am interested in. I want to see that the results of the good things that came out of this terrible war, through which we went, are used in the future for the welfare of mankind, and not for its destruction. That is the only ambition I have. That is the only ambition I have ever had. And if you read the record, you will find that that is what I have been working for ever since I was unfortunate enough to become President of the United States on the death of one of the greatest Presidents the country ever had—Franklin Roosevelt.

If I can carry out the policies which he and I discussed a month or so before he died, there will be peace in the world.

You people are making a great contribution.

It has been a pleasure to come over here and preach a Sunday morning sermon to you.

[2.] Fairmont Hotel (Luncheon of the Northern California Democratic Presidential Delegation, Venetian Room, Fairmont Hotel, 12:50 p.m.)

Mr. McEnery, if old man protocol was here, he would shake your hand. You know, the President has a great deal of trouble, sometimes, with the great citizens who introduce him.

I remember one time hearing a story about a man introducing President Roosevelt and he took 15 minutes to make the introduction, and all he was supposed to say was "the President of the United States," just as your chairman did here a while ago. And when the President got up to speak, he said "I appreciate the introduction very much. All has been said that is necessary to be said. I have to catch a train."

I am going out here to the Golden Gate Park to take part in the Flag Day celebration which has been advanced one day for my benefit so I could take part in it.

I am extremely sorry that it is not possible for me to talk to you as I know you would like to have me talk to you. I have very decided scruples about a man in politics using any Sunday meeting for the advancement of his political career. I made that rule when I first went into politics back in 1920. I think most of you weren't born at that time, from the looks of this audience.

At any rate, I have come West so that you

could look at me, so that you could listen to me when I am discussing the things that are of most interest to the people of the United States, and particularly the people west of the Mississippi River; and I feel that you are entitled to that privilege. There has been a great deal said in various quarters about my ability, or inability, my intelligence or lack of it, and I think when you have studied the record, then you will be in a better position to make up your mind, when you can see just what I look like.

I had the privilege this morning of having breakfast with the ILO, which is the International Labor Organization, the only international organization that survived World War II. That organization is making a very great contribution to the peace of the world and that, of course, is what all of us are most interested in. There is not a person in the United States who is not interested in a peace that will prevent the sacrifice of lives and treasure again by this great Nation.

I have said time and again that Almighty God intended this great Nation to be the leader of what is right and what is well for the world, and He indicated that in 1920 after the First World War. But there were certain men who felt that that was not the proper thing to do, and then we had to go through World War II.

Now we are in the predicament of leadership of all the world, and that leadership requires that we assume responsibility in the world. It requires that we remember that the foundation of the things for which we stand is in the Book of the Law, and in the Gospel according to St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John.

If we just remember that, and follow those precepts, and accept that responsibility, we are going to get what God Almighty intended us to get.

We are facing, I think, an age unequaled in the history of the world, as I told the alumni yesterday at the University of California, and you people can make a tremendous contribution to that if you just bear those things in mind and analyze the situations with which we are faced today.

The welfare of the United States, and incidentally the welfare of the world, is wrapped up in what you do. Remember that.

This is a solemn occasion. This is Sunday—June 13th. I hope it will be a red-letter day in your memory, and that you will take to heart your responsibility, because your responsibility is mine.

Thank you very much.

[3.] Golden Gate Park (Flag Day Ceremonies, Golden Gate Park, 3: 10 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, Brother Grand Exalted Ruler, Brother Exalted Ruler, and citizens of San Francisco, California:

I appreciate very much the invitation of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks to participate in this beautiful ceremony. It is a beautiful ceremony. It symbolizes just what all of us would like to be and what we hope to be. That flag has significance now, and has had always a significance that no other flag in the world ever had.

I am somewhat attached to Flag Day, because on Flag Day 1905, just a month and 6 days after I was 21 years old, I joined the National Guard of Missouri, and I served in that National Guard in the First World War.

At that time we did not have any special celebrations for Flag Day in my city, but that celebration for me was one of the most significant, as this one will be one of the most significant, to me.

It was a wonderful thing when Betsy Ross put the first flag together, and made that striped part of the flag represent the first 13 States. You know, in the beginning; when new States were added, they added a stripe

as well as a star to the flag, but it was finally decided that the flag with 13 stripes and a star for each State would make the most beautiful flag in the world, and a flag that stands for everything that is sacred on this continent, and stands for everything the world should strive for as a whole.

We have been forced into two wars fighting for the very liberties for which our forefathers fought in 1776. Right now we are fighting for the liberty of the individual. We are fighting for the right of the citizen to live as he chooses, as long as he does not infringe the rights of his neighbors. We have freedom of thought, freedom of religion, freedom of action, the right to go and come as we please. We are striving manfully now to achieve those rights for every citizen in the world.

Right here in San Francisco it was my privilege just 3 years ago to close the session which created the United Nations. I was present and witnessed the signature of 51 nations to that great document. That document is the constitution of the world, and as long as we live and as long as we exist, if we want peace in the world we must make that constitution of the world work, just as the Constitution of the United States was made to work in 1789. It took us 80 years to implement that Constitution as it is today. It may take a generation or two to make the United Nations constitution work completely and fairly, but I am an optimist. I am just as sure as I stand here that that United Nations Charter will become the constitution of the world, and that we will settle our differences between countries just as we settle our differences in the United States between the States.

That United Nations Charter is working. It has made a demonstration of how it can work in the East Indies, in Indonesia. It has made a demonstration of how it can work in Palestine. It has made a demonstration of how it can work in the European recovery program. Those things just as sure as I stand here will be successful.

And there will be peace in the world.

This flag which we honor today and under which we live stands for all those things that can make you and me better citizens of the United States and better citizens of the world.

I appreciate very much, as I have said before, the privilege of having been able to come and take a small part in this magnificent celebration. This most hospitable of cities can show the country how this celebration should be carried on, and I am glad indeed that I was here to take a small part in it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on June 13 the President referred to David A. Morse, Under Secretary of Labor, Edward J. Phelan, Director General of the International Labor Organization, Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah, James D. Zellerbach, representative of the U.S. industry at the ILO conference, Francis P. Fenton, representative of U.S. labor at the ILO conference, John McEnery, Vice Chairman of the California Democratic Central Committee, and Elmer E. Robinson, Mayor of San Francisco.

131 Veto of Resolution Excluding Certain Groups From Social Security Coverage. *June* 14, 1948

To the House of Representatives:

I return herewith, without my approval, House Joint Resolution 296, "To maintain the status quo in respect of certain employment taxes and social-security benefits pending action by Congress on extended social-security coverage".

Despite representations to the contrary,

sections 1 and 2 of this resolution would exclude from the coverage of the old age and survivors insurance and unemployment insurance systems up to 750,000 employees, consisting of a substantial portion of the persons working as commission salesmen, life insurance salesmen, piece workers, truck drivers, taxicab drivers, miners, journeymen tailors, and others. In June, 1947, the Supreme Court held that these employees have been justly and legally entitled to social security protection since the beginning of the program in 1935. I cannot approve legislation which would deprive many hundreds of thousands of employees, as well as their families, of social security benefits when the need for expanding our social insurance system is so great.

Furthermore, if enacted into law, this resolution would overturn the present sound principle that employment relationships under the social security laws should be determined in the light of realities rather than on the basis of technical legal forms. In so doing, it would make the social security rights of the employees directly excluded, and many thousands of additional employees, depend almost entirely upon the manner in which their employers might choose to cast their employment arrangements. Employers desiring to avoid the payment of taxes which would be the basis for social security benefits for their employees could do so by the establishment of artificial legal arrangements governing their relationship with their employees. I cannot approve legislation which would permit such employers at their own discretion to avoid the payment of social security taxes and to deny social security protection to employees and their families.

It has been represented that the issue involved in this resolution is whether or not the legislative branch of the government shall determine what individuals are entitled to social security protection. This is not the issue at all. The real issue is whether the social security coverage of many hundreds of thousands of individuals should be left largely to the discretion of their employers. On this issue the proper course is obvious.

The expressed purpose of the sponsors of this resolution is to exclude from the coverage of the Social Security Act persons who have the status of independent contractors, rather than that of employees. But no legislation is needed to accomplish this objective. Under present law, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, only persons who are bona fide employees are covered by our social security system.

When all of the considerations regarding sections 1 and 2 of the resolution are sifted, two basic facts remain unrefuted. Hundreds of large employers are assured of an exemption from social security taxes, while hundreds of thousands of employees and their families are equally assuredly prevented from receiving the social security protection which the Supreme Court in June of last year clearly indicated was justly theirs. These two facts were minimized by the sponsors of the resolution who would have us believe, for example, that a travelling salesman who devotes full working time in the service of one company and depends completely upon that company for his livelihood is not an employee of that company but is an independent businessman and does not need social security protection.

Instead of clarifying the distinction between independent contractors and employees, which is a difficult legal issue in many cases, this resolution would revive the confusion which has plagued the administration of the Social Security Act for so many years. Benefits which are now payable to thousands of persons would have to be withheld pending final determination of the new and complex legal problems raised by this resolution.

Moreover, the resolution purports to preserve the past coverage of employees who have already made contributions under this system. But in fact, under the terms of the Social Security Act, such coverage would expire in a few years, and previous contributions would be made worthless.

It has been asserted that it would be difficult for employers to keep the necessary records and meet other requirements of the law with respect to the employees affected by this resolution. This is reminiscent of the objections made in opposition to the original Social Security Act in 1935. If such objections had prevailed in 1935, our social security program never would have been enacted. To allow them to prevail now would threaten the very foundation of the system. I cannot believe that the mere convenience of employers should be considered more important than the social security protection of employees and their families.

It has also been urged that without this resolution some persons would receive credit toward old age and survivors benefits for three or four past years during which contributions were not collected. If the elimination of these credits had been the real purpose of the resolution, it could readily have been achieved without permanently excluding anyone from social insurance protection.

If our social security program is to endure, it must be protected against these piece-meal attacks. Coverage must be permanently expanded and no employer or special group of employers should be permitted to reverse that trend by efforts to avoid a tax burden which millions of other employers have carried without serious inconvenience or complaint.

Section 3 of this resolution contains provisions—completely unrelated to sections 1 and 2—for additional public assistance of $5 per month to the needy aged and blind, and $3 per month to dependent children.

These changes fall far short of the substantial improvements in our public assistance program which I have recommended many times. Nevertheless, I am strongly in favor of increasing the amount of assistance payments. Were it not for the fact that the Congress still has ample opportunity to enact such legislation before adjournment, I would be inclined to approve the resolution in spite of my serious objections to sections 1 and 2. Speedy action on public assistance legislation is clearly possible. I note that section 3 of this resolution was adopted as an amendment on the floor of the Senate, and passed by both houses in a single afternoon. Accordingly, I am placing this matter before the Congress in adequate time so that the public assistance program will not suffer because of my disapproval of this resolution.

At the same time, I urge again that the Congress should not be satisfied at this session merely to improve public assistance benefits—urgent as that is. There are other equally urgent extensions and improvements in our social security system which I have repeatedly recommended. They are well understood and widely accepted and should be enacted without delay.

Because sections 1 and 2 of this resolution would seriously curtail and weaken our social security system, I am compelled to return it without my approval.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: On June 14 the Congress passed the bill over the President's veto. As enacted, H.J. Res. 296 is Public Law 642, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 438).

132 Statement by the President Upon Signing Resolution Providing for U.S. Membership in the World Health Organization. *June* 14, 1948

I HAVE today signed a Joint Resolution providing for the U.S. membership and participation in the World Health Organization. I have at the same time signed the Instrument of Acceptance of the Constitution of the World Health Organization, which will immediately be sent to the United Nations for deposit.

In view of the long history of effective international cooperation in the field of health which spares us the haunting fear of devastating epidemics of cholera and plague, we can look to the World Health Organization with hope and expectation. While performing its humane service, it will at the same time contribute to general economic improvement through the progressive development of healthy, alert, productive manpower. The world economy is seriously burdened, and unnecessarily so, by malaria, tuberculosis, and other controllable diseases.

The World Health Organization can help contribute substantially to the attainment of the healthy, vigorous citizenry which the world needs so badly today and tomorrow.

I am proud to have signed this Joint Resolution which makes it possible for the United States to continue its leadership in this important work. In the technical field of health we hold today a preeminent position. We must and will give freely of our great knowledge to help liberate men everywhere from the overhanging dread of preventable disease. In doing so through the World Health Organization we once again testify to our faith in the United Nations as the great instrument for reaching those goals of common understanding and mutual helpfulness among nations which alone can lead to peace and security for all peoples.

NOTE: The joint resolution is Public Law 643, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 441).

133 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in California. *June* 14, 1948

[1.] SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA (Rear platform, 7:15 a.m.)

Well, Santa Barbara is a nice place. I see the covered wagons are still pulling in here. Everybody must have had a pleasant evening, gone home early, and gotten up early. I am sure I did.

I am glad to be back in Santa Barbara once more. I have been through here on many occasions. I always liked the town. I always liked to stay here, and I am sorry I can't stay this time, but you people are not interested in what I did in the past, you are interested in what is doing now.

I hope that when I get through with my trip in Southern California, that you will thoroughly understand just exactly the things for which I stand.

I know that your great problem here is water, and I also hope that we will find some way to improve that water situation. You can't do it by turning the water and the power and the land over to the special interests. Those things must be retained for the benefit of the people. That is what I am

trying to get done.

It is a little too early in the morning to make a real political talk, or a nonpolitical talk, because this is supposed to be a nonpolitical trip. That all depends on your viewpoint. If you are on my side, it's nonpolitical; if you are not, it's a low-down political trip, to come out and tell the people what they ought to hear.

That's all I am trying to do. I am trying to give you the picture as I see it, and then if you like it, that will be wonderful for me. If you don't like it, then you will do what you think is best for the country. And I think that is the reason our country is great. You can look at me here now and then make up your own mind, and there won't be anybody standing behind you with a club when you go out to vote. That's the great thing in this country, and this is one of the very few countries where that can be done.

I can't tell you how much I appreciate the cordiality of the people in California. They are naturally hospitable. They make you feel like you ought to stay here, and I guess that's the reason most of you are here.

I thank you very much for getting up so early in the morning to greet your President and see what he looks like, and I hope you will feel favorably toward him when the right time comes.

[2.] Los Angeles, California (Press Club Address, 1:30 p.m., see Item 134)

[3.] San Bernardino, California (Rear platform, 7:40 p.m.)

Well, this is the usual California welcome, and I can't tell you how very much I appreciate it.

From the time I have started from Washington to Chicago, to Omaha, to Cheyenne, to Butte, to Spokane, to Seattle, to Tacoma, to Portland, to Salem, Oreg., to San Francisco, and to Los Angeles, and to San Bernardino, I have never had such cordial treatment. I can't tell you how much I appreciate it.

I wish I could be here long enough to make you a statement on the affairs of the Nation and on foreign affairs. I can't do that. I haven't time. We are only here for just a few minutes.

You have all been very kind to me in the West, and I can't tell you how very much I appreciate it. Sometime, I hope in the next few months I can come back here and talk to you on the affairs of the Nation, and make you a political speech. You see, I am on a nonpolitical trip.

Thank you a lot.

134 Address Before the Greater Los Angeles Press Club. *June* 14, 1948

Mr. President, Governor Knight, Mr. Mayor, distinguished guests, and members of the Press Club:

This has been a most rousing welcome in this great city in sunny California. The Mayor of Omaha told me that the greatest crowd that has even been on the streets of Omaha was there to see me in that great city. At Butte, Mont., there were more people in the arena than live in Butte. I think they must have come from miles around in order to see what I look like and hear what I had to say. At Spokane, Wash., early in the morning, there were about two acres of people in the town, down in the park and in the center of the town. In Seattle the

greatest reception, they said, that has been given to anybody in that great city. San Francisco the same way.

And here you top them all.

The reason I make that reference, it was said over the radio the other night by a Member of the Senate, that I was stopping at the whistlestops, misinforming the people about the situation. Los Angeles is the biggest whistlestop.

I have been trying to speak on the issues on this trip before the country. That is my privilege as President of the United States. I have a right and a duty to inform the people what I believe is good for the country. And I took this opportunity, before Congress adjourned, because I think there are some things the Congress has not done that they should have done, and I want to give them the opportunity to find out what the people think of those things that they have not done. Therefore, I took this trip before the Congress adjourned, in order that they may have an opportunity to act. I sincerely hope that they will take advantage of that opportunity. They still have time. And if they haven't time, they ought to take it.

And I wanted the record to be entirely clear. Congress should pass laws for the benefit of all the people, in my opinion, and they should pass those laws to meet the situations with which we are faced. And we are faced with some very serious situations.

The one I think that is most important and is closest to everyone is prices. Prices have been on the skyrocket ever since July 1946, when the price control law was repealed, by furnishing me with an impossible law which I had to sign because I had vetoed one just as bad on the 30th of June. I had to take the law of July 31st or have none. And I said at that time that it was worse than none, and it turned out to be just that.

Now, on the price index—which is made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and on which everyone in the country relies for the situation in the price setup—at the time that those price controls were released, it was in the neighborhood of 130 or 133. Immediately after those price controls were released, that price index went up 20 points, and it has been steadily climbing ever since. It now stands in the neighborhood of 172 and a fraction. That means that costs of everything that you have to buy—food, clothing—everything which you have to buy, has gone up almost 50 percent. That means that the dollar that was worth a dollar at 133 is worth about 66⅔ cents at the present time.

Now in September 1945, in my message to the Congress, which stated the 21 points on which I proposed to stand as President, I asked for an extension of the price control law which expired June 30, 1946. In the Message on the State of the Union, in January 1946, I made the same request. In May 1946 I made the same request. I got nothing. And I got a law that was no good, that didn't work. I called a special session of the Congress in November 1947. In the meantime, in the Message on the State of the Union, I had told the Congress what the state of the price situation was at that time, but in November 1947, when the special session was called, I set out a 10-point program which I asked the Congress to give me to meet the situation with which we were faced in regard to prices and commodities. You know, the object of the price control law in wartime was to protect the consumer. It was a consumer's price control law.

This 80th Congress has said that prices would adjust themselves. Well, the prices have adjusted themselves and are adjusting themselves. They have almost gone off the graph adjusting themselves in favor of the man who controls the goods, and the consumer pays through the nose.

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Now that situation has not been met. We should have a standby price control law to be put into effect when it is necessary, and it is necessary, right now. And we should have an allocation law which would allow the allocation of scarce materials into the channels where they will do the most good.

Nothing has been done about that situation. I still hope the Congress will act.

Now the next thing in which you are vitally interested down here, and every great city in the country is vitally interested, is housing. Housing. Four years ago while I was in the Senate, the Senate passed a bill called the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill. That bill died in the House. Efforts have continually been made ever since that time to pass that bill. And the fundamental thing in that bill is a Federal low-cost housing program; that is, a low-cost rental program. Had that bill been passed 4 years ago, or 2 years ago, or 1 year ago, we would be beginning to get some benefit from it now.

This city, I think, understands the housing shortage better than the Congress does.

When I was here during wartime, you had an immense housing shortage. The Mayor tells me that the situation has not improved, because every GI who was trained in this part of the world wants to come back here to live.

That Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill—you see, they reversed it in this 80th Congress—has passed the Senate, and is now pending in the House. It would still be helpful if the House would pass that bill. The Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency in the House has been sitting on that bill. But the other day he got the surprise of his life-time. The Committee took the bit in the teeth and 11 Democrats and 3 Republicans voted that bill out to the calendar of the House by a vote of 14 to 13. Eleven Democrats and 3 Republicans voted that bill out.

Now it is necessary under the House rules that a rule be made so that that bill may be debated on the floor of the House and passed. The Rules Committee now can roost on that bill until the Congress adjourns, unless the people of the United States wake up and do something about it, and force action.

The Chairman of the Rules Committee is a little bit tougher than the Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, so I doubt very much whether we will get action. But the Congress ought to stay in session until we get action on the housing bill. It is vitally important. It is vitally important for the welfare of this country that we have proper housing, proper housing at a cost at which men and women can afford to live in the houses, at a cost which will not take everything that these GI's have, at a cost which will be easy on the people who have to pay the bills.

I think the Wagner-Taft-Ellender bill, in all probability, can help to meet that situation. I sincerely hope something will be done about it.

Now I have another subject on which—in which you are vitally interested, and which I have been discussing on this trip, and that is the labor situation. The Republican platform of 1944, in bold, broad type, made the statement that they would build up a real Labor Department, that they would strengthen the Labor Department. You know what they have done to the Labor Department? They have practically abolished the Labor Department. They have practically put the Labor Department out of business, not by proper legislation but by choking it to death with appropriations that are not sufficient.

The last great contribution that this 80th Congress made to the Labor Department was to choke off the Bureau of Labor Statistics, so that it is impossible for them to act, and every business, every branch of the Govern-

ment is dependent upon the Bureau of Labor Statistics to find out just exactly what is happening to prices and in the labor market, and everything else that goes on where statistics are needed.

You see, they were not satisfied with taking the lid off the prices and letting them go to a mile-a-minute rate, they wanted to jerk the speedometer out of the car so you can't see how fast you are going into inflation.

Well, the last great effort that has been made on the Labor Department was to take the US Employment Service out of the Labor Department. They have already taken the Conciliation Service out of the Labor Department, and I am saying to you that I think the Labor Department is one of the most important and necessary departments of this Government, and I think the Congress ought to study this situation and take the necessary action to restore the Labor Department to the Department which I had built it up to, in the first 2 years I took over.

The Labor Department suffered during the war. It necessarily had to suffer during the war on account of the special agencies which had to work during the war. I have been trying to restore that Labor Department to its pre-war height. That is what ought to happen. I think the Congress ought to take some action on that before they quit.

Now the Republican platform was very much interested in social security. I have been asking the Congress to broaden the base of social security so more people could benefit from the Social Security Act, so that more people could get the benefit of employment insurance, and help to pay it while they worked, so that when they were out of work they will be contributing to their support when they are out of work, and will not have to go on relief.

Well, you know how the Congress has broadened the base of social security? They have just taken 750,000 people off social security, and sent me a bill to that effect, and tied a rider on to it, increasing old-age assistance, hoping that I would take that bait and let them get away wrecking social security.

I didn't do it. I vetoed that bill this morning, and I told the Congress that if it would pass the Congress in the proper form, I would be happy to sign it. And they have plenty of time to pass it in the proper form. Don't think they haven't.

Now I have had a health program. I sent the Congress a special message on health—on health and health insurance, and it had plenty of time to hold hearings on that, to debate it, to go into it, and they have done nothing about it. Now the health of this Nation is the foundation on which the Nation is built. I have made a personal study of that situation. We have got a health and accident situation in this country that is the most disgraceful of any country in the world. There are only two classes of people that can get the proper medical care nowadays, and that is the indigent and the very rich. The ordinary fellow who gets from $2,400 to $5,000 a year, and has to raise a family and keep up a home, can't afford to have his family get sick, because he can't afford medical care at the prices he has to be served at now.

Something ought to be done about that. A healthy nation is a great nation, and unless we maintain the health of this Nation, we will not have a great Nation.

I am interested also in those people who are disabled in industry. I am just as anxious to see those people restored to working ability as I am to see these crippled GI's properly taken care of. We have done a magnificent job with the GI's. We can do the same thing for those people who are crippled in industry.

In Seattle the other day I was in an institution that was just starting to rehabilitate men

and women who are injured in industry. Do you know that there are in the neighborhood of 26 million people in this country who have been injured and who are permanently disabled or temporarily disabled, and that the vast majority of those people could be rehabilitated and be back on a self-supporting basis, if the situation was properly approached? That is appalling, and the vast majority of those people are injured in automobile accidents. The most terrible weapon that was ever invented by man! It is much safer in the front line in a war than it is on the roads of this country in peacetime when the automobiles are going full tilt.

I have had several sessions on that subject in Washington, in an endeavor to remedy the situation. I wish the Congress would go into this health situation and pass an intelligent health bill for the benefit of the whole country, so everybody could get medical care at reasonable prices when he needs it.

I appointed a commission to make a survey of the educational situation in this country. That commission made a formidable report, and pointed out exactly what the conditions in the schools in this country are today; and I made a recommendation to the Congress that the Federal Government make a contribution to the support of the schools of the Nation.

No action. No action. It's the most disgraceful thing in this country, that the teachers of this country are not adequately paid. There are conditions in nearly all the public schools in the country where the teacher has so many pupils under her care that she doesn't even have time to learn all their names. Something must be done about that!

The bill has passed the Senate. It wouldn't take 10 minutes for it to pass the House, if they weren't roosting on it over there. They should stay in session until they pass a bill for the assistance of education in this country.

Now I have sent a special message to the Congress on agriculture. I made a speech on the agricultural program at Omaha, Nebr., on a national hook-up, on all four networks, and I set out very clearly in that statement, and in the message which I had sent to the Congress, what the agricultural program of this country should be. You know, those support prices for agriculture will expire at the end of this year.

Now there is a bill pending before the Congress which is adequate to meet the situation, if we could only get it passed. A lot of these gentlemen who are interested in taking over the residence of the President of the United States in 1949 have been out in the farm belt telling the people what is necessary for a farm program, and how strongly they are for it. Now some of these people have powerful influence in this 80th Congress, and if they really mean what they say, they should do something about it. They can do something about it. There is plenty of time.

You see, unless this price-support bill is passed, the farm situation can very easily go back to what it was in the 1920's when the farmers had about $4,700 million in income against a $30 billion income last year. Then, the farmer didn't have a dime in the bank—if he had money to put in the bank, he would be afraid to go and put it in at that time.

He now has $23 billion in the bank—$23 billion in the bank, and he is not afraid of losing it, for there hasn't been a bank failure in this country in 3 years.

Now you have got something down here that you are vitally interested in and I am vitally interested in it, and so is the whole of the West. I have told the people all over the country that the most valuable thing west of the hundredth meridian is water, and that the proper development and control of

the water resources of that area is more important to that one-third area of the Nation than any other one thing in the country, for without water you can't exist. I always considered this of vital importance to this part of the country, and I have made recommendations on three separate occasions in the budget in regard to that. And this Congress last year cut that budget appropriation, and they cut this one, but they didn't cut it quite as much, because—well, this is 1948! It makes a difference!

You know, Daniel Webster, when the United States was trying to build the Pacific Railroad, made the statement in the Senate along in 1830 that the West wasn't any good, and the further it could be kept from the east coast of the United States, the better off the country would be. And there are a lot of Republicans now ready to believe like old Daniel Webster did!

But money spent on reclamation, and public power, and irrigation is an investment. It gives a return of the money to the Treasury of the United States. It creates more agricultural production, and had it not been for the tremendous agricultural production of this part of the country, and the Mississippi Valley, this country would have been in an awful fix in the last war.

One of the greatest contributions ever made in the history of the world was made by agriculture, during those war years; and they are still making that contribution. For had it not been for the immense crops which we have been able to raise in this country, millions of people would have starved to death.

You know, this country has done something never done before in the history of the world. This country has prevented the conquered nations from starving. During the Napoleonic Wars millions of people starved to death in Bavaria, in Germany, and in Poland. We have made every effort to prevent people from starving to death after this last terrible war. And I want to see the agricultural sections of this country properly improved. I want to see the water resources of these rivers properly used. I want to see the proper development of the Columbia River Basin, the Central Valley of California, and the Colorado River. I want to see them integrated on a power basis, so that they won't have to have a "brown-out" in California in the summer time.

Now, gentlemen, that is a synopsis of eight important measures in which I am vitally interested. There are several more, but the time is too short, and I don't think I ought to try to inflict any more conversation on you about what Congress ought to do. I think I have made it perfectly plain, in these eight-measure instances.

And I do that in a most kindly frame of mind. I know the majority of the Congressmen. As individuals they are fine people. I have some of the best friends in the world in the Congress, but when I speak of the 80th Congress and its accomplishments in the last year and a half, I say that that Congress has not done very much for the benefit of the people.

They have passed a rich man's tax law. They have passed a lot of special legislation that helps special classes. And I am against class legislation, and I have tried to show that in numerous vetoes. And I made this trip so that I could lay before you personally my views on this subject.

If I am wrong, you will have a chance to attend to me later on, but if I am not wrong, you ought to attend to somebody else.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:30 p.m. at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles. In his opening words he referred to Joseph Short, President of the National Press Club, Goodwin J. Knight, Lt. Governor of California, and Fletcher Bowron, Mayor of Los Angeles.

135 Veto of Bill Making Supplemental Appropriations for the Federal Security Agency. *June* 15, 1948

To the House of Representatives:

I return herewith, without my approval, H.R. 6355, "Making supplemental appropriations for the Federal Security Agency for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1949, and for other purposes."

This bill would provide funds for the next fiscal year for the Social Security Administration, the United States Employment Service, and some functions of the Public Health Service. A measure of this kind clearly should not be disapproved by the President except under unusual circumstances and for the most compelling reasons. Such circumstances are presented by the provisions of this bill which would transfer the United States Employment Service from the Department of Labor to the Federal Security Agency.

I believe that this transfer would be a serious error from the standpoint of the proper location of this important function of Government. I believe also that this transfer is clearly substantive legislation which should not be included in an appropriation bill.

Over the past three years considerable study has been directed to the proper location of the Employment Service in the Government. It is apparent that a system of public employment offices to secure jobs for the workers of this country is directly related to the major purpose of the Department of Labor, which is "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States." It is equally apparent that it would be far less appropriate to place the Employment Service, together with its auxiliary Farm Placement Service and Veterans' Employment Service, in the Federal Security Agency, which is primarily concerned with matters of health, welfare and education.

I am, therefore, firmly convinced that because of its intimate relationship to the functions of the Department of Labor the Employment Service should remain permanently in that Department.

To achieve this end, I transmitted to the Congress on January 19, 1948, Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1948, placing the United States Employment Service permanently in the Department of Labor and transferring to that Department the Bureau of Employment Security, now in the Federal Security Agency. This Reorganization Plan was not accepted by the Congress, principally on the ground that no basic changes should be made in the structure of the Executive Branch until the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government has completed its studies and submitted its recommendations. This seems to me a reasonable viewpoint.

But in this bill the Congress has acted contrary to its own declared position, and has attempted to effect a far-reaching change in the organization of the Executive Branch without waiting for the Commission on Organization to report.

In fact this legislation, which is of such paramount importance to the interests of millions of wage earners and employers, and which is plainly substantive in nature, was passed by the Congress entirely without reference to or hearings by the legislative committees concerned with such matters. Neither the House Committee on Education and Labor nor the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare was given an opportunity to consider the measure. Instead it was conceived by a subcommittee on appropriations and tacked onto an appropriations bill.

I do not believe that it is in the interest of good government that legislation of such importance should be enacted in such a manner. As I stated in December, 1945, in withholding my approval from an appropriation bill which contained substantive legislation, "a matter of such grave importance as our public employment system deserves not only permanent legislation, but legislation carefully and separately considered. Issues of such a difficult and vital nature should not be dealt with as riders to appropriation bills." I note also that on March 4, 1946, the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress recommended "That the practice of attaching legislation to appropriation bills be discontinued."

What makes this matter even more disturbing is that the present bill is another in a series of legislative actions stripping the Department of Labor of essential funds and functions. Last year the Congress removed the United States Conciliation Service from the Department and drastically slashed the Department's appropriations. To remove the United States Employment Service from the Department would further weaken and demoralize it and reduce the entire Department to such a minor status as to raise seriously the question of the validity of its continuance as a separate Department.

I am convinced, therefore, that the provisions of this bill which would transfer the United States Employment Service represent unwise legislative action, enacted in an unsound manner.

For these compelling reasons I am returning the bill without my approval.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: On June 16 the Congress passed the bill over the President's veto. As enacted, H.R. 6355 is Public Law 646, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 443).

136 Rear Platform Remarks in Arizona and New Mexico. *June* 15, 1948

[1.] WINSLOW, ARIZONA (11 a.m.)

It certainly is a pleasure. Thank you, Governor, very much. I have been going around the country telling the people what I think they should be interested in, and giving them my viewpoint on things as they exist. The last set speech was made in Los Angeles, Calif., and now I am on my way home. I am going back to Independence, Mo., and see the family, and then go on to Washington and finish up the necessary work that has to be done there when the Congress adjourns. I am sincerely hoping that some of the things in which I am vitally interested will be accomplished by that time.

I have had a most pleasant ride across this great State this morning. It certainly is a beautiful country. And I saw those wonderful pine forests, and had a chance to take a look at the Navajo reservation about which there has been so much talk, and about which we have been trying to do so much.

I am exceedingly fond of your two Arizona Senators. They are able and distinguished gentlemen, and they work for the interests of the country, and for the interests of Arizona. You have an able Congressman, also, from Arizona, with whom I am very well acquainted. I think very highly of him, also.

I certainly appreciate this wonderful turnout. It does your heart good, when people are so interested in seeing their Chief Executive, that they are willing to gather around from all the surrounding country, in order

that they may see what he looks like.

There have been a great many stories told about the President of the United States. That is one of the privileges of this country, to say what you please about anybody you please—that is, if you can back it up!

You know, the greatest epitaph in the country is here in Arizona. It's in Tombstone, Ariz., and this epitaph says, "Here lies Jack Williams. He done his damndest." I think that is the greatest epitaph a man could have. Whenever a man does the best he can, then that is all he can do; and that is what your President has been trying to do for the last 3 years for this country.

I sincerely hope that you will familiarize yourselves with the issues, and when the lines are drawn, after these two great conventions meet, I want you to make up your minds to what you think is best for the country, and then do just that; and if I have been at all convincing, I know you will do the right thing.

[2.] GALLUP, NEW MEXICO (1:30 p.m.)

Thank you, Governor—thank you very much. My goodness, looks as if everybody in New Mexico is here! I have had a most pleasant trip across Arizona, and I am glad to come into New Mexico now and have a look at New Mexico and New Mexico's leading citizens.

You know, the President has been traveling across the country, giving the people a chance to look at him, and have a chance on his own account to look at the people. I have seen a lot of people, I have talked to a lot of people, and a lot of people have talked to me. And I think I have made it perfectly plain just what the issues are before the country now.

It is special privilege against the interest of the people as a whole.

That is the issue that has been plainly set out in the speeches which I have made at Chicago, at Omaha, at Butte, at Seattle, at Spokane, at San Francisco, and at Los Angeles yesterday afternoon.

I can't tell you how I have appreciated the chance to let people know just where I stand, and just what I look like. It may be a disappointment to some people, but at least you will know what sort of man you have for President, and just what he stands for.

The issues are clearly drawn, and then it is up to you to make up your mind whether you want the special privilege boys to run the country, or whether you want the country to be in the hands of people who are working for your interests.

You are going to elect a Senator here this fall. I hated to give him up as Secretary of Agriculture, because he was a good one. I have another good Secretary of Agriculture, but I always hate to lose a good man. I was sorry to see Senator Hatch retire from the Senate, but I know very well, when Anderson takes his place, that the policies and the outlook in the Senate will be carried on in a manner that will be in the interests of the people and in the interests of New Mexico.

[*At this point the President introduced Mrs. Truman, Margaret Truman, former Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson, Secretary of the Interior Julius A. Krug, and Under Secretary of the Interior Oscar L. Chapman. He then resumed speaking.*]

They all seem to be silent, they are tongue-tied for some reason or other, so I guess I will have to do all the talking. I do appreciate the way the people have turned out, and the way the people have given me their attention, and the way they have listened to what I had to say.

I hope you will inform yourselves thoroughly on the facts as they are, and as I have tried to give them to you, and then use your own judgment, because the judgment of the

people as a whole is always good. I have found that to be the truth.

Thank you very much.

[3.] ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO (5:30 p.m.)

Thank you, Governor—thank you very much. It certainly is a pleasure and a privilege for me to be here today. I am more than happy to be in New Mexico. I am more than happy to be back in Albuquerque again. The first time I ever visited New Mexico was in 1909. My grandmother died when she was 91 years old, and one of the witnesses to her will lived in Estancia. We took those depositions in Frank Jenning's office. That has been a long time ago. And I have been back here to New Mexico on numerous occasions since then.

I was here once as the President of the National Old Trails and Roads Association, and we set up a monument to the Pioneer Mother here in Albuquerque. Had a great time on that trip, and I met a lot of people in New Mexico. It looks as if they are all here today.

The Mayor informs me that this is the biggest crowd that has ever been in Albuquerque. That certainly is a compliment to me, and I appreciate it.

You know, I started out on this trip with the idea in mind of seeing as many people as I could, and talking to as many people as I could, and letting as many people as possible see me, to see just exactly what I look like.

There has been a lot of conversation about what I look like, and what I can do, what I know and what I don't know; and I thought the people were entitled to know what I am thinking, and what I have in mind for the welfare of this country.

The issue now is squarely drawn. I drew that issue at Chicago, and Omaha, and Butte, and Spokane, and Seattle, and Tacoma, and Portland, and San Francisco, and Los Angeles, and here. They know now what I stand for, and what I have been trying to do. I have been pouring it on them, and they have got the jitters back there. They have gone to work—they have gone to work!

But I haven't been pouring anything on, only what ought to be poured on.

The issue in this country is between special privilege and the people.

I think I represent the people, and I am trying to tell the people just how I represent them.

For instance, you have an interest in flood control and irrigation and reclamation, and they are all of interest to a number of the great States in this Union. I have been visiting a number of those States who are interested in flood control and irrigation and reclamation, and I have been trying to get action on a project here on the Rio Grande River. It has passed the Senate. We hope it will pass the House. That is one of the reasons I came here, I wanted to needle them a little bit, to see if they won't get that project started.

Then you have another interest in this part of the world, and that is the cattle industry. We are short of beef in this country and in all the world, and I hope we can find a way to improve the situation so that we may increase the cattle product of this part of the world.

I know something about cattle in this part of the world, for my old uncle used to have a ranch down here, and he had a lot of cattle, and used to ship it to Kansas City. I remember that one time he shipped a train-load of cattle to Kansas City, and they didn't pay the freight. That was under a Republican administration, too. That is not the case now. When you ship a train-load of cattle to Kansas City now, you can buy the train and half the railroad with what you get; and I'm not sorry about that.

I do appreciate the cordiality of your welcome. I do appreciate your interest in your President. You have got a right to see him, you have got a right to know what he is thinking about. You have got a right to know what he wants to do, and you have got a right to know how he is proposing what he wants to do, if it is right; and I think it's right. I hope that you weigh that situation carefully.

One of the principal reasons why I came to Albuquerque was to pay my respects to my former Secretary of Agriculture, and a good one. You people are going to send him to the Senate, and I am happy over that, although I am extremely sorry that Senator Hatch has decided to retire from the Senate. If Senator Hatch had not decided to retire from the Senate, I would still have had Anderson for Secretary of Agriculture.

I have known Senator Hatch and Senator Chavez almost ever since I went to Washington. I served in the Senate with both of them. Mr. Anderson was in the House when I was in the Senate, and New Mexico has been well represented in the Senate and in the House. And I am glad that they are going to continue to be well represented in both of those bodies.

If we had more men like these gentlemen in the House and in the Senate, I wouldn't be having the trouble I am having—going around the country and throwing bricks at the Congress.

[4.] Las Vegas, New Mexico (8:55 p.m.)

Thank you, Governor. This has been one wonderful day. I thought I had seen nearly all the people in New Mexico at Gallup. Then when I got to Albuquerque, it looked as if the people had come in from all the other States. The Mayor of Albuquerque told me it was the biggest crowd that had ever been out in Albuquerque. And now it looks as if Las Vegas has shown them all how.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this courtesy which you are paying me. I left Washington with the idea of seeing as many people as possible, and letting as many people as possible see me, to see just what I looked like.

You have heard so many descriptions of me, you have had so many people tell you what I am for and what I stand for, that I thought I would come out and tell you myself.

And I have gone the circuit, from Chicago to Seattle, to San Francisco, to Los Angeles, to Gallup, to Albuquerque and to Las Vegas, N. Mex. And everywhere I have been I have seen a lot of people, and I have talked to a lot of people, and a lot of people have talked to me. And I have found that people are interested in the welfare of this country, and that there is an issue between special privilege and the welfare of the people.

And I want you to distinctly understand that your President stands for the welfare of all the people. I have tried to make that perfectly plain to you in the swing around the country, and I hope I have been able to do that.

Then it is up to you to make your own decision as to whether you want special privilege to run the country, or whether you want the country in the hands of the people who look after the welfare of all the people and not just a few.

I have had with me in the Northwest, and here in New Mexico, the Secretary of the Interior, who is interested in reclamation and irrigation and flood control in all this section of the country. And we have a plan and a program which will meet the situation in every section of the country, if we can just get a Congress that will agree with us.

That is what we are asking for. From the looks of things, I think we are going to get that sort of support.

As you know, from the beginning I have asked for the control of the high cost of living. We haven't received that control. We haven't had the authority to do what is necessary to have that. We have tried our best to keep a floor under agricultural products and a top on prices. If we can do that, then the country will be safe from inflation.

I came to New Mexico principally because I am interested in the welfare of my good friend Clinton Anderson, who was Secretary of Agriculture. The Governor here is a great friend of Mr. Anderson, and the Governor came with me to Las Vegas tonight especially to introduce me to you people in your own State. And I appreciate that most highly. I have had a most cordial reception in New Mexico. I hope when I come back, on a political tour, that I can discuss the issues throughly and completely with you.

Again, I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the cordiality of these receptions. Much more than we anticipated, and much more than some of the columnists who came along with me anticipated, too. And I am happy over that. Thank you very much.

[5.] Raton, New Mexico (11:25 p.m.)

It is a very great pleasure to see you tonight. I appreciate very much your staying up this late in order to see your President. It is a very high compliment to me, and I appreciate it more than I can tell you.

I have been touring the country so that you could see me, so that you could hear me, so that you can understand the things for which I stand, so that you could intelligently decide at a later date, when I make a political tour of the country, whether it is to your interest to have me to remain in the White House or not. That is for you to decide. You will have to make up your mind whether you want special privilege government, or whether you want government of, by, and for the people. You are going to have that decision to make this fall.

I am very happy to see that some of the speeches which I have made seem to have had a very good effect on the Congress. They are performing a little bit better. It is a long way for them to go yet, if they are to work in the public interest, this 80th Congress.

And that is for you to decide. When that matter does come up for your decision, I want you to weigh the facts, and then make the decision on what you think is best for the United States of America and for the world.

You see, this country now has a responsibility that no other country in the history of the world has ever had. This country is the greatest country in the world. We must assume the leadership which God Almighty intended us to assume in 1920. In order to do that, we must have a sound economy, we must have a strong agricultural program, and we must have a foreign policy which we have been pursuing for the last 6 years implemented so that it will work. And that means that we want to support the United Nations with everything we have. That is what we have been doing right along.

We must then be able to maintain our financial stability and our prosperity here at home. In order to do that, we must see that farmers are prosperous, that labor has good jobs at good wages, and that the rest of the population is not choked to death with high prices.

All three of those things are of vital interest to you, right here and now—the things I have been fighting for ever since September 1945, when I sent my first message to Congress, on the 6th day of September. I sent

them a message on the State of the Union in January 1946, and several other supplemental messages during 1946. That is when they let price control get out of hand, when prices began to spiral. In 1947 I sent them another message in which I set out what I thought was proper for the State of the Union, and what would be best for this country; and last fall, in November, when I called a special session, I asked for a 10-point program—none of which I got.

Then in January, I reinterated the situation of the country and what I thought was necessary for its welfare and benefit. It became necessary for me to start out, a couple of weeks ago, and go through the country and personally tell the people what the situation is.

I think they understand it now, and when it comes time to make the decision, I am willing to trust the people, because I think you will make the decision in your own interest.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on June 15 the President referred to Dan E. Garvey, Acting Governor of Arizona, Thomas J. Mabry, Governor of New Mexico, Clinton P. Anderson, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator from New Mexico, Senators Carl A. Hatch and Dennis Chavez, both of New Mexico, and Ernest W. Everly, Mayor of Albuquerque.

137 Rear Platform Remarks in Kansas. *June* 16, 1948

[1.] DODGE CITY, KANSAS (7:30 a.m.) . .

It looks as if Dodge City really wanted to see what their President looked like. I used to come over here to Dodge City on road matters for the National Old Trails Association. I was the director of that organization, and I have been through here on numerous occasions on work for that organization. Those were the days when we didn't have the roads we have now, and when it used to take the Santa Fe Railroad a little longer to go from Kansas City than it does now.

I am most happy that you are willing to give me this most cordial welcome this morning. I think you have a right to see your President, and your President has a right to see you. You have a right to know exactly what I have been trying to tell you in the last few weeks, and I think I have succeeded pretty well.

I have seen, I imagine, about 2½ millions of people. I have talked to a great many people, and a great many people have talked to me, and I think I have found out what the country is thinking about.

I think I have definitely fixed the issues which are before the country now. It is merely the fact: are the special privilege boys going to run the country, or are the people going to run it?

It is up to you to decide if you want special privilege to run it. Then you will know what to do. If you don't want the special privilege boys to run this country, then it is still up to you to decide what you want to do. I merely wanted to lay before you the facts as they are.

It is almost impossible to get definitely the facts before the people, for the simple reason that there are certain people in the newspaper business and certain people in the radio business who have a distorted view of what the people ought to know and ought to think.

I know in this part of the world that you think for yourselves. I hope you will just continue to do that, and I won't have anything to worry about.

It has been a very great pleasure to see you

all this morning. I hope when the issues are really drawn, and I am not against the field, I can come out here on a political tour and tell you just exactly what the facts are.

[2.] HUTCHINSON, KANSAS (9:35 a.m.)

It certainly is a pleasure, and I appreciate this very much.

We had not expected to stop at Hutchinson, but we heard that there were some people who wanted to see their President, so we decided to stop, and I am glad you have had that chance, if that is what you wanted.

I have been touring the country to let people know what I look like and what I stand for. I think they have pretty well found out. I think the issues are pretty well drawn, and I think you and your judgment will have a chance to make a proper decision when the time comes.

I hope that sometime later I will have the opportunity to come back this way on a political tour, when I can really talk to you on the issues and tell you what's going on.

It certainly is heart-warming to see so many shining faces out this morning, when this wasn't even a scheduled stop. I wonder what it would have been if it had been a scheduled stop?

[3.] NEWTON, KANSAS (10:20 a.m.)

Well, it certainly is a pleasure to see you this morning. It looks like the whole city is here. I like Newton, Kans. I have been here many a time—on business, on pleasure, and for a lot of other reasons too numerous to mention.

I have had a most pleasant trip since I left Washington. I stopped in Omaha, if you remember, and discussed the farm situation. You are interested here in farm production and in the production underground, to a great extent. I passed by an oilfield just a little while ago, just west of here.

It was the farm production, and the production of oil and minerals which made it possible for this country to win the war in as short a time as it did. The farmers are to be most highly complimented on the contribution that they made to the war effort, and the contribution that they are making to the peace effort now. Were it not for the fact that we have had a large surplus of foodstuffs, a great many millions of people would have starved to death.

The ability of the farmers to produce now is, I think to some extent, and to a great extent, due to the proper legislation under which the farmers have been working for the last 12 or 14 years.

I don't know whether your memory is good or not, but back in 1932 the farm income was $4,700 million. Last year it was $30 billion; and the farmers had $23 billion on deposit in the banks. In 1932 they didn't have any money in the bank, in fact they didn't have very much of anything except mortgages which were coming due so fast we couldn't pay them off. I am happy about that situation, and I want to see that situation continue.

Since I made my Omaha speech, the House has reported out the farm bill. I don't know what the Senate will do to it. I hope the Senate will pass it, because the things which create the incentive to get the farmers to do what they have done over the last 7 years will expire at the end of this year, if this Congress does not act on the farm bill. I am hoping that they will act, because the present farm bill as reported out by the House is a good bill.

I want to say to you right here that there are a great many liberal Congressmen and Senators who are interested in the welfare of the people, but they are not with the

majority in the Congress now. That is the thing I want to drive home.

You elected that Congress—33⅓ percent of you did. Only 33⅓ percent of the people voted in 1946, and that is the reason we got the sort of Congress we did.

It is a minority Congress with a majority against the people.

That we can't stand!

You have got to take that under consideration in the coming campaign, and when I come back to Kansas in the next campaign, I will make you a political speech along the lines that you can understand.

I made this tour while the Congress was in session, hoping that the Congress would take some action on needed legislation, when the people were awake to the facts of what was really happening back there. And I made the tour purposely before the Congress adjourned, so they would have a chance to act. If they will act, I will be just as happy as anybody in the United States, and that is the reason I am making this nonpolitical tour. I am here to get the people aroused as to what the Congress ought to do, and I think the Congress ought to be aroused. That is the reason for the trip.

I certainly have had a reception. I never saw so many people in my life. I think I have faced more than 20 million people, and I have talked to a lot of people, and a lot of people have talked to me. And that was the purpose of the trip.

You know, the President is rather completely surrounded in Washington. It has to be that way. About the only chance I have to see anybody are the people who come in to call on me for business purposes, and nearly every one of them has an axe to grind, and I have to have my guard up all the time.

On this trip, I have been able to look the people of the United States in the face, and they have been able to see me, and they have been able to visit with me, maybe, to make up their own minds as to what sort of fellow they think I may be. I hope that they will think the right way.

It has been a pleasure to make this trip. It has been a pleasure to discuss the things that this country faces. This country is the greatest Nation in the world now. And it is necessary for this country to assume the leadership that I think God Almighty intended the country to assume in 1920.

We have assumed that leadership, and we have assumed it on a bipartisan basis.

Thank God the foreign policy of the United States has not gotten into this brawl, because it shouldn't. All our domestic difficulties are up for discussion, and we have a right to discuss them, and I have a right to discuss them, and so has anybody a right to discuss them as he wants to. But the foreign policy of the United States must be for the whole world because that means peace in the world if it is carried out. And we are carrying it out.

I hope that when that foreign policy is successfully implemented and the United Nations becomes the working organization that it is now becoming, we will be safe from all world wars.

I have been through two of them, and never want to see another one, and I don't think anybody else does, if he is in his right mind.

Thank you very much for coming out this morning. It certainly is a pleasure to see you. I wish I could talk to each one of you individually. I wish my arm was long enough to reach out and shake hands with all of you, but I can't do it.

[4.] Emporia, Kansas (12:05 p.m.)

I am certainly glad to see the citizens of Emporia turn out this way.

I have a very agreeable surprise for you.

You know, Congress sometimes does things as it ought to do. There are a lot of good liberal people in the Congress, although they are not in the majority now.

I received a resolution last night, at Albuquerque, in the pouch which comes to me daily from Washington, authorizing a 3-cent stamp honoring William Allen White.

I am going to sign that resolution right here, so that you can see me do it.

[*The President read aloud the resolution.*]

And when I sign it, it will be the law. [*The President signed it.*] That does it!

William Allen White was one of the country's great men. He was a great editor, he was a humanitarian, and he always worked for the right, in my opinion. I always thought he was on the side of the right.

And he has a son who is following in his footsteps, and who is doing a very magnificent job in the newspaper field. Both of those gentlemen were on the liberal side. They worked for the people all the time; and they continue to work for the people.

William Allen White's spirit goes marching on, and his son always was on the side of what I think is right.

That is what I came out here to tell you people, that there are no issues but one, and that is the issue whether special privilege shall run the country, or whether the people shall run the country.

You are going to have a chance to make that decision this fall, and when I go out on my political tour, I am going to come back and tell you just exactly what the issues are.

I see one of my very old friends here in the audience, Bill Young. He used to be Mayor of Council Grove, Kans., and a member of the National Old Trails Association. I have been from one end of Kansas to the other with Bill Young, and other members of that Association. I came here to Emporia in 1943—or 1944—I believe it was in the fall of 1943, when we were passing a resolution which was to authorize the establishment of the United Nations. That was a resolution called B2H2 [1] in the Senate and House of Representatives. It came out so that a call for the United Nations was made on April 25, 1945. And that was the first decision I had to make after I was sworn in as President, as to whether that United Nations conference would be carried on in San Francisco on the 25th of April.

I made that decision. The conference reached a conclusion, and the document of the Charter of the United Nations was signed by 51 nations. I was present when that document was signed in San Francisco in 1945.

And at the stadium of the University of California, on the 12th of June, I reiterated the foreign policy of the United States, which is based on a working United Nations.

And the United Nations is working.

I said then that I hoped the Charter of the United Nations would become the constitution of the world, just as the Constitution of the United States is the Constitution of the 48 States. And I think it will. I am sure it will. It must. Because that means peace in the world, and that is what we all want. We are all anxious for peace, and we will get peace in the world, if the people of the United States back up their bipartisan foreign policy. That is the most important thing that we have facing us now.

All these domestic issues can be fought out on the basis of their merits. The foreign policy of the United States must be the policy of the whole United States, in order to make it effective. That is what we have been working for ever since I came here to Emporia with Congressman Judd; and we discussed at that time just what we might be faced with today.

[1] Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill Resolution, introduced into the Senate in 1943.

In order to get peace now, we must keep that foreign policy out of the political scramble which will take place in this Presidential year. I know we can do that. The leaders in the Senate who pass on treaties which affect foreign relations, have been working in complete harmony with the President and the Secretary of State, and we are going to continue to do that so far as foreign affairs are concerned.

But that doesn't go for local affairs—that doesn't go for local affairs.

We have a right in this country to say what we please, and when we please, provided we can back it up. And I have been out trying to tell the people just exactly what the facts are as I see them.

I suppose I have talked to 2½ million people on this trip, and a lot of people have talked to me. They have seen me, and they understand what I want to do; and now it is going to be up to the people themselves to decide whether the policies of the President are in their interest, or whether the policies of this special privilege majority in the Congress are in their interest. That is up to you.

NOTE: During his remarks in Emporia the President referred to Representative Walter H. Judd of Minnesota. The resolution authorizing a stamp honoring William Allen White is H.J. Res. 411, Public Law 648, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 455).

138 Rear Platform Remarks in Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. *June* 17, 1948

[1.] WARRENSBURG, MISSOURI (8:35 a.m.)

It certainly is a pleasure to me to see all of you this morning. I don't think I have seen as many people with whom I am personally acquainted, since I have been the President, out here this morning. Even in Independence.

I asked them to stop the train here in the hope that that would take place, that I would get to see as many of you as possible.

You are interested, of course, in education. That is one of the fundamental things in this town, the education of teachers, principally. We have been having a great deal of difficulty with the educational situation in the country. All of you know that the schools are all overcrowded, the teachers are underpaid, and for that reason I sent a message to Congress, and included in the Budget Message a recommendation that $300 million be appropriated for Federal assistance to the States in the schools.

That bill passed the Senate, and is now reposing in a committee of the House of Representatives. I wrote a personal letter to the Speaker of the House and asked him to get that bill out, but it has not been acted upon.

It would be very helpful, in this stage of things, if that bill could be acted upon. I would be glad to sign it, if they would bring it out and pass it.

I am certainly glad to get a chance to stop for a few minutes in Warrensburg, and get to see all of you. It's just like old times. I made four campaigns in the State, and I never had such a crowd as this at any meeting that I had in Warrensburg.

You know what I did at home, one time, right after I was sworn in—a few months after I was sworn in as President? They had a homecoming for me in Independence, and I filled that 15,000-people auditorium up there, and that was the first time I ever succeeded in doing that, too!

I want to thank you for coming out. It certainly is a pleasure. I wish I could stay

longer, but I can't. We have to go on and keep the train on schedule, and I have got to be in Washington at a certain time.

Thank you for coming.

[2.] SEDALIA, MISSOURI (9:10 a.m.)

Thank you very much. My goodness, it's a pleasure to be in Sedalia on a day like this, with so many people out as this. You know, I made four bitter campaigns in the State of Missouri, and I don't think I ever had as big a crowd in Sedalia in my life. Something about it!—I don't know what it is—that makes you all come out and see your President; and I am glad you do, because I think you ought to know what the President is trying to do.

The best way is to talk to him. You can then get the facts as far as he knows them, because that is his business. He is elected by the whole people, and it is his business to keep you informed on what he thinks is best for the country, and if that is right then you will get in and push and support him. And if you want a different President, you can kick him out when the time comes around.

I know this city, and I know what it stands for, and what it does, and what your principal support is. And I think the thing that you are principally interested in is the high cost of living.

The present dollar is only worth about 60 cents, in groceries, food, and things to live by. I have been trying, ever since the war ceased, to find a way to meet the control of prices, so they would balance the wages and make the dollar reach just as far as it possibly can.

Way back in November 1945, I asked the Congress to execute a price control law. I asked them again in January 1946, and I asked them in May 1946. Along about the 30th of June, when the law was about to expire, they sent me one that wasn't any good, and I vetoed it. Then they sent me one on the 30th of July that wasn't much better. I signed it, but it wouldn't work.

Then you got to hollering about the price of meat, and in the election of 1946, 66⅔ percent of you didn't go out and vote, and you got this Congress. You got just what you deserved.

But in 1947, after this Congress took over, I asked them to do something about the price situation. They didn't do anything. Then I called a special session, you remember, back in 1947 in November, and I asked them for a 10-point program which would have met the situation. They didn't do anything about it. They haven't done anything about it yet. They are getting ready to quit, and the majority of that Congress is going to Philadelphia to tell you what a grand job they have done, *to* the people—not for them!

But you are going to have a chance to weigh that situation. I took this trip all over the country, before the Congress adjourned, in order to put my side before you, so that you would understand that the fight is between special privilege and the people. That's all there is to it.

That's what the campaign is going to be on this fall, and when I come back here on a political tour, I am going to tell you all about it.

It has certainly been a pleasure to see all my friends in Sedalia this morning.

[3.] JEFFERSON CITY, MISSOURI (10:55 a.m.)

Mr. Mayor, and Governor, and all the distinguished Missouri officials:

It certainly is a pleasure to be here this morning and see so many people, so many people that I know. I think probably I could call half of you by name. I have been down here on many an occasion, both polit-

ical and otherwise. I made four campaigns for the Senate in this State, two in the primary and two in the general elections. And in those campaigns I was in Jefferson City each time, and I didn't draw a crowd like this. There must be something about this Office that makes the people want to see their President. Of course, they know him just as well, if they hadn't seen him.

I am glad we get that way, because it is my business on this trip to keep you informed as to what the issues are before the country.

There is just one big issue: it is the special interests against the people. And the President, being elected by all the people, represents the people. You have now a special interests Congress. You have that special interests Congress because only one-third of you voted in the election of 1946, and you are getting just what you deserved. I have no sympathy with you. If you do that again, you will also get what you deserve.

Now, you will have a chance, very shortly, to make a decision as to whether you want people in there, in the Congress, to represent you, and to look out for your interests, or whether you want to continue the special interests Congress in force.

Now there are many fine gentlemen in that Congress, but they are not in the majority. They were overwhelmed in 1946. And that is the reason you are getting the sort of legislation you are getting now. If you will analyze that legislative program, you will find that special interests come first, and the people come second.

Now if the President doesn't get out and inform the people on what the issues are, then he is not doing his duty; and that is why I took this trip, that is why I went out through the West and the Southwest and the central part of the country, in order that the people might understand just what the issues are.

You are interested in agriculture in this part of the world, to some extent—to a great extent, I think—I know. Now there has been an agricultural program covering the last 12 years, which has been successful. In 1932 the farm income of the United States was $4,700 million—$4,700 million. In 1947 the farm income was a little over $30 billion, 6 or 7 times as much as it was in 1932. The farmers, in 1932, were losing their farms, because the mortgages were coming due so fast we couldn't meet them. Not only were they losing their farms, but they didn't have any money in the bank, and if they had money they were afraid to go to a bank and put it in for fear it would blow up in their faces. We haven't had a single bank failure in the last 3 years. Nobody has lost any money in a bank failure in the last 3 years. And the farmers have $23 billion on deposit in those safe banks. Now the issues are clearly drawn. The agricultural situation was brought about by a program in favor of the farmers. That program—the fundamental basis of that program—will expire on the 31st of December. The bill is resting in the Congress that will meet that situation.

Now, since this trip started, Congress has taken action on some most important measures. They have found that the people are interested in some of these things. And I thought I ought to take this trip, before the Congress adjourned, to give them a chance to do something for the people.

If they do, I will be just as happy as the people will be. But I don't know; I am very doubtful of what will happen.

I think they will have a convention—two conventions in Philadelphia. The first convention will be controlled by the majority of the present Congress, and they are going to tell you what they have done to the people, not for the people.

And if the people believe and act on that

information, then as I said a while ago, they will get just what they deserve.

I can't tell you how much I have appreciated the privilege of stopping here to see all my friends in Missouri. Back at Warrensburg and Sedalia, I thought everybody in that part of the State was at each one of those stops, but I was mistaken. They are all here. I don't know how they got here so fast. I do appreciate it, and I hope, when I take a political tour, that I can come back and tell you something more about the issues.

[4.] East St. Louis, Illinois (1:50 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor:

I certainly appreciate that introduction. I also appreciate the key to the city which you have given me. I can't tell you how much I appreciate that.

It is a pleasure to get a chance to stop here. We couldn't stop everywhere, so we stopped at the points where they change the engines on the railroad, or put in ice, and things of that sort. But I was happy to stop in East St. Louis, for the simple reason that you have the greatest railroad out here in the country. You have stockyards almost equal to my hometown stockyards, although those stockyards are in the suburbs of Independence.

I know you are all interested in the things in which I am interested. I have just finished vetoing a bill which was intended to emasculate the Labor Department, and the Congress has just passed it over my veto. They are determined to emasculate the Labor Department. I am very much interested in that organization. The Republican platform of 1944 made the statement that they expected to make a strong Labor Department. They have absolutely controverted that platform. They have done everything they possibly could to tear up the Labor Department. They just took the Employment Service out of the Labor Department, and they have cut down the appropriation for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, from which every department of the Government gets its information. I don't know why they did that, unless it was because they were anxious to be sure that we didn't know just how far the cost of living is going up. I think maybe that is what they had in mind.

You see, the cost-of-living index is standing somewhere around the figure of 133, which is a percentage figure as compared with some date in the past which was used as a basis. That figure right now is beyond the 170 figure, which means that your dollar now is worth about 66 cents compared with what it was worth in 1945, when we took off price controls. I couldn't convince these gentlemen that we ought to release price controls gradually.

They said that prices would adjust themselves, and they have the same idea about wages. They would like to make wages adjust themselves. I have asked them time and time again to give me an increase in the minimum wage. I asked them to raise it to 75 cents an hour as a basis on which all wages could be computed. Remember when we passed the first minimum wage law? These special privilege fellows said the country was going to the dogs; but the country did not go to the dogs, for the simple reason that we built ourselves up to the point where we have more than $200 billion national income.

I didn't want to pass this rich man's tax bill because I wanted to pay off some of those big debts which we owed while we are rich. Not satisfied with that, they have taken off all controls that will let this spiral go up. I think they are hunting for a boom and bust.

I want you to weigh all these things as we go along, and when the decision has to be

made, and when I come back here on a real political tour and get a chance to talk to you about the issues, then you can make up your mind exactly how you want the country run. If you want it run in the interests of the special privilege class, all right. If you want it run for the people, then you will know what to do, and I won't have to tell you.

I can't tell you how much I have appreciated the privilege of stopping, and I really do hope to come back here. The next time I will have to play fair and stop on the other side of the river, and all of you can come over, just as a great many St. Louisians came over here today; and I will talk to you all at once and try to give you the facts. Then you use your own judgment.

I will appreciate this key. I have gotten three keys on this trip, and this is the biggest one I have received.

Thank you very much. I wish I could stay longer, but I have to run on a schedule, and I have to get back to Washington to veto some more bills.

[5.] TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA (4:45 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen of this great Indiana city of Terre Haute:

I am certainly glad to see you, and happy to see so many of you out here today. I have been through this city and stopped here on numerous occasions. When I was in the Senate, and I was there for 10 years, I used to drive back and forth from Independence, Mo., to Washington by way of highway number 40—usually always stayed on that highway in Terre Haute going one way or another, so I am very well familiar with your city and its environs. And I like the location. This city is located in the richest farming area in the world. This city is interested in the products of the farm as well as in manufactures, many of which are located here in this town.

When you come right down to fundamentals, it takes the agricultural background to make any country great. And this country has made a contribution to agriculture unequaled by any other country in the history of the world. We raised enough food during the war years to feed our own people, our own forces, and to contribute immensely to the forces of our Allies.

Since the war we have been feeding not only ourselves and many of our Allies, but we have been keeping people alive in the devastated areas, where otherwise millions of these people would have starved to death.

Now the agricultural situation in this country is the outgrowth of a policy which was pursued over the last 12 years. In 1932 the income of the farmers of the United States was $4,700 million, and last year it was $30 billion—$30 billion! More than 5 times as much as it was in 1932.

The farmers had on deposit in banks in the United States in 1947, $23 billion. In 1932 they didn't have much of anything but mortgages that were coming due so fast we couldn't even pay them. And insurance companies who owned the mortgages were taking the farms over so fast, the farmers didn't know which way to turn.

Now the Agricultural Adjustment Act and the policies pursued by the administration over the last 12 years are the reason for the prosperity of the farmers, as well as the immense demand for food. The farm support program will expire on December 21, 1948.

I have been asking the Congress to remedy that situation. Nothing so far has been done. The farm bill has been passed by the House. I don't know whether it will pass the Senate or not. If it isn't passed, the farm support program which has done so

much to help make the farmer prosperous in the last 12 years will expire; that is, the floor under prices for the farmer will come to an end, just as the ceiling on prices for the consumers came to an end on June 30, 1946. These two situations balance each other. A floor under farm prices and a floor under wages, and a consumer price control, has been necessary to prevent inflation in this country. We can't stand inflation in this country. We shouldn't have it. This country never passed through a more prosperous 3 years than the last 3 years, and everybody said we wouldn't have any jobs, or that we would be on the edge of a depression.

The national income in the last year was more than $200 billion, and I had hoped while we were prosperous that we might reduce the national debt from the surplus which we had been accumulating over the last 2 years.

But this Congress saw fit to pass a rich man's tax bill which will wipe out that surplus in 1949, and in all probability leave us with a deficit. I am saying to you, as I go across the country, that this is a policy of special privilege against the people. The President of the United States was elected by all the people, and it is his business to look out for those things that are of most benefit to the most people.

I think you are going to find the legislative program by this Congress is in the interests of special privilege all the way across, and we will discuss that when I have a chance to make a trip across the country on a political campaign.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the cordiality of your reception, and I appreciate what is the best in the things I have had to say to you about the things in the country that you are vitally interested in. It is the business of the President to inform the people on what he thinks they should know, and then it is up to the people to make up their minds how they want to act.

In 1946 about a third of the electorate gave us the majority in the 80th Congress; and you get just what you deserve when you don't go out and vote.

If all of you don't come out this time and decide what is best for the country, you can't complain about what you get for the next 4 years.

Thank you very much.

[6.] INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA (6:20 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, and people of Indiana:

It looks as if you are all here. I appreciate this privilege very much, and I can't tell you how much I thank you for this courtesy which you have extended to me.

You see, I started out from Washington to make a tour around the country, and to acquaint the people of the country with the views of the President of the United States, which is one of my duties.

I stopped in Chicago and discussed the issues that are most in the minds of the people. I did the same in Omaha, I did it in Seattle, in San Francisco, in Los Angeles, and cities in between. I am told that I have discussed these issues with nearly 60 different groups. I have seen at least two and a half millions of people, and I have tried to lay before the people the things I think that are most necessary for the welfare of this country; and I have found it necessary at various places to discuss specific things which I think the Congress should do that the Congress has not done.

Just today the housing situation, one of the most important in the country, is a matter on which the House of Representatives has acted in the interests of special privilege.

I promised the reporters on the train that I would read to this audience a statement

for release to the press of the United States.

[*Reading*] "For many weeks the House of Representatives has had under consideration a comprehensive housing legislation passed by the Senate and containing provisions to carry out all of the housing proposals recommended in my February 23, 1948, message to the Congress transmitting a program for housing legislation. After weeks of hearings on this comprehensive housing program, the Republican leadership in the House introduced a substitute bill stripped of almost all of the essential features which would be of real and lasting benefit to the American people."

And that is what they have been doing on nearly all this legislation.

[*Continuing reading*] "In the House Committee on Banking and Currency, after full and free debate, all of the essential features of the comprehensive housing legislation passed by the Senate were restored to the bill and recommended for passage by the House."

And that was done over the protest of the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee. Now listen to what he did:

[*Continuing reading*] "Yesterday, the Republican leadership in the House decreed that the elected representatives of the people should be deprived of the right to vote upon this comprehensive housing legislation so vital to the welfare of the American people. The Republican leadership in the House refused to let the House vote upon this comprehensive housing legislation, because they are afraid if it is submitted to a vote, it will pass.

"The Republican leadership has thus decreed that the House shall vote only upon the emasculated housing legislation which the Republican leadership wants, and that it shall never be allowed to vote upon the kind of housing legislation which the people of this country need and want.

"It will be tragic if the comprehensive housing legislation which has been so long considered, and which has come to the verge of final passage, should be blocked by parliamentary devices which thwart the democratic process.

"But if this is to be the case, the American people should know just how it was done, and by whom."

That housing bill, known as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, passed the Senate 4 years ago while I was in the Senate, and it died in the House. Again this year, after my message, it passed the Senate again, and it has been lying in the House Banking and Currency Committee until just the other day, when 11 Democrats and 3 forward-looking Republicans voted it out to the floor of the House. And the Rules Committee bottled it up again, and will not let the House vote upon it.

Now that comprehensive housing legislation is absolutely essential to the welfare of this country. In every city of the country there is a housing shortage, and what we need is low-cost rental housing for the people, on a basis that they can afford to pay.

The real estate lobby has managed to knock that thing out of this bill, and this thing that they are passing is in the interests of the investors in housing, so they can really get a tax cut. That is what it amounts to.

I don't think you people ought to stand for that. I don't think you are going to stand for that. When this Congress passed a rich man's tax reduction bill, I think that was enough to throw into the faces of the people, without this.

Now we are in a position where the country's national income is more than $200 billion, and when we have that sort of income, we ought to be paying money on the national debt, which is almost astronomic in its size. And that is what I propose to do.

I vetoed that tax bill 3 times. They passed it the last time over the veto.

And this housing bill is right in the same line with that sort of legislation.

This is a special privilege majority in Congress. There are a lot of good men in that Congress, but they are in the minority, and they can't act.

Now this majority is going to quit, so that I doubt very much whether they will pass a comprehensive housing bill. And they are going up to Philadelphia and tell the people, not what they have done for the people, but what they have done *to* the people.

And if you let them get away with it, that is your fault. In 1946 just a third of you voted, and you got just exactly what you ought to have, the two-thirds of you that stayed at home.

Now if you are going to do that again this year, you will deserve what you get. I hope you will profit by the lesson that has been given to you.

Thank you very much.

[7.] RICHMOND, INDIANA (7:45 p.m.)

Ladies and gentlemen:

I was waiting to see whether the Mayor would arrive or not, but I am told he is out of the city, and didn't know I was coming. [*Laughter*]

It certainly is a pleasure to see all these smiling faces in Richmond. You know, I have been through here at least a hundred times, and nobody paid any attention to me. When I was in the Senate, and even before that, I always used to drive through Richmond, and sometimes stayed at the Richmond-Leland Motel. I ought to get something for that plug, don't you think? [*Laughter*]

I am going back home myself, as soon as Congress adjourns, and I hope I will have a chance to stay there for a few days and enjoy myself.

I think that Indiana has been most kind to me. When I stopped in Terre Haute, I thought everybody in western Indiana was there, and when I stopped in Indianapolis, I stopped in the union station, just over the street in the west end of the station, and I think there were more than seven or eight thousand people down in that street.

And now I get to Richmond, and I find all the people in eastern Indiana here. It is a pleasure, a privilege, and a compliment. And I appreciate it.

I would like to say just a word to you about the price situation, which is of vital interest to every citizen of the United States. During the wartime we had a consumer price control, and prices remained substantially level until after the war was over. And along in November 1945, I asked the Congress to extend price control from June 30th, 1946, until production had caught up with consumption, because there had been so many things that we couldn't make during the war that were for consumer demand, such as refrigerators and clothing and things of that sort.

But the Congress did not see fit to act on my suggestion, in November 1945, so I asked them again in January 1946, and I asked them again in May 1946; and on or about the 30th of June, the day the price control bill expired, they sent me an impossible bill, and I vetoed it. You see, I have the habit of veto. But I think I am vetoing in the public interest.

Well, they waited until June 30 before they sent me another bill, and it wouldn't work. I knew it wouldn't work, but I had to sign it because it was all I could get, the Congress had adjourned.

So along in the late part of 1946, just before the election, John Lewis went on a strike, the price of beef went sky high,

and 66⅔ percent of the voters stayed at home, and the one-third elected this Congress. You are getting just what you deserve. When you don't come out and take care of your interests, then something happens to you.

And I made this trip around over the country to inform the people myself of what I think is in the public interest. You see, the President and Vice President are the only officials who are elected by the whole United States, and their interest is the public interest of the whole United States, and not any special interest. And I call this 80th Congress the special interest Congress.

They passed that rich man's tax reduction bill, which I vetoed a couple of times, and then they passed it over my veto. Sometime or other, when politics really gets going, I hope I can come out and make you another political speech, and I will analyze that bill for you and tell you what it does, and then you will understand why I vetoed it.

You see, the country is getting about $200 billion in income, and I thought we ought to pay the national debt so long as we could stand it. But special privilege—special privilege!—special privilege is working.

I just made a statement in Indianapolis that I had heard about what they had done to the housing bill. They have emasculated the housing bill in the interest of the real estate lobby. And if that bill passes, you will all feel it. And then maybe, instead of a third of you coming out, a hundred percent of you will come out and vote for the next Congress, and then we can see what we can do with it.

I hope we can work things out in the public interest. But this price situation affects every person in the country. Price control in the war was a consumers price control, and this Congress said if price controls were removed prices would adjust themselves. Well, prices have adjusted themselves to the point where they have gone off the graph. They are still adjusting themselves in the interests of the fellows that control the goods, and not the people that have to buy.

That is principally what I am interested in, the people who have to pay the bill. And I am going to continue to be interested in just that. I made this trip around the country so you could understand what I stand for, so you would understand what I look like, and so you could understand, without any political implications, what you ought to do when you have a chance to vote again. And you are going to have that chance not far away.

When this Congress adjourns, the majority is going to Philadelphia, and they are going to tell the people what they did to the people in this country, and not what they did for them.

And if you want it done to you as this Congress has done it, then you go ahead and stay at home next time, and let's have another one like it.

But if you believe in the welfare of this Nation, you ought to inform yourselves on exactly what is best for the Nation. Then you ought to go and vote for what you think is best; and when the majority of the American people study the question, they are always right. Jefferson said that, and it is just as true today as it was when Jefferson said it.

I can't tell you how very much I have appreciated this cordial reception which you have given me in Richmond, and I hope sometime or other to come back on a real political tour, and tell you the facts about the issues.

[8.] Columbus, Ohio (11 p.m.)

Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor. I am certainly agreeably surprised that so many people stayed up so late to see the President! I appreciate it more than I can tell

you. The receptions along the trip have been just like this one. They have been so cordial, and people have been so interested in the things that are at issue in the country, that it has been a very great pleasure to me to be able to face the people and tell them just exactly what I think is for their welfare and benefit. That is what I made the trip for. I have tried to make it perfectly plain that there is just one issue before the country, brought about by the 80th Congress, and that is special privilege or the people's privilege. I think we are going to have this Congress with the historical record of a Congress of special privilege; and I wanted the people to understand distinctly my viewpoint on all these things.

I have discussed prices and housing and the farm program, and all the other main issues that are before the country. In every section of the United States, I know that most everybody is interested in the price situation. And then there is another program that the Republican platform made a perfect statement on. They said that they were going to build up a strong Labor Department. They have emasculated the Labor Department. They have just finished taking another function of the Labor Department away from it. They have made the Labor Department a travesty as a department. And that is wrong.

I have just vetoed the so-called bill—yesterday—where they took about 750,000 people off the social security rules. That ought to be broadened and increased, those rules, instead of tearing up the social security program of this country.

I wish it were not so late that I had time to discuss the whole number of issues with you, but I think the thing that you are principally interested in is the cost of living.

In 1946 they brought me in an impossible price control bill which I had to veto June 30th, when the price controls expired. Three times before that I had asked them to extend that price control law just one year, so as to give production a chance to catch up with consumption, and restore it, to some extent. That was not done.

They finally passed a law about the 30th of July which was impossible of enforcement, and immediately the price spiral began, and it hasn't stopped yet.

We must find some means to balance this situation. You know, it was said that prices would adjust themselves. The prices have adjusted themselves, in favor of the people that have the goods. They charge as much as the traffic will bear.

What I was trying to do was to maintain a consumer control until production caught up with consumption, and then prices would honestly adjust themselves. That's all I asked for. I don't like price controls any better than anybody else, but it is the only thing by which the consumer could have been protected. We are not going to get any action on that in this Congress. We are not going to get any action on the housing bill, which was emasculated today.

The Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, which is a bill in the interests of all the people, passed the Senate more than 4 years ago, while I was still in the Senate. I sent a message to Congress last February on the housing bill, and the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill passed the Senate and went to the House. And the Banking Committee of the House held that bill until some of the Republicans revolted and 11 Democrats and 3 Republicans reported that bill out to the floor of the House. The Rules Committee tabled it, and they have introduced a housing bill which will be passed under a suspension of the rules, which is for the benefit of the people who make the loans on houses, and has no help whatever for low-cost rental housing, which is what the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill provided.

That, today, is the action of the Congress, and it is almost a crime against the public. But you know, in 1946 you were disgusted with everything, and most of you stayed at home and didn't vote. Only one-third of the qualified voters of the Nation voted in November 1946, and you elected the 80th Congress; and you got just what you deserved, when 66⅔ percent of you stayed at home.

The majority in control of that Congress said they were going to adjourn right away, and they are going to Philadelphia, and they are going to tell you what they did, not for the public but to the public. And if you are gullible enough to be fooled twice in a row, you will still deserve what you get.

When it is possible, and the lines are drawn, and I can have a chance to make a political tour over the country, I will tell you what all the issues are, and explain them to you so that you can't make a mistake.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the privilege of seeing all of you, and letting all of you see me. There have been so many things said about me since I have been President of the United States that I think you ought to have a chance to see what I look like. I appreciate that. I want to thank you very much. It certainly is wonderful to have you come out at this time of night to listen to your President, and to look at him and to judge him on your own hook.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on June 17 the President referred to James T. Blair, Jr., Mayor of Jefferson City, Phil M. Donnelly, Governor of Missouri, John T. Connors, Mayor of East St. Louis, Ralph Tucker, Mayor of Terre Haute, Al Feeney, Mayor of Indianapolis, Lester Meadows, Mayor of Richmond, and James Rhodes, Mayor of Columbus.

139 Rear Platform Remarks in Pennsylvania and Maryland. *June* 18, 1948

[1.] ALTOONA, PENNSYLVANIA (6:10 a.m.)

Good morning! It certainly is a pleasure to see you this early in the morning. Some of you must have gotten up just as early as I did! We have had a wonderful trip across the country, through the Midwest and the Far West. Now we are going back to Washington before the Congress adjourns, so we can investigate further bills for consideration by the President. I hope that we can get some of the much needed legislation which is now pending in the Congress.

I am particularly interested in the housing bill which is pending there. They have certainly fixed that housing bill so that it will not do the general run of people any good.

It passed the Senate more than 4 years ago, while I was in the Senate, and it was known as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. I sent a message to the Congress on the subject last February and they passed the same bill, practically, as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. Now that bill has been pending in the House ever since the Senate passed it, and the people have been clamoring for low-cost rental housing ever since the war, and the only way, under present circumstances, that we can possibly get low-cost rental housing has been through some such legislation as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. That bill lay in the Banking and Currency Committee of the House for quite a while, and eventually 11 Democrats and 3 forward-looking Republicans reported that bill out. The Rules Committee of the House chose to table it.

Now they have pending before the House the real estate lobby's bill. If that bill passes, it will merely mean a cut in taxes for in-

vestors in real estate construction, and that construction will be so expensive that nobody on earth can afford it, or afford to live in the buildings that will be constructed for rental purposes.

Under present conditions it is certainly an outrage that we can't get action on that bill. At least, the Rules Committee should let the House vote on the original bill as it came from the Banking and Currency Committee of the House just a few days ago. I am sincerely sorry this is the case, and I sincerely hope also that maybe they will have a change of heart when we get back to Washington.

I have been doing my best to call their attention to things that should be done, which is the business of the President. He has a right to go out and discuss with the people the things in which he thinks they are most interested.

It has been my honest opinion, and I have expressed it everywhere, that the special interests have control of this Congress. That was brought about, of course, because most of you stayed at home in 1946 when this Congress was elected. The majority of this Congress was elected by one-third of the voters, and the other two-thirds of you went fishing or somewhere on election day if it wasn't too cold.

You get just what you deserve, when you do things like that, and you will probably get just what you deserve this time, if you don't come out and make an effort to set up a government that is for the people and not for special privilege.

I am certainly appreciative of the welcome from the postmasters here. I hope they are having a nice convention. I suppose as conventions usually run, most of them didn't have to get up this morning, they had been up all night, anyway.

I wonder how many of you are still being held up by the Senate without confirmation. A great many, I judge, because they have held up more postmasters this time than ever before in the history of the Congress.

You know, the postmasters are selected on a civil service basis, and the vast majority of them are selected with veterans' preference. Yet this Congress has seen fit to hold up confirmation, hoping that something will happen so they can overturn the civil service program as it affects postmasters.

I hope you will have a successful convention, and I hope maybe this Senate will soften its heart and confirm those of you who haven't been confirmed.

Thank you very much for getting up so early.

[2.] HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA (8:25 a.m.)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of Harrisburg and Pennsylvania:

It certainly is a pleasure to me to have the privilege of meeting all of you good people this morning. I didn't expect to see all the people of Pennsylvania in Harrisburg this morning, but it looks as if you are all here.

I have had a most pleasant time meeting the people of the United States. I have seen, I imagine, over two and a half million people on this trip, and they have all had a chance to look at me, to find out for themselves just what their President looks like. I have talked to all these people, and a great many people have talked to me, and I think I have a pretty good cross-section of what the people are thinking about.

Most of the people are worried about prices, they are worried about housing, they are worried about the future of this country. They are wondering whether special privilege is going to rule this country, or whether the people are going to rule it. That is something for you to think about.

This situation in Washington will develop

for the next few days, then the majority of the Congress will adjourn to Philadelphia, and then they will proceed to tell you what they have done for the people. But I have been trying to tell you what they have done *to* the people, and I think I have successfully done that.

The Labor Department in Washington was set up many years ago as the Cabinet office which was to be for the benefit of labor in the United States. This Congress has completely demolished the Labor Department. They have been wondering who will be the next Secretary of Labor. In my opinion, the next Secretary of Labor, until the Labor Department is restored to what it ought to be, will have very little to do.

That is not the intention of the establishment of the Labor Department, for the Republican platform in 1944 set out that they expected to build up a strong Labor Department. Ever since this Congress took over on the 3d of January 1947, they have been tearing up the Labor Department. They have done a very successful job of it. They have taken the appropriation away from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics is the bureau which tells us what the cost of living is, and how it works. They weren't satisfied with taking the speedometer off the car, they took it out and threw it away, so we can't tell exactly what is happening to this price situation.

Prices and the cost of living are affected by a minimum wage. I have been asking the Congress, ever since I have been President, to increase the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour. No action—no action.

And I don't know exactly what to expect for the next 3 days from this Congress. All you can do is to read the papers and see what they are doing. They have cut out housing. They have fixed housing so that the real estate lobby is going to get exactly what it wants.

That is too bad, for there never was a time when we needed low-cost rental housing as badly as we do now. They made no effort to meet that situation. That bill was passed more than 4 years ago, while I was in the Senate, it was called the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. Never did pass the House. Last February I sent a special message to the Congress on housing, and the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, in practically the same form that it passed the Senate the first time, passed again. It has been lying in the House ever since, and now it has been emasculated by the House.

We are not going to get a housing bill that will work, I can tell you that. And that is too bad.

I hope you people will give close and careful attention to the issues with which this country is faced. As I said before, it is special privilege against the people. I think this Congress will go down in history as the special privilege Congress, one of the greatest special privilege Congresses this country has ever had.

If you will analyze the situation, and make up your own minds, then perhaps more than a third of you will vote the next time you have the opportunity. Only one-third of you elected this Congress. You got just exactly what you deserved. If you want to make a repeat on that, then you can stew in your own juice.

All of you should make it a point to find out just exactly what the issues are facing this country, and then a hundred percent of you ought to go out and express your opinion at the polls.

If you do that, and you decide to kick me out, I will be satisfied with it, but if you stay at home, then you have no complaint.

I certainly appreciate this privilege of say-

ing a few words to you this morning, and let you see just exactly what I look like.

If you will study what I have been saying over the country, I think you can come more nearly making up your minds in the interests of the greatest Nation on earth.

Thank you very much.

[3.] York, Pennsylvania (9:20 a.m.)

This certainly, certainly makes me happy to see all these smiling faces here this morning. And I was particularly pleased to be able to meet former Mayor Shissler of Lancaster, Pa. He has been in this world 92 years, and tells me he has shaken hands with every President of the United States since Lincoln, except Andrew Johnson.

1856—that is the year of his birth—James Buchanan was elected President of the United States from Pennsylvania, and Mr. Shissler tells me that he began by shaking hands with James Buchanan. Now he must have been a pretty young gentleman then. He was 12 years old when he died. Mr. Buchanan died a long time after that.

Just think, in 1856, the country at that time was faced with its greatest crisis, in fact, the country at that time was on the verge of one of the most unnecessary wars that we ever fought, the War Between the States. And Mr. Shissler was 4 years old when that war started, and when Lincoln was inaugurated as President of the United States.

Just think what we have gone through since the birth of this grand old man. It is a pleasure and a privilege to me to get a chance to talk to him and to meet him; and I never saw anybody as lively or so well informed on current events as Mr. Shissler is. He has been talking to me about what I ought to do to make this thing work, and his advice is good, because he is speaking from experience. I am delighted, and I can't tell you how highly pleased I am to have this privilege. A man of experience can always tell a younger man what to do, and how to do it. If you just listen, sometimes you can get ideas that will work.

I have had a most pleasant trip across the United States and back. In every city people have turned out, just as you have here, in order to see the President and to hear the President, and understand his viewpoint. That is my errand across the Nation. And if it is getting results, I am extremely happy. And I think it is getting results. I should be back in Washington this morning about 12:30, and then I shall have to go to work as usual.

You know, the routine of the President is a steady one. I am an early riser. I usually get up about 5:30 in the morning and go to work about 6—sitting at my desk in the study, they call it, until 8 o'clock, when I have breakfast. In the meantime, sometimes I take a half-hour's walk. These photographers and newspapermen decided one morning that they would take a walk with me. They haven't been back since!

Then I go to the office after breakfast, and stay there until 1 o'clock, go back to the office at 3 o'clock and stay there until the day's work is done, then go back over to the study and stay there until 11 o'clock; then go to bed and get up and do it all over again.

It has certainly been a relief to me, and an education to me, to get out and see the people and to hear what the people have to say. I have addressed immense audiences on this trip, and more people have seen me than have seen any other President in history on any one trip. And I have had a chance to talk to people, and they have had a chance to talk to me, and we understand each other much better. They understand that the President is elected by all the people. He is the only public official who is elected by all the people, and if he doesn't look after the

interests of all the people, nobody is going to do it.

I am trying to do just that, for you. And if I have been successful in bringing the issues a little more clearly out into the open, the trip has been worth it just for that.

As I said, I am going back to Washington and go to work, and do the level best I can to keep looking after the interests of the people.

This is a case of special interests against the people. We have never had a special interest Congress equal to this one, as the record will show, if you will only study it.

That was brought about, of course, because only one-third of you voted in 1946. Two-thirds of you stayed at home, and you got just exactly what you deserved, when you got this Congress.

Well now, you are going to have another opportunity. This is 1948! You can tell it is 1948 if you read the Congressional Record. And you are going to have the same privilege again, only this time you are going to elect one-third of the Senate, all the House of Representatives, most of your local officials, and you are going to elect the President and Vice President of the United States.

And if you don't turn out a hundred percent and do your duty on election day, you will still be entitled to what you get, because the people of this country are the Government, and when they make up their minds what they want, they usually get it.

I just went around over the country to let you know what I think, and what I stand for, and if that is what you believe in, that will be all right. If it isn't, it will be all right, too. It will have to be.

But I know that you are most interested in the welfare of this Nation. This is the greatest Nation in the history of the world. We have attained leadership in the world, attained by no other nation in the history of the world. We must maintain that leadership. We must have the spiritual values that will give us the ability to maintain that leadership, in a manner that will bring peace to the world.

Everybody—everybody without exception wants peace in the world. That is what we have been striving for ever since the Germans and the Japs folded up. We have been working for peace. We have had some obstructions to attaining that peace, but there is one thing certain: we are unanimously for the foreign policy of the United States. This is one issue which is bipartisan, and that partisanship should stop at the water's edge; and it has stopped just there.

We are trying manfully to maintain that situation in the world which will make the United Nations the means of attaining peace and of settling differences between nations without going to war.

That is my one ambition. That is what I have been working for ever since I have been President. I went to San Francisco when the United Nations Charter was finished, and witnessed the signing of it. I went to San Francisco and Berkeley, Calif., right across the bay from San Francisco, just the other day, and restated the foreign policy of the United States. And that foreign policy must be maintained by all the people. And I am sure that is exactly what you want to do, because that means peace in the world.

Again, I want to thank you for this cordial welcome, and for the privilege of meeting this grand old man, and having him give me advice and his experience from Buchanan to the present day.

Thank you very much.

[4.] BALTIMORE, MARYLAND (11 a.m.)

Mr. Mayor, and my friends in Baltimore:

It certainly is a fine thing to me to receive a welcome like this in Maryland's first city, and particularly from your great Mayor

whom I have known for many years in the Congress.

I have had a grand trip, and this is a wonderful windup to that trip. Every city in which I have been has been just as cordial and as enthusiastic as it could be. I have never seen so many smiling faces in my life. I have never had such a welcome from one end of the country to the other as I have had on this tour.

I think it has been constructive. I think it has been necessary for the welfare of the country that I should go and talk to the people and let the people talk to me. I think I have seen more people on this trip than any other President ever saw on any one trip.

I have talked to more people, and more people have talked to me. It has given me a cross-section of what people are thinking. It has given me an opportunity to go back to Washington and do a better and more constructive job.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this cordial welcome you have given me, and how highly pleased I am with it. It is certainly kind of the city of Baltimore, and Baltimore's Mayor to turn out this way.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on June 18 the President referred to Simon Shissler, former Mayor of Lancaster, and Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., Mayor of Baltimore.

140 Special Message to the Congress on the Labor Dispute at Oak Ridge. *June* 18, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, it is my duty to report to the Congress concerning the labor dispute which recently existed at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory.

The important facts concerning the dispute may be summarized as follows:

The Oak Ridge National Laboratory is Government-owned. Some 2,350 persons are there engaged in important atomic energy research, but not directly in production of fissionable materials or weapons.

The dispute was between the Carbide and Carbon Chemicals Corporation, and the Atomic Trades and Labor Council, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The Corporation operates the Laboratory under a cost plus fixed-fee contract with the Atomic Energy Commission. The Corporation also operates two other important plants of the atomic energy installation at Oak Ridge. The Council represents some 900 employees who perform maintenance, operating and service functions at the Laboratory.

The recent dispute resulted from the failure of negotiations concerning both wages and working conditions. These negotiations were begun with the predecessor contractor in the latter part of November 1947 and continued with Carbide and Carbon Chemicals Corporation beginning February 9, 1948.

It is clear that there was a difference in objectives sought by the Council and the Corporation. On the one hand, the Council desired to preserve differentials over the two nearby atomic energy plants as to wage rates and conditions of employment—differentials which have been in existence in the Laboratory since its beginning. On the other hand, the Corporation desired uniformity of wage rates and conditions of employment and the elimination of the Laboratory differentials.

In a union meeting held Sunday, February 29, the employees voted to strike unless settlement were made by Friday, midnight,

March 5, and this intention was reaffirmed by another meeting on the night of March 3. Accordingly, on March 5, I issued Executive Order 9934, creating a Board of Inquiry pursuant to the Labor Management Relations Act. At my request, both parties agreed to maintain the status quo until March 19.

On March 15 the Board of Inquiry submitted to me its first report. It found the existence of a labor dispute at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, and it advised me of the facts of that dispute. It further found that grave danger to the national safety would result if the operations of the laboratory were interrupted.

Thereupon, at my request, the Attorney General on March 19 instituted an action and obtained an injunction in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Tennessee. This order enjoined both the Corporation and the Council, and all persons in active participation with them, from engaging in any strike or lockout or from interfering with normal continuance of work, or from making any change in terms or conditions of employment other than by mutual agreement.

On March 24 I reconvened the Board of Inquiry. Negotiations between the parties continued, with the assistance of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. On May 18 the Board of Inquiry submitted to me its second report, stating that the position of the parties remained unaltered and the dispute unsettled.

On June 1 and 2 the National Labor Relations Board conducted a secret ballot of the employees to ascertain whether they wished to accept the final offer of settlement as stated and made by the employer. The employees, by a vote of 771 to 26, rejected the employer's last offer. On June 7 the National Labor Relations Board certified to the Attorney General the results of this election. On June 8 the employees at a union meeting took action looking to a possible stoppage if the injunction were lifted and if the employer unilaterally placed in effect the terms proposed in its final offer.

On June 10, pursuant to Section 210 of the Labor Management Relations Act, the Attorney General moved the court to discharge the injunction. The injunction was discharged on June 11.

During this period, the parties continued negotiations, with the assistance of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. On June 15 the parties reached agreement on the terms of a new contract.

All parties to this dispute and the Government agencies concerned complied with all legal and procedural requirements of Title II of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947.

A number of additional facts concerning this dispute are set forth in the first and second reports of the Board of Inquiry. Copies of these reports are transmitted to the Congress with this message.

Both parties are to be commended for achieving settlement of this dispute without an interruption of work.

The dispute at Oak Ridge has raised some question, nevertheless, as to the sufficiency of present collective bargaining methods in atomic energy installations.

This question is somewhat different from others which have arisen in the past. On the one hand, it is clear that the national security and the development of the beneficial arts and sciences are bound up with the progress of our atomic energy program. Thus, every dispute which threatens to seriously impair that program imperils the national health and safety.

On the other hand, it is equally clear that the progress of our atomic energy program requires the support and drive of broad sec-

tors of the American economy. In order to encourage such support, the Atomic Energy Commission has lodged in its contractors a large measure of responsibility and authority. The progress of the program is equally dependent upon the full and willing support of the men and women who work in atomic energy plants and laboratories.

Under these circumstances, it is imperative that the most successful techniques of the collective bargaining process should be adopted for the atomic energy program.

The objective should be twofold. The parties should continue to enjoy the maximum of voluntary action and freedom of choice. Secondly, the public interest must be protected at all times.

I believe that special study should be given to the problem of peaceful and orderly settlement of labor disputes in Government-owned, privately-operated atomic energy installations, such as those at Richland, Washington; Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Los Alamos, New Mexico; the Argonne National Laboratory, Chicago, Illinois; and others.

I propose, therefore, to establish a commission composed of men having expert knowledge in the field of labor relations, to study this problem and to make such recommendations as they may find necessary. The commission should explore the question whether any special legislation should be enacted to protect the national interest without depriving management or labor organizations of the initiative and freedom necessary for the progress of our atomic energy program. The commission should study ways and means of adapting to the atomic energy program the best of our experience in the complex field of labor relations. The commission should concern itself also with special aspects of the problem, such as questions of bargaining representation, uniformity of working conditions and wages, and procedures for grievance handling.

The commission should concern itself, in short, with the broad code of conduct which should be observed by management and labor in their relations with each other in this vital program.

In appointing this commission I shall request the advice of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy both as to the membership of the commission and the specific questions to be studied.

I believe that the report of this commission, which should be submitted as soon as possible, will be of great value in guiding contractors, labor organizations and the Government in this new and vital field. I am confident that this is the best avenue to follow to achieve and maintain that proper balance between freedom and responsibility which is the tradition in all our economic relations, including those between management and labor.

NOTE: A White House release of September 3 stated that recent disputes at Oak Ridge and Los Alamos had raised serious questions as to the sufficiency of present collective bargaining methods at atomic energy installations. The release announced that the President had appointed a special commission to explore the entire problem of labor relations in the atomic energy program and to make appropriate recommendations to him. The commission was composed of the following members: William H. Davis, New York attorney who served as Chairman, Edwin E. Witte, Chairman of the Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin, and Aaron Horvitz, New York labor arbitrator and former Commissioner, U.S. Conciliation Service.

The "Report of the President's Commission on Labor Relations in the Atomic Energy Installations," dated April 1949 (Government Printing Office, 13 pp.), was made public by the White House on April 18, 1949.

26-679—64——27

141 Statement by the President Announcing an Agreement With the Provisional Government of Israel. *June* 22, 1948

AGREEMENT has been reached between the Government of the United States and the Provisional Government of Israel on the establishment of a Mission of the United States in Israel and a Mission of the Provisional Government of Israel in the United States. Agreement has also been reached on the exchange of special representatives.

Mr. Eliahu Epstein has been designated by the Provisional Government of Israel as its Special Representative in the United States heading the Mission of the Provisional Government of Israel in this country.

I have today appointed the Honorable James Grover McDonald, of New York, to serve as the Special Representative of the United States to head the Mission of the United States in Israel.

NOTE: On January 25, 1949, a permanent government was elected in Israel, and on January 31 the White House announced that the United States had extended *de jure* recognition to the new Government of Israel.

142 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Displaced Persons Act. *June* 25, 1948

IT IS with very great reluctance that I have signed S. 2242, the Displaced Persons Act of 1948.

If the Congress were still in session, I would return this bill without my approval and urge that a fairer, more humane bill be passed. In its present form this bill is flagrantly discriminatory. It mocks the American tradition of fair play. Unfortunately, it was not passed until the last day of the session. If I refused to sign this bill now, there would be no legislation on behalf of displaced persons until the next session of the Congress.

It is a close question whether this bill is better or worse than no bill at all. After careful consideration I have decided, however, that it would not be right to penalize the beneficiaries of this bill on account of the injustices perpetrated against others who should have been included within its provisions. I have therefore signed the bill in the hope that its injustices will be rectified by the Congress at the first opportunity.

Americans of all religious faiths and political beliefs will find it hard to understand, as I do, why the 80th Congress delayed action on this subject until the end of this session, with the result that most attempts to improve the bill were frustrated.

The 80th Congress certainly had ample time to produce a satisfactory bill. Eighteen months ago, in my State of the Union Message, I stated that I did not feel that the United States had done its part in the admission of displaced persons. I pointed out that congressional assistance in the form of new legislation was needed.

Six months later, on July 7, 1947, because the Congress had not yet acted, I sent a special message on the subject. I reminded the Congress: "We are dealing with a human problem, a world tragedy. . . . I urge the Congress to press forward with its consideration of this subject and to pass suitable legislation as speedily as possible." To my regret, the Congress adjourned last summer without passing any displaced persons legislation.

Again, on January 7, 1948, I urged the Congress "to pass suitable legislation at once so that this Nation may do its share in caring

for homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths. I believe that the admission of these persons will add to the strength and energy of the Nation."

The Congress did not act "at once." The Senate committee charged with the responsibility of rendering a report on January 10, 1948, asked for, and received, an extension to report on February 10. Instead of reporting on February 10, it reported on March 2. The bill which it finally reported, without a single public hearing, was roundly and deservedly criticized by all who were interested in achieving a fair solution of this problem. Through one device or another, debate on the bill by the Senate was postponed from the beginning of March until the end of May. The Senate bill was not passed until June 2. The House of Representatives in the meantime had delayed action and did not pass its bill until June 11. It was not until the last days of the session that the Senate and the House conferees met to put together a compromise.

The compromise resulting from this hasty, last-minute action consisted largely of combining the worst features of both the Senate and House bills.

I have analyzed closely the bill which was sent to me for signature. Its good points can be stated all too briefly: At long last, the principle is recognized that displaced persons should be admitted to the United States. Two hundred thousand displaced persons may be admitted in the next 2 years, as well as 2,000 recent Czech refugees and 3,000 orphans.

The bad points of the bill are numerous. Together they form a pattern of discrimination and intolerance wholly inconsistent with the American sense of justice.

The bill discriminates in callous fashion against displaced persons of the Jewish faith. This brutal fact cannot be obscured by the maze of technicalities in the bill or by the protestations of some of its sponsors.

The primary device used to discriminate against Jewish displaced persons is the provision restricting eligibility to those displaced persons who entered Germany, Austria, or Italy on or before December 22, 1945. Most of the Jewish displaced persons who had entered Germany, Austria, or Italy by that time have already left; and most of the Jewish displaced persons now in those areas arrived there after December 22, 1945, and hence are denied a chance to come to the United States under this bill. By this device more than 90 percent of the remaining Jewish displaced persons are definitely excluded. Even the eligible 10 percent are beset by numerous additional restrictions written into the bill.

For all practical purposes, it must be frankly recognized, therefore, that this bill excludes Jewish displaced persons, rather than accepting a fair proportion of them along with other faiths.

The bill also excludes many displaced persons of the Catholic faith who deserve admission. Many anti-Communist refugees of Catholic faith fled into the American zones after December 22, 1945, in order to escape persecution in countries dominated by a Communist form of government. These too are barred by the December 22, 1945, dateline.

It is inexplicable, except upon the abhorrent ground of intolerance, that this date should have been chosen instead of April 21, 1947, the date on which General Clay closed the displaced persons camps to further admissions.

The Jewish and Catholic displaced persons who found asylum in our zones between December 22, 1945, and April 21, 1947, who are wrongly excluded by this bill, fled their native countries for the same basic reasons as Balts who came before Decem-

ber 22, 1945, and Czechs who came after January, 1948, who are rightly included. I sincerely hope that the Congress will remedy this gross discrimination at its earliest opportunity.

There are many other seriously objectionable features in the bill. Some of these are, as follows:

Except for orphans, the bill charges the displaced persons admitted under its provisions to future immigration quotas of their countries of birth, up to 50 percent of the quota per year. Under this system, 50 percent of some quotas will be "mortgaged" for generations. This is a most begrudging method of accepting useful and worthy people and will necessarily deprive many other worthy people of an opportunity to come to the United States in future years. Considering how few permanent immigrants were able to enter this country during the war, it would have been more equitable to admit the displaced persons as nonquota immigrants.

The bill requires that at least 40 percent of the displaced persons allowed to enter this country must come from areas which have been "*de facto* annexed by a foreign power." This guarantees a disproportionately high percentage of persons from particular areas. It would have been fairer to provide instead for the admission of persons in proportion to the numbers of each group in the displaced persons camps.

The bill reflects a singular lack of confidence by the Congress in the capacity and willingness of the people of the United States to extend a welcoming hand to the prospective immigrants. It contains many restrictive requirements, such as prior assurances of suitable employment and "safe and sanitary housing," unnecessarily complicated investigation of each applicant, and burdensome reports from individual immigrants. I regret that the Congress saw fit to impose such niggardly conditions.

The bill submitted to me also emasculates the salutary provision of the House bill which provided for the granting of permanent residence status to a maximum of 15,000 displaced persons who are already lawfully in this country. The bill now requires a concurrent resolution of the Congress in favor of each individual after his application has been approved by the Attorney General. This requirement has the effect of perpetuating the cumbersome practice of special action by the Congress to adjust the status of individual aliens.

I know what a bitter disappointment this bill is—to the many displaced victims of persecution who looked to the United States for hope; to the millions of our citizens who wanted to help them in the finest American spirit; to the many Members of the Congress who fought hard but unsuccessfully for a decent displaced persons bill. I hope that this bitter disappointment will not turn to despair.

I have signed this bill, in spite of its many defects, in order not to delay further the beginning of a resettlement program and in the expectation that the necessary remedial action will follow when the Congress reconvenes.

NOTE: The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 is Public Law 774, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1009).

On July 23 the White House announced that the President would recommend the following amendments at the forthcoming special session of the Congress: (1) elimination of all discrimination because of race or religion, (2) certain changes in administrative procedures, (3) elimination of the provision requiring mortgaging of future immigration quotas assigned to a country, and (4) increasing the number of displaced persons entering the United States to 402,000 in 4 years.

143 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Trade Agreements Extension Act. *June 26, 1948*

I HAVE today signed H.R. 6556, the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1948. Unfortunately, this act extends for only 1 year the authority to enter into reciprocal trade agreements. It also makes unwise changes in the procedure for negotiating such agreements.

I regret very much that the Congress has not seen fit to renew this authority for the customary 3-year period. There is no valid reason for a 1-year limitation, which appears to cast some doubt upon our intentions for the future.

Moreover, the act prescribes a new, complicated, time-consuming, and unnecessary procedure for the negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements. This change in procedure will necessarily hamper and obstruct the negotiation of new agreements, a defect which is particularly undesirable in view of the act's limitation to a single year.

The reciprocal trade agreements program has long occupied a key position in our foreign policy and in our endeavors to assist world recovery. As I pointed out in a special message to the Congress last March, the program is a tested and practical means for achieving the benefits of expanding world commerce for the United States and other countries and a continuing evidence of the determination of the United States to contribute its full share to the reconstruction of a sound and growing world economy as a basis for enduring world peace.

As part of the European recovery program, the participating countries have agreed to work together to lower barriers to trade. The United States can surely do no less than show its determination to support the same principle, which is so important to an expansion of world markets and world trade.

It is so essential that the reciprocal trade agreements program should not lapse, that I have signed this act in spite of its serious defects.

I will do my best to make the new procedures work. As a first step, I intend to proceed in the near future with plans for bringing other countries into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade signed with 22 countries at Geneva in October, 1947.

The reciprocal trade agreements program is one of high national policy. When the act is again extended next year, I trust that the defects contained in this year's extension will be corrected, in order that the act will be restored as a fully effective instrument of permanent United States policy.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 6556 is Public Law 792, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1053).

144 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Foreign Aid Appropriation Act. *June 28, 1948*

I HAVE signed today H.R. 6801, the Foreign Aid Appropriation Act, 1949, providing funds for the first year of the European recovery program; for aid to Greece, Turkey, and China; for meeting our occupation responsibilities in Europe and the Far East; and for our participation in the International Children's Fund and the International Refugee Organization. The total appropriation for these purposes included in the act is $6,030,710,228.

By far the largest item in this act is the $4 billion appropriation for economic cooperation with Europe. I know that the

American people share the deep sense of satisfaction which I feel in taking this final step to make the European recovery program effective. It furnishes concrete evidence and assurance to the free peoples of the world that we stand ready to work side by side with them to preserve free institutions in stability and peace.

In June of last year, the United States indicated its readiness to work with the countries of Europe in developing a program of joint action to achieve economic recovery. Representatives of 16 European countries drew up a program in response to this suggestion and submitted it to this Government in September. After careful study, I submitted to the Congress on December 19 recommendations for legislation to make the European recovery program a reality. Following full consideration by the Congress, this legislation was enacted on April 3.

Then began the last step in the legislative process—the enactment of the necessary appropriations to make the law effective. Again the program was carefully scrutinized and its various elements weighed and tested. As finally enacted, this appropriation is substantially in accord with the program presented to the Congress 6 months ago. It represents the combined judgment and will of the Executive and the Congress. It was evolved in the spirit of cooperation and not of partisan conflict. It demonstrates the united determination of our people to make good our pledge of cooperation to those who, like ourselves, are striving to achieve enduring peace and prosperity among all nations.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 6801 is Public Law 793, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1054).

For the President's statement on April 3 upon signing the Foreign Assistance Act, see Item 64.

145 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Providing Retirement Benefits for Members of the Armed Forces Reserves. *June 29, 1948*

I HAVE today signed H.R. 2744, title III of which provides for retirement benefits for individuals who remain active in the various programs for the Reserve components of our Armed Forces for at least 20 years.

Reserve personnel of the Army, the Air Force, the Navy, the Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard alike will receive retirement benefits under this title in direct proportion to the time and effort expended in the Reserves. These benefits will furnish an added incentive, which has been lacking heretofore, for well-trained men to remain active in the Reserves for a number of years. By making this kind of provision for the establishment of a career Reserve, this title is a very significant step forward in our organization for national defense.

The way is now open to the development of an ever-ready Reserve as an integral part of the United States Armed Forces. To achieve this end is the responsibility of the civilian heads of the national defense agencies. But in a deeper sense the responsibility rests on the officers and enlisted men of the Regular Armed Forces and their counterparts in the Reserve forces of each service.

If the standing forces of the Regular establishments are to be kept small, as is the tradition in the United States, the civilian Reserve must always be ready as part of the trained nucleus around which a citizen Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and Air Force can be built if the need ever arises. The Reserve and Regular forces must therefore work together in effective team-

work, with the Regular services providing the equipment, the training facilities, and the expert guidance needed by the Reserve forces, and the Reserve personnel devoting their best efforts to keeping our national defense establishment in a constant state of readiness.

As Commander in Chief, I call upon the Regular services to work with the Reserves in full partnership in maintaining a vigorous and effective national defense. As a civilian who has been a Reserve officer for many years, I call upon the Reserves to accept their responsibilities and, in the fullest measure, to live up to the opportunities which this legislation gives them.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 2744 is Public Law 810, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1081).

146 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Extending the Life of the Virgin Islands Company. *June* 30, 1948

I HAVE today signed H.R. 5904, an act which extends the life of the Virgin Islands Company 1 year.

I am keenly disappointed that the Congress did not see fit to enact long-range legislation for the economic development of the Virgin Islands which I have repeatedly recommended. Stopgap measures such as H.R. 5904 contribute little toward making the islands economically self-sustaining and raising the standard of living of its inhabitants. Economic self-sufficiency can only be achieved by a program which will broaden the economic base of the islands and promote the development of local resources.

The first step in such a program should be the enactment of a permanent charter giving the Virgin Islands Company expanded powers and more adequate financial resources. A bill to accomplish these objectives was introduced in the 80th Congress, but failed to pass. H.R. 5904 merely continues the Company for 1 year and gives it no new powers. Funds provided in the Government Corporations Appropriation Act will only be sufficient to carry the Company through part of the coming fiscal year.

In addition to working toward a self-supporting Virgin Islands economy, the Federal Government should provide means whereby the Virgin Islands Government can provide essential community services—such as schools and hospitals—which are at present lacking or are inadequately financed.

In the past this need has been partially met by annual appropriations, anticipating deficits in the local treasuries. A better solution of this problem would be to return to the Virgin Islands the internal revenue tax on local products. In this manner a regular income would be provided for essential functions of local government.

Legislation to this effect also was introduced in the 80th Congress, but was blocked by the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives which did not report the bill to the House. The Congress was therefore obliged at the last moment to revert to the previous practice of appropriating funds to meet the expected deficit in the local treasuries.

The world is watching what we do in our possessions. The United States should set an example through progressive measures calculated to assure self-government and to promote the welfare of the inhabitants of our Territories and possessions. This legislative record does not meet that standard.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 5904 is Public Law 855, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1170).

147 Message to the Congress Transmitting Second Report on the U.S. Foreign Aid Program. *June* 30, 1948

To the Congress of the United States of America:

I am transmitting herewith the second quarterly report of expenditures and activities under the United States Foreign Aid Program authorized by Public Law 389 of the 80th Congress, approved December 17, 1947.

This report covers the period from January 1, 1948 through March 31, 1948, during which the flow of United States supplies to Austria, France, and Italy accomplished the purposes of the Foreign Aid Act of 1947—"to alleviate conditions of hunger and cold and prevent serious economic retrogression."

Pursuant to Section 5(d) of the act, this report also includes the statements of the governments of Austria, France, and Italy on the method of distribution and use of commodities made available under the act; the itemized list of commodities supplied each government, the average price at which each was sold, and the gross proceeds derived from these sales.

The supplies provided by the United States have freed the peoples of these three countries temporarily from the fear of starvation and want and enabled them to hold their economy intact until a long-range program could help them and other countries to a general European reconstruction. To the peoples of these countries, however, the gift of these supplies by the people of the United States meant something more—this aid represented also a symbol of hope for their future.

To us, the American people, our aid was an act of faith in a future in which free men shall prevail. The freely expressed will of the Italian people in their national election has already confirmed that faith.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The report is printed in House Document 739 (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

148 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Government Corporation Appropriation Act. *June* 30, 1948

I HAVE today signed H.R. 6481, the Government Corporation Appropriation Act, 1949.

The failure of the Congress to include in this act the appropriation which I had recommended to permit the Tennessee Valley Authority to begin construction of a steam generating plant at New Johnsonville, Tenn., is an omission with such grave consequences that I hope the Congress will reconsider this question at the earliest opportunity.

It is inexcusable that there should be delay in providing the energy urgently needed to meet the growing demands of the people in this great region and vitally necessary for the requirements of national security.

In 1939—9 years ago this July—the Congress determined that there should be no wasteful competition between public and private power systems in the Tennessee Valley. It accepted the proposal worked out by TVA and the private power companies then serving the area and authorized the purchase by TVA of the facilities for power generation and transmission then in private ownership. Municipalities and rural cooperatives purchased the existing facilities for electrical distribution.

From that day an agency of the Federal Government has produced the power and carried it over its own transmission lines to the locally-owned and managed distribution systems which deliver it to the individual consumers. As a result of that congressional decision, TVA has become the only wholesaler of power for an area of more than 80,000 square miles. Over 5 million people are entirely dependent on this great publicly-owned power system to provide the electricity they need on their farms, in their homes, and in their private enterprises.

Most of the power produced by TVA comes from the huge dams which span the rivers, but like other hydroelectric systems, TVA needs auxiliary steampower to assure steadiness in the supply of energy. No new question of policy is presented by the proposal that TVA should build a steamplant at New Johnsonville. From the beginning of its operation TVA has had steam capacity on its system. A steamplant was turned over to it, together with Wilson Dam, in 1933. It purchased steamplants in 1939. It built a steamplant in 1940 with funds appropriated by the Congress, and added to that plant's capacity in 1943 and 1945. Now this new steamplant is required to balance the hydropower which has been added or is authorized for addition to its power system. While no new policy would be established by the approval of this plant, failure to permit its construction would reverse a sound and long established policy.

Everyone knows that our Nation's power supply is tight—that our margin of reserve is inadequate. In almost every part of the country increased production is being impeded and delayed by limited power capacity. Yet the House of Representatives by eliminating the appropriation for the New Johnsonville plant, which I had recommended in the budget, would prevent the power supply from keeping pace with normal peacetime requirements in an area of critical production.

Much more is at stake in this matter than peacetime power requirements, important though they are. On May 26, when the bill was before the Senate Appropriations Committee, I directed a letter to the Chairman of that Committee, transmitting a communication from the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board, and specifically urging that this appropriation be restored. It was pointed out that power from this plant is not only needed to meet the estimated normal peacetime increase in the region's demand for energy, but it is also urgently needed to meet potential national security requirements such as those of the atomic energy installation and the aluminum and chemical industries which are located in the area and are dependent on TVA for power.

The Senate did restore this appropriation. But the House of Representatives refused to agree and it was eliminated in conference.

This is a bad decision when the welfare of the people is considered. They need the power for their comfort and their prosperity. It is a foolish decision when the protection of the Government investment is considered, for the TVA system would be far less sound, from the engineering and financial viewpoint, without this steamplant, It is a reckless and irresponsible decision when the security of the Nation may be adversely affected.

The TVA is a demonstration of the ability of a democracy to conceive and execute large plans for the public welfare. It has served as an inspiration and example to the rest of the world. It is a powerful weapon in the war of ideas now being waged for the minds of the people of the world.

At the first opportunity, I shall again urge that the Congress appropriate funds so this proposed plant may be promptly constructed

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in order to remove a serious barrier to the continued effective, economical, and successful operation of the TVA power system.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 6481 is Public Law 860, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1183).

For the President's letter to the Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, see Item 109.

149 Statement by the President on the Interior Department Appropriation Act. *June* 30, 1948

YESTERDAY I signed H.R. 6705, the Interior Department Appropriation Act, 1949. I did so only because I had no choice. Since the bill came to me after the Congress had adjourned, a veto would close down the operations of the Department of the Interior on July 1.

If it had been possible to veto this bill without bringing the vital work of the Department to a standstill, I would have done so because of a rider in the bill establishing arbitrary qualifications for the Commissioner, the Assistant Commissioners, and the Regional Directors of the Bureau of Reclamation. This rider is designed to effect the removal of two men now holding such positions who have supported the public power policy of the Government and the 160-acre law which assures that Western lands reclaimed at public expense shall be used for the development of family size farms. No matter what may be the asserted reasons for wanting to remove these men from office, the result would be to serve the purposes of special interests desirous of monopolizing the rich farm lands of the West and intent upon stopping the construction of transmission lines for the delivery of power from Federal dams. These same interests tried first to get the law changed but failed, and having failed then sought to get the management changed.

This type of legislation does great harm to our democratic principles. It is contrary to the spirit, if not the letter, of those provisions of the Constitution which guarantee the separation of legislative and executive functions and afford protection against bills of attainder. This type of action subjects Federal officials to the risk of being legislated out of office if they incur the wrath of special interests as a result of vigorous enforcement of the law.

In addition to this attack upon the management of the Bureau of Reclamation, the act will delay important reclamation work in all of the great basin areas of the West, including the Missouri Basin, the Columbia Basin in the Pacific Northwest, the Central Valley in California, and the Colorado Basin. The act makes available $69 million less than I requested to carry on the vital work of the Department. Most of the funds cut out by the Congress were intended for land, water, and power development in the West. This will mean delays in bringing in new lands for settlement, in furnishing water to farms now dry or badly short of water, and in providing additional power badly needed by industries, cities, and farms.

By specific provisions in the act and by statements in the committee reports accompanying its passage, the Congress has also made a broad attack on the national public power policy.

Thus, while appropriating $3 million toward the construction of the Canyon Ferry project in Montana, the Congress has prohibited the construction of previously authorized power facilities and transmission lines for the delivery of power from the project. In the Central Valley of California, the Congress has failed to include funds for the construction of the previously authorized

"west-side" transmission line to carry power from Shasta Dam to the San Francisco area. To bottle up power at these and other Federal dams by preventing the construction of previously authorized power facilities and transmission lines, clearly represents a capitulation to special interest groups.

Furthermore, the act and the conference report portend a reversal of the long established policy of using interest collected on the power investment in reclamation projects to pay off a portion of the irrigation costs. The effect of such a change would be to increase public power and water rates to the people throughout the West.

These are but a few of the evidences of an intent to destroy the national power policy. They are representative of the sort of thinking expressed in the report of the House Committee on Appropriations where it was said that the laws of the State of Washington authorizing public utility districts to acquire the properties of privately-owned power companies by condemnation have "the earmarks of a Soviet power policy."

In these and other significant respects the Congress in this act has nullified by indirect action the purposes of permanent legislation which the Congress has refused to change by direct action, and which reflects, I believe, the will of the people.

There are numerous other objectionable features in this act. For example, while protesting the increased cost of Federal construction projects, the Congress by this act limits the amount of construction work which the Bureau of Reclamation and the Bonneville Power Administration can do with their own employees, the result of which may well be to force these agencies to accept excessive bids and thereby increase the cost of their construction projects to the Nation. The act also imposes arbitrary and unreasonable limitations on personnel management services, on the employment of technicians in the higher salary levels, and on regional administration, without regard to the efficient administration of the programs of the Department.

I consider that in this legislation the Congress has disregarded long-standing principles of sound legislative practice and has failed to meet the needs of our people for the development of the great natural resources of the Nation in the public interest.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 6705 is Public Law 841, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1112).

150 The President's News Conference of *July* 1, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. I have a statement on the so-called housing bill, which I will read to you, and it will be available for you when you go out.

[*Reading*] "I have today signed Senate bill 2790, 'To amend the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, as amended, and for other purposes.'[1]

"For reasons which are quite understandable, the Republican leaders in the House of Representatives insisted upon calling this measure a 'housing' bill. But as a housing bill, it is, as the Vice Chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Housing truthfully said, 'practically nothing at all.'

"In this case, as in many others, the 80th Congress has failed miserably to meet the urgent needs of the people of the United

[1] As enacted, S. 2790 is Public Law 864, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1206).

States. I consider it to be the duty of the President to inform the people as to the actual facts on these vital issues. That is why I have issued, and shall continue to issue, statements commenting on legislation passed by the Congress.

"This so-called housing bill is a hasty patchwork. It was passed by the Congress in the final hours of the session, after the Republican leadership refused to permit the House of Representatives to vote upon the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill. This bill bears no resemblance to the comprehensive housing program included in the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill.

"It fails to provide for farm housing or for slum clearance.

"It fails to provide for housing research, for financial assistance to large-scale home construction, or for encouraging large-scale production of prefabricated housing.

"It fails completely to aid in meeting our greatest housing need—low-cost rental housing. It makes no provision for publicly-assisted low-rent housing—or, in fact, for any rental housing.

"Contrasted with the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill, this measure was properly labeled in the Congress as the 'teeny-weeny' housing bill.

"This bill does two things. First, it increases the funds available for the Government purchase of home mortgages insured by the Federal Housing Administration and restores the authority to purchase mortgages guaranteed under the GI act, which the Congress allowed to lapse in 1947. This is the so-called secondary mortgage market, which is designed to encourage the supply of private credit to home buyers. Second, the bill purports to liberalize the Government's authority to insure mortgages for veterans' housing cooperatives. But even in these respects the bill is seriously defective.

"With respect to the secondary mortgage market, the bill repeals the present authority of the Government to purchase FHA insured mortgages on rental properties. Thus, it actually eliminates an existing aid to urgently needed rental housing.

"With respect to veterans' housing cooperatives, the bill is practically worthless.

"It purports to aid veterans' cooperatives by authorizing the Federal Housing Administration to insure 95 percent loans to veterans' housing cooperatives. But it does *not* change the applicable cost limitation of $1,350 per room, established in 1938. Since builders are now having difficulty in most areas in constructing rental housing at $1,800 per room, a $1,350 cost limitation nullifies, as a practical matter, the legal authority given by this bill to insure loans to veterans' housing cooperatives.

"There can be no excuse for such slipshod legislation, thrown together only a few hours before adjournment. The 80th Congress had ample time to enact the housing legislation the country needs. The Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill was pending during the full term of both sessions. Exhaustive hearings were held time and time again. But the Republican leadership would not even give the House of Representatives a chance to vote on it.

"The failure to pass decent housing legislation is a sad disappointment to the millions of our people who are so desperately in need of homes, and to the many Members of Congress who tried so hard to break the stranglehold of the little group of men who blocked a decent housing bill.

"We cannot accept as final a decision reached by such undemocratic methods.

"This is one of the many jobs left unfinished by the 80th Congress."

I am ready for questions.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, do you plan to call a special session of the Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. I will not comment on that at this time.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, have you taken any action on the pay raise bill?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know whether I signed it or not. I don't believe it has come before me yet.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, what about the atomic energy appointment bill?

THE PRESIDENT. That has not come up to me yet. There are about 60 or 65 bills that have not come in yet. I will comment on those when they come in.

Q. Mr. President, can you give us an indication of what ones are going to get this objection that you have indicated? You say you are going to comment on them from time to time, where Congress has failed——

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I shall comment on them as they come up, when it will be necessary for the people to know just exactly what this Congress did to them, not for them.

Q. Yes. But I mean, you don't want to catalog them in terms—general terms now?

THE PRESIDENT. No, no. I will take them as they come. I will take them as they come. You will be informed each time with a statement, as I have been doing up to date.

[5.] Q. Have you appointed the Secretary of Labor yet, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I have not.

Q. Mr. President, are you considering John Steelman for Secretary of Labor?

THE PRESIDENT. John Steelman has been offered the job as Secretary of Labor, and he turned it down. He thinks he is more valuable where he is, and so do I.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, Senator McGrath predicts that you will be nominated on the first ballot in Philadelphia?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. McGrath is correct. [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, do you have any objection to a free and open convention in Philadelphia?

THE PRESIDENT. They have always had free and open conventions in the Democratic convention at every one I have ever attended.

Q. Are you going up to Philadelphia?

THE PRESIDENT. I will comment on that at the time.

Q. Mr. President, what do you think of the Republican ticket?

THE PRESIDENT. I will comment on that later in the campaign. [*Laughter*]

Q. Well, Mr. President, what have you got left to say about Governor Warren? I thought you had spoken about him?

THE PRESIDENT. I have. I like Governor Warren. I haven't anything against Governor Dewey, except that I am going to beat him in this coming campaign.

Q. Except what, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I couldn't hear what you said.

Q. We didn't hear from "except."

THE PRESIDENT. That I am going to beat them both in this coming campaign.

Q. Mr. President, would you welcome General Eisenhower on the ticket?

THE PRESIDENT. That is up to General Eisenhower.

Q. Mr. President, did you like Mrs. Luce's advice to the Democratic Party?

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't read Mrs. Luce. I don't know what she said. What was it?

Q. She suggested a running mate for you.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is up to the Democratic convention. They are going to pick the running mate for me, as they always do.

Q. Mr. President, would Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt be acceptable to you as——

THE PRESIDENT. Why, of course, of course.

What do you expect me to say to that? [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, I take it you don't take seriously all this talk of a Southern revolt, and some of the Western delegates——

THE PRESIDENT. I do not.

Q. You think you will have enough pledged delegates to win on the first ballot?

THE PRESIDENT. Sure.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, what is your attitude toward the Soviet blockade in Berlin?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment. General Marshall expressed the attitude of this Government after a conference with me.[1]

[8.] Q. What do you think of Marshal Tito's troubles with Moscow?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment. I know nothing about anything in that direction, except what I have seen in the papers, and I have no comment.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, what outstanding problems have you to take up with the President of Venezuela when he arrives today?

THE PRESIDENT. The President of Venezuela is paying a social call on the President of the United States, to present Bolivar, Mo., with a statute of the Liberator.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, are you planning a trip to New England and New York State?

THE PRESIDENT. I will let you know about that later.

Q. They expect you up there.

THE PRESIDENT. I will let you know about it later. You will know in plenty of time, so that you can get your clothes packed, if you want to come along.

Q. Are you expecting to miss many States on your campaign——

THE PRESIDENT. I will comment on that when the time comes.

Q. Can you tell us, Mr. President, any specific places, or about what time you will start the real campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. No, no, I can't. The Democratic convention hasn't met yet. When the Democratic convention meets and nominates the candidates and sets out the platform, then I will give you all the information you are asking for.

Q. You definitely won't retire, though, as a candidate will you?

THE PRESIDENT. No, certainly not. That is foolish question number one. [*Laughter*]

Q. I'm glad it's only number one.

THE PRESIDENT. We have—I mean for this conference, Miss May.[1] [*More laughter*]

[11.] Q. Mr. President, have you been asked to pardon Howard Fast and 11 anti-Fascists who were convicted of contempt of court?

THE PRESIDENT. The matter has never come before me at all.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You're welcome.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and forty-ninth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 10:35 a.m. on Thursday, July 1, 1948.

[1] Secretary of State Marshall's statement, released to the press on June 30, follows: "We are in Berlin as a result of agreements between the Governments on the areas of occupation in Germany, and we intend to stay. The Soviet attempt to blockade the German civilian population of Berlin raises basic questions of serious import with which we expect to deal promptly. Meanwhile, maximum use of air transport will be made to supply the civilian population. It has been found, after study, that the tonnage of foodstuffs and supplies which can be lifted by air is greater than had at first been assumed."

[1] Mrs. May Craig of the Portland (Maine) Press Herald.

151 Letter to Secretary Sawyer on the Steel Requirements of the Armed Forces. *July* 1, 1948

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Section 18(h) of the Selective Service Act of 1948, which I approved on June 24, 1948, authorizes the President, through the Secretary of Defense, to require all producers of steel to make available to concerns having orders for steel products or steel materials required by the armed forces, "such percentages of the steel production of such producers, in equal proportion deemed necessary for the expeditious execution of orders for such products or materials."

I have given serious consideration to the problems posed by this legislation. I am, of course, prepared to exercise this authority should it prove necessary. However, the Secretary of Defense has advised me that the presently planned procurement programs of the armed services will require about 2 percent of anticipated steel production in the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1948, and less than 3 percent in the fiscal year 1950. It should be possible to insure fulfilment of a program of this limited size through the voluntary cooperation of industry.

Under the provisions of the act, the mandatory authority of section 18(h) would be exercised through the Secretary of Defense. The Secretary of Commerce, on the other hand, has already put into effect a number of important voluntary allocation programs under Public Law 395. It is highly desirable that all governmental operations relating to allocations of steel be concentrated in a single agency, and that the several allocation programs be coordinated and integrated into a single, overall program.

For these reasons, therefore, I do not consider it appropriate to invoke the authority contained in section 18(h) at this time. Instead, I am asking you to proceed immediately to develop a voluntary allocations program under the authority of Public Law 395 covering the requirements of the Armed Forces for steel mill products and steel contained in manufactured products. In setting up this program, it is essential that adequate provision be made to insure that small businesses are in a position to bid on orders for the Armed Forces on equal terms with larger producers, insofar as the availability of steel to meet their production requirements for such orders is concerned.

It will be necessary, of course, for your office to work in the closest possible cooperation with the National Military Establishment in the preparation and execution of this program. A copy of this letter is being sent to the Secretary of Defense.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable Charles Sawyer, The Secretary of Commerce, Washington, D.C.]

152 Memorandum of Disapproval of Bill Relating to the Social Security Coverage of the Blind. *July* 2, 1948

I AM withholding approval of H.R. 6818, a bill "To amend title X of the Social Security Act (relating to aid to the blind) so as to provide greater encouragement of blind recipients thereunder to become self-supporting."

I believe that this bill is unsound in principle, would not accomplish the ostensible

purpose for which it was enacted, and would do serious damage to our social security program. This bill is contrary to the most important principle on which our entire public assistance program is based—relief of need. If it became law it would inevitably operate unfairly against those needy blind who are unable to work and who have no other sources of income. It would actually lead to reductions in the assistance payments of thousands of blind persons who are most in need of assistance and whose payments are even now far below that necessary to sustain them at a decent standard of living. Payments to these most needy recipients would have to be reduced in order to make available the funds required for the increased payments to those able to earn and who would be benefited by this bill. The most compelling reason for disapproval of this bill is my firm belief that the unsound principle on which it is based would seriously hinder further progress in the development of a sound and comprehensive social security program.

Title X of the Social Security Act provides for Federal participation in assistance payments by the States to needy blind persons. One of the conditions of such participation is that the State agency take into consideration, in determining need, any other income and resources of the assistance claimant. H.R. 6818, now before me, would permit the States, in determining such income and resources, to disregard earnings up to $40 per month received by the blind person, without thereby losing the benefit of the Federal grants.

Naturally everyone has a genuine concern for the plight of blind persons and a desire to help them overcome their affliction and attain security to the maximum extent possible. This concern found concrete expression in title X of the Social Security Act which singled out blindness over all other kinds of physical disability for a special Federal-State program of public assistance. From a superficial point of view this bill might seem to be of benefit to all blind persons and a logical improvement in the aid-to-the-blind program. However, a thoughtful examination of the bill leads to the conclusion that it not only would endanger the benefit rights of thousands of blind persons presently receiving assistance under title X of the Social Security Act, but would also, in the long run, retard a more constructive approach to the attainment of an adequate measure of security for the blind and other handicapped persons.

The bill would operate to the detriment of many needy blind persons now receiving financial assistance because in many States any new or increased assistance to blind persons who are employed can only be provided through reducing the assistance currently being granted blind persons who are without income. The capacity of many low-income States to contribute out of their own funds to the support of the blind has already been reached. This bill would increase the recipient case loads by perhaps as much as one-third by making eligible for assistance blind persons not now eligible because of their earnings from employment. Faced with the necessity of adding to their rolls these thousands of blind persons not now eligible for assistance, and with the necessity of increasing the assistance payments of many others whose earnings have heretofore operated to reduce their assistance payments, these States which are unable to make available additional money will simply have to divide among the larger groups of eligibles the limited funds now available. The result will be that the most needy blind persons in these States—blind persons unable to work and without any source of income whatever—will have their already meager assist-

ance payments reduced in an amount sufficient to permit new or larger payments to the less unfortunate of their fellows.

I fully appreciate that the relaxation of each State's present "no-income" requirement is, under the wording of H.R. 6818, optional with each State. But the arguments and influences which were brought to bear upon the Congress and led to the hasty last-minute passage of H.R. 6818 would, if that bill became law, be exerted with equal if not greater force upon the individual States. I believe it reasonable to expect that most of the States would soon conform their laws to the relaxed Federal requirement with the unfortunate results which I have described above.

I have recommended to the Congress that it amend all the public assistance programs in the Social Security Act—the old-age assistance and aid-to-dependent children programs, as well as the aid-to-the-blind programs—so as to make it possible for the States, particularly the low-income States, to provide assistance payments more nearly adequate in terms of present-day living costs. What is needed in the public assistance area is, among other things, a substantial increase—much larger than the inconsequential $5 recently enacted by the Congress—in the maximum assistance payments in all three categories in which the Federal Government will participate. Furthermore, it is perhaps even more important to enact special provisions relating Federal grants more equitably to the financial resources and needs of the various States. Only by so doing can we provide our needy blind and all other needy persons with a realistic measure of assistance. A bill such as H.R. 6818, which would affect only one of the public assistance programs, and which would operate in many States merely to spread even thinner the already insufficient amounts available for assistance payments, is in no sense a response to my recommendation and offers no real solution to the problems of the needy blind.

There is another fundamental objection to this bill. The aid-to-the-blind program in title X of the Social Security Act, like the other public assistance programs provided in that act, was designed and intended to provide financial assistance at a decent minimum of subsistence to those unable to provide for themselves. Necessarily payments under these programs must be made on the basis of a finding as to the need of each individual for assistance, and for such a finding to be realistic and equitable to all alike, it must be based on a consideration of each individual's earnings from employment and of any other resources available to him. To disregard an individual's income in determining the extent of his need for assistance negates the principle of providing assistance on the basis of need. Once this principle has been breached, grave questions arise as to a logical stopping place to changes of this character short of converting public assistance payments into flat, noncontributory pensions.

I am sure that the American people would not want to make so significant a change in one of the public assistance programs of our social security system without the most careful consideration of its implications for the other public assistance programs and for the contributory programs of unemployment insurance and old-age and survivors insurance. No such consideration was given to this bill by the Congress. The bill was introduced and passed in the closing hours of the recent session. No public hearings were held and no opportunity was provided the affected government agencies—Federal, State, or local—to express their views.

The avowed object of the present bill as stated in the committee reports, is to provide a "much-needed" encouragement to the blind to become useful and productive members of the community. I do not in the least

question the sincerity of purpose behind this measure. I question, instead, the underlying assumption of the bill that a cash incentive is needed to this end. I am not yet ready to believe that persons thus handicapped are so lacking in the spirit of self-reliance and in a desire to be useful and independent as to require this sort of incentive. The blind, like other people, want to work and be self-supporting. The blind, more than all others, would not welcome the establishment of such an incentive at the price of reducing the assistance payments available for the most unfortunate of their company and at the price of opening the door to distortions in, and potential wreckage of, our social security system.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

153 Memorandum of Disapproval of Bill Relating to Pay Rates in the Veterans Administration. *July* 3, 1948

I AM withholding my approval from S. 2794, an act "To authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to prescribe the rates of pay for certain positions at field installations".

This bill would authorize the Administrator to establish pay scales for some 60,000 field employees of the Veterans' Administration, including hospital attendants, dental mechanics and others who work in veterans' hospitals. These employees are now paid under the provisions of the Classification Act of 1923.

It is argued that this authority is needed since the Administrator has had difficulty in recruiting and retaining personnel to staff veterans' hospitals. It is estimated that the increase to be given the employees affected by this bill would have been about $80 per year. Since I have just approved a bill increasing salaries for persons covered by the Classification Act by $330 per year, the authority granted by this bill should be unnecessary.

Furthermore, I do not believe that this bill represents a sound approach to the problem of recruiting and retaining Government employees. It would have affected only certain employees of one agency, whereas the same problem confronts many other agencies, and should be dealt with by general legislation. It would have set no standards or limits to guide the Administrator except the single provision that he could not set rates of pay lower than those prescribed by the Classification Act. This would have been a step toward uncoordinated and diverse pay scales for Government employees, when the need is for greater uniformity.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

154 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Relating to War Claims. *July* 3, 1948

I HAVE today approved H.R. 4044, an act "To amend the Trading with the Enemy Act, as amended; to create a commission to make an inquiry and report with respect to war claims; and to provide for relief for internees in certain cases."

This measure does three things. First, it provides for the payment into the U.S. Treas-

ury of the proceeds of German and Japanese assets seized by this Government during the war. Second, it sets up a War Claims Commission empowered and directed to make a comprehensive study and evaluation of all types of claims arising out of World War II, and directs the Commission to report to the President for submission to the Congress by March 31, 1949, its findings and recommendations on terms and means of settlement of these claims, including appropriate priorities. Finally, it provides for adjudication and payment of certain claims of American civilians, former military personnel, employees of contractors with the United States, and religious organizations in the Philippine Islands.

Because I am in hearty accord with its basic objectives, I have approved this bill. It should be pointed out, however, that the act does not provide funds to carry on the activities of the War Claims Commission, which it creates. Since no funds were appropriated for the support of the Commission, it will be impossible for the Commission to complete its study and report by March 31, 1949, as the bill requires. Further, the consideration and adjudication of specific claims, with which the Commission and the Federal Security Agency are charged, will likewise be inevitably delayed by the fact that funds for administration cannot be provided until the Congress meets again and that no benefits can be paid from the War Claims Fund until the funds realized from seized enemy assets have actually been paid into that Fund. Again, the bill directs the Federal Security Agency to make certain other types of benefit payments arising out of the war, but fails to provide additional funds either for the payment of the claims themselves or for the administrative expenses of the Federal Security Agency in passing on them.

I hope that the Congress at the earliest opportunity will act to make sufficient funds available to carry out the purposes of this act.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 4044 is Public Law 896, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1240).

155 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Agricultural Act. *July* 3, 1948

I HAVE today signed H.R. 6248, the Agricultural Act of 1948. Title I of this act extends until 1950, with only slight change, the temporary system of rigid price supports for agricultural products which has been in effect since early in the war. Titles II and III of the act establish another system of price supports, to take effect in 1950.

While the provisions of the act touch upon only one of the major recommendations I have made to the Congress, they do recognize the importance of price support programs as vital elements in our agricultural and national prosperity. I am glad that the Congress finally took some action on this subject, as I had repeatedly urged it to do.

However, H.R. 6248 does not provide the basic declaration of long-range agricultural policy which is needed to round out the present farm program. Instead, the Congress had to act at the last moment to prevent the death of certain existing programs and found only enough time to make a gesture toward long-range policy. The portions of the bill which approach long-range planning do not go into effect until 1950.

In connection with the price support program continued by this act, two points should be noted concerning S. 1322, which I signed a few days ago and which continues the

Commodity Credit Corporation. In carrying out the price support laws it will be necessary to use the Commodity Credit Corporation. In fact, that is the Corporation's primary function. S. 1322 vests control of the Commodity Credit Corporation in a board of directors. H.R. 6248, however, makes the Secretary of Agriculture responsible for supporting the prices of farm products at specified levels. This would appear to create an unworkable separation of authority from responsibility. Fortunately, however, there are provisions in H.R. 6248 which require the price support operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation to be carried out under the supervision of the Secretary of Agriculture. Since H.R. 6248 was signed later than S. 1322, the provisions of H.R. 6248 will, of course, be controlling to the extent that the provisions of the two acts are in conflict.

S. 1322 also prohibits the Commodity Credit Corporation from continuing its long-standing policy of leasing or acquiring land where necessary for storing commodities as close to the farm as possible. This restriction will mean that the Corporation will have to ship grain for livestock feeding, for example, from farms to distant points for storage, and then later to ship it back to farm areas. This will obviously increase costs for carrying grain reserves. Only those special interests who will make money by unnecessary handling of grain will profit from this provision—which will in the end be paid for by farmers and consumers.

In signing H.R. 6248, I wish to make it plain once again that legislation for price supports is only part of the action this Congress should have taken to meet the problems of American agriculture.

The 80th Congress did not enact legislation nor provide adequate funds for strengthening the soil conservation program.

The 80th Congress did not grant adequate funds for marketing research; it did not enact a standby program for improving the diets of low-income families.

The 80th Congress did not act on the International Wheat Agreement, negotiated after years of effort to assure United States wheat producers of export outlets. The failure to act on this agreement means that the very favorable opportunity it offered to assure these export outlets may be lost.

The 80th Congress did nothing to meet the serious problems of rural housing, health, and education.

In the field of agriculture, as in so many others, most of the business of the 80th Congress was left unfinished.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 6248 is Public Law 897, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1247).

S. 1322, signed by the President on June 29, is Public Law 806, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1070).

156 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Extending the Terms of the Members of the Atomic Energy Commission. *July 3, 1948*

I HAVE signed H.R. 6402 which amends the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 by extending for 2 years the term of office of the present members of the Atomic Energy Commission.

I had hoped that the Senate would not adjourn without acting upon my renominations of the present commissioners for the full statutory terms ranging from 1 to 5 years prescribed in the Atomic Energy Act.

However, Republican leaders refused to permit the Senate to consider the nominations, and this bill was passed instead.

I consider that this bill is not in the best public interest, since it invests the atomic energy program with an aura of uncertainty and of partisan politics.

Nevertheless, if I had not signed it, the terms of the commission members would have expired on August 1, 1948. I could then have made only temporary appointments, which would detract greatly from the continuity and effectiveness of the national atomic energy program at this critical time.

I deplore the effect which this action by the Congress may have upon public confidence in the Government's handling of this formidable force in human affairs. Politics and atomic energy do not mix. The refusal of the Republican leadership to put the public interest first can only create an impression at home and abroad that the Congress has failed to grasp the full significance of atomic energy to our national security and to our responsibility as a Nation dedicated to peaceful reconstruction.

Nearly 2 years ago, I was faced with the responsibility of appointing the first members of the Atomic Energy Commission. I sought to select and draft the ablest men available for these positions of high public trust. Party interests were not considered in my search for the right men. I hoped and believed that partisanship never would become a test of the fitness of individuals to serve on this Commission.

The 5 men I nominated at that time have been in office for a year and a half. In a very real sense, it is unfortunate that I cannot reveal fully the progress which has occurred under their direction during this period. Our understanding of the nature of this great new force has grown, and is continuing to grow. Impressive advances have been achieved through the collaboration of Government, industry, and the Nation's institutions of higher learning. It has been a nonpartisan, unselfish effort planned and directed by these 5 men. I am confident that, under their continued leadership, even greater progress will be made in the future.

I renominated the members of the Commission on April 20 of this year for the terms prescribed in the Atomic Energy Act. The Senate had ample opportunity to evaluate the stewardship and continued fitness of these men. The American people had every right to expect them to do so. The Republican leadership, instead, refused to take up the nominations and apparently intended to let the terms expire without any action. Public criticism of this neglect of duty was intense, and the Republican leaders then devised this 2-year extension of the terms of the present Commissioners. This is an unsatisfactory compromise which fails to assure the necessary long-term continuity of direction over research and development relating to atomic energy.

In pressing this amendment to the Atomic Energy Act upon the House of Representatives and the Senate, Republican leaders resorted to the specious argument that consideration of my renominations at this time would provoke a controversy harmful to the atomic energy program. I need only point out that if the Senate genuinely questioned the fitness of the nominees to serve the full statutory terms, it was completely illogical for the Congress to extend their terms for 2 years.

I have signed this measure, notwithstanding these objections, because the Nation's vital interest in atomic energy requires even the limited continuity of leadership which this measure will allow.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 6402 is Public Law 898, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1259).

157 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Raising the Pay Rates of Federal Employees. *July 3, 1948*

I HAVE today signed the Postal Rate Revision and Federal Employees Salary Act of 1948 (H.R. 6916).

I have done so even though the act meets neither the needs of the employees nor those of the Government.

In my Budget Message in January, I stated that the best approach to the cost-of-living problem faced by Federal employees was to enact a comprehensive program to hold living costs down. This would not only have aided Federal workers but would also have given relief to our people generally. But the Congress did not enact such a program, and prices have continued to rise.

Since the Congress failed to take action to hold down the cost of living, it is only fair that Federal employees should be given pay increases to offset in some degree the constantly rising cost of living.

It is unfortunate, however, that the Congress, in attempting to grant relief, has acted in such a manner as to aggravate an already serious situation.

The act grants a flat increase to employees covered by the Classification Act. Differences between the upper and lower pay grades, already substantially reduced by the pay raises given in 1945 and 1946, are further decreased by this act. The effect of this is to reduce seriously the opportunity for salary advancement which should go with increased responsibility.

For example, young chemists who have just received their undergraduate degrees will receive, under this act, $2974.80 a year for working in Government laboratories. Working alongside of these recent graduates will be some of the Nation's outstanding scientists who, after 20 or 25 years of service, will be receiving only $10,330 as the heads of these laboratories.

Another fundamental defect in the act is that when this law becomes effective the members of many of our boards and commissions and some heads of agencies will be receiving $10,000 while groups of their employees will be compensated at the rate of $10,330. In other words, those who are ultimately held responsible for what happens in these agencies will be getting less money than some of the persons employed by them.

This is, of course, a violation of the principles of sound management. I know of no other way to characterize it than to say that it is ridiculous. Certainly nowhere else could one find a situation comparable to it in either public or private employment.

No successful industrial concern would tolerate a situation which provided as narrow a spread between entrance salaries and the general salary ceiling as that which now exists in the Federal Government or which resulted in administrators receiving less pay than some employees supervised by them.

Businessmen wouldn't tolerate it because they know that it would destroy the morale of the persons in their employ and, in many instances, result in their most competent personnel seeking and obtaining employment elsewhere.

The results which would follow from such a policy in industrial concerns follow just as certainly in the Federal Government. The Congress, by refusing to follow the suggestions which I transmitted to it in March for a general revision and simplification of the Government's salary classification structure and by failing to raise salary ceilings in a realistic way, has seriously impaired the morale of some of our best employees, and has put the Executive branch in a position where it will undoubtedly lose more of its most

competent career employees. As a result, the Congress has thrown new obstacles in the way of the efficient management of the Executive branch.

This act also discriminates against employees of the District of Columbia Government, including the teachers in the public schools, by excluding them from the present pay increases. To deny these employees, living in a city which has the highest living costs in the Nation, the pay increases given other employees living in the same area is grossly unfair.

In spite of these considerations, I believe that the employees covered by this act are entitled to at least as much relief as the Congress has provided. That is why I have signed the act.

I have no intention, however, of permitting the matter to rest at this point. There are approximately 2,000,000 men and women working in the Federal Government. They are conscientious, hard-working, loyal citizens who are rendering an outstanding service to the people of this Nation. I have said before and I say again that I have the greatest respect and regard for their devotion to duty and the work they are doing.

I want these employees to know, therefore, that in the interest of correcting this intolerable situation and strengthening and improving the career service, I shall urge that the Congress pass legislation which will set Federal pay scales at the proper levels for all employees including members of the Cabinet and the heads of the independent agencies, as well as persons who are occupying key positions in the professional, scientific, and technical fields, and modernize and simplify the Classification Act of 1923, and once again provide a proper relationship between jobs.

It is clear that the Government can never compete on a dollar-for-dollar basis with business and industry, particularly in the upper salary brackets. Government can compete with business and industry, however, when it comes to dealing with its employees in a fair and equitable manner on salary matters. If it has this kind of a reputation, the satisfaction which comes to Government employees because of the knowledge that they are serving their fellow human beings will serve to attract and retain in the public service the first-rate men and women we so greatly need.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 6916 is Public Law 900, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1260).

158 Address in Bolivar, Missouri, at the Dedication of the Simón Bolívar Memorial Statue. *July 5, 1948*

Mr. President, Governor Donnelly, Mr. Mayor, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It certainly is a great celebration today. This will be a celebration that will go down in the history of Missouri as the one and only of its kind, and unique in the history of the State.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the way Missourians and our neighbors have turned out for this great occasion.

You know, we are celebrating the birthdays of two great republics in the Western Hemisphere—July 4th, the United States of America, and July 5th, the United States of Venezuela, something that will never happen again, perhaps.

I want to thank the Governor, and the Mayor, and all who had a part in this wonderful celebration. You will all look back on it with pleasure. You will all remember it with pleasure. You will talk

about it, I think, for the next generation.

We have come together today to dedicate a statue of the great South American Liberator, Simón Bolívar. This man led the movement for the liberation of half a continent. His memory is part of the spirit of freedom and independence in North and South America alike.

We are especially honored that this statue is presented by the distinguished leader of the Venezuelan people, President Romulo Gallegos. I am proud to be associated with the great statesman who today directs the destinies of Venezuela with the same high purpose and the same lofty ideals that motivated the father of his country, Simón Bolívar.

When Bolívar was born, in 1783, the movement toward independence in the New World had only begun. When he died, in 1830, sovereign states were governing themselves throughout the whole hemisphere. Today, we honor the memory of the Liberator in a spirit of thanksgiving for his great part in establishing freedom and democracy in the Americas.

There are many other great leaders to whom we are indebted for liberty. They, too, were animated by high purposes and inspired by high ideals; but among them all Bolívar stands out far, for his service to the cause of liberty in many different countries and for his clear vision of the eventual solidarity of the American family of nations. In honoring his memory, we are in a very real sense honoring those principles of liberty, unity, and friendship which guide the American nations today.

This monument is the result of a generous desire on the part of the people and the Government of Venezuela to honor this city in Missouri which is named for Simón Bolívar. Not only are the city of Bolivar and the State of Missouri deeply grateful for this friendly sentiment, but it is appreciated also by the people of the whole United States.

A spirit of international friendliness has prompted the private citizens and officials of Venezuela and of this country, and notably the members of the Simón Bolívar Memorial Foundation, who have worked together to erect this statue. This action symbolizes the many bonds of friendship between the citizens of the Republic of Venezuela and the citizens of the United States of America. In the American family of nations, our two countries have been drawn closer together over the years. The spirit of good neighborliness that has marked our national relations has grown more and more into personal friendship between our citizens. That friendship is now cemented more firmly than ever by the visit of our distinguished guests, President Gallegos and Señora Gallegos.

The historic figure of Simón Bolívar was characterized by steady moral balance and by a deep serenity of mind—gifts of a truly great leader. His virtues were great as a military leader, as a statesman, as a tireless organizer, and as a valiant fighter. His burning spirit of freedom was even greater. Although he might have wielded arbitrary power, his ideals never permitted him to do so. In fact, he retired at the peak of this power, as did San Martín in southern South America.

In the United States, we admire the life and deeds of the South American Liberator. We recognize in him a figure of the most commanding force and genius—one who has helped tremendously to shape the destiny of the peoples of the Americas. The overwhelming odds he was obliged to face in his fight for the liberation of the Spanish Amer-

ican colonies made his achievement even more remarkable. While other leaders made valiant contributions to the work of liberation, circumstances, together with his unique gifts, made Bolívar the soul and symbol of that work.

We honor Bolívar today as the great Liberator. We honor him equally as the father of the great concept of solidarity among the American nations. His plans and labors for unity among the countries of the New World constituted a basis of policy for the American republics which has persisted for more than a century.

Over one hundred years ago Simón Bolívar called the first Pan American Congress in Panama City. In historical perspective, we can clearly perceive the great vision of the Liberator in this invitation to understanding. It has led to our present system of regional cooperation which sustains the peace and security of the Western Hemisphere.

As I listened to the eloquent words of President Gallegos, in presenting this monument to the people of the United States, I was again reminded how closely parallel have run the lines of experience, how intimate have been the spiritual associations, among the members of the American family of republics.

Today, the 21 American Republics are bound together by every tie and consideration of political, economic, and cultural interest. All 21 nations stand on equal terms. Pan Americanism means equality of all nations, and sympathetic and effective cooperation among them. And there isn't a single American Republic afraid of an invasion from its great neighbor on the north.

It is these same ideals for which the peoples of the Western Hemisphere are working today in common with other free peoples of the world. Through the United Nations, we are seeking a world order under which all of the countries of the world will live together in the equality and friendship which prevails among the American nations now. We know, of course, that we do have differences between nations in the Americas. But we know also how to settle those differences by peaceful means and on a basis of mutual respect and forbearance.

The example of Pan American cooperation, worked out slowly and painstakingly over the years, shows us that we can succeed in establishing the same kind of cooperation with other countries in the United Nations. The way before us is not easy. We must expect delays and disappointments. But we can succeed.

If at times our progress seems slow, we must remain steadfast in the faith which sustained the great leaders of the past who, like Simón Bolívar, fought for human liberty and understanding among the nations.

This monument will be an enduring symbol of these great aspirations, of the warm friendship between Venezuela and the United States. In this spirit I am glad to accept this statue on behalf of the Government and the people of the United States.

NOTE: The President spoke in the town square in Bolivar, Mo. In his opening words he referred to Rómulo Gallegos, President of Venezuela, Phil M. Donnelly, Governor of Missouri, and Dr. Doyle McCraw, Mayor of Bolivar. President Gallegos presented the bronze statue to the American people in the name of the Government of Venezuela.

159 Remarks Commending Management and Labor Leaders on the Railroad Settlement. *July* 8, 1948

I WANT to congratulate you gentlemen on this settlement. It is great for our country. I wanted to see this thing settled as it should be done, by bargaining and not in any other way. You did this on your own hook, and I feel very good about it. I congratulate all of you on it. I am satisfied that you would like to have this publicly known as a settlement on your own hook, and I am going to ask you gentlemen to go out of here and tell the press exactly what happened and what the agreement is.

Again I want to congratulate you.

NOTE: The dispute was settled when the unions agreed to accept a wage increase of 15½ cents an hour for firemen and engineers and the railroads agreed to revise certain rules to the advantage of the employees. The agreement ended the 61-day period of operation and control of the railroads by the Army under Executive Order 9957 (3 CFR, 1943–1948 Comp., p. 701).

160 Address in Philadelphia Upon Accepting the Nomination of the Democratic National Convention. *July* 15, 1948

I AM SORRY that the microphones are in the way, but I must leave them the way they are because I have got to be able to see what I am doing—as I am always able to see what I am doing.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the honor which you have just conferred upon me. I shall continue to try to deserve it.

I accept the nomination.

And I want to thank this convention for its unanimous nomination of my good friend and colleague, Senator Barkley of Kentucky. He is a great man, and a great public servant. Senator Barkley and I will win this election and make these Republicans like it—don't you forget that!

We will do that because they are wrong and we are right, and I will prove it to you in just a few minutes.

This convention met to express the will and reaffirm the beliefs of the Democratic Party. There have been differences of opinion, and that is the democratic way. Those differences have been settled by a majority vote, as they should be.

Now it is time for us to get together and beat the common enemy. And that is up to you.

We have been working together for victory in a great cause. Victory has become a habit of our party. It has been elected four times in succession, and I am convinced it will be elected a fifth time next November.

The reason is that the people know that the Democratic Party is the people's party, and the Republican Party is the party of special interest, and it always has been and always will be.

The record of the Democratic Party is written in the accomplishments of the last 16 years. I don't need to repeat them. They have been very ably placed before this convention by the keynote speaker, the candidate for Vice President, and by the permanent chairman.

Confidence and security have been brought to the people by the Democratic Party. Farm income has increased from less than $2½ billion in 1932 to more than $18 billion in 1947. Never in the world were the farmers of any republic or any kingdom or

any other country as prosperous as the farmers of the United States; and if they don't do their duty by the Democratic Party, they are the most ungrateful people in the world!

Wages and salaries in this country have increased from 29 billion in 1933 to more than $128 billion in 1947. That's labor, and labor never had but one friend in politics, and that is the Democratic Party and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

And I say to labor what I have said to the farmers: they are the most ungrateful people in the world if they pass the Democratic Party by this year.

The total national income has increased from less than $40 billion in 1933 to $203 billion in 1947, the greatest in all the history of the world. These benefits have been spread to all the people, because it is the business of the Democratic Party to see that the people get a fair share of these things.

This last, worst 80th Congress proved just the opposite for the Republicans.

The record on foreign policy of the Democratic Party is that the United States has been turned away permanently from isolationism, and we have converted the greatest and best of the Republicans to our viewpoint on that subject.

The United States has to accept its full responsibility for leadership in international affairs. We have been the backers and the people who organized and started the United Nations, first started under that great Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson, as the League of Nations. The League was sabotaged by the Republicans in 1920. And we must see that the United Nations continues a strong and growing body, so we can have everlasting peace in the world.

We removed trade barriers in the world, which is the best asset we can have for peace. Those trade barriers must not be put back into operation again.

We have started the foreign aid program, which means the recovery of Europe and China, and the Far East. We instituted the program for Greece and Turkey, and I will say to you that all these things were done in a cooperative and bipartisan manner. The Foreign Relations Committees of the Senate and House were taken into the full confidence of the President in every one of these moves, and don't let anybody tell you anything else.

As I have said time and time again, foreign policy should be the policy of the whole Nation and not the policy of one party or the other. Partisanship should stop at the water's edge; and I shall continue to preach that through this whole campaign.

I would like to say a word or two now on what I think the Republican philosophy is; and I will speak from actions and from history and from experience.

The situation in 1932 was due to the policies of the Republican Party control of the Government of the United States. The Republican Party, as I said a while ago, favors the privileged few and not the common everyday man. Ever since its inception, that party has been under the control of special privilege; and they have completely proved it in the 80th Congress. They proved it by the things they did *to* the people, and not *for* them. They proved it by the things they failed to do.

Now, let's look at some of them—just a few.

Time and time again I recommended extension of price control before it expired June 30, 1946. I asked for that extension in September 1945, in November 1945, in a Message on the State of the Union in 1946; and that price control legislation did not come to my desk until June 30, 1946, on the day on which it was supposed to expire. And it was such a rotten bill that

I couldn't sign it. And 30 days after that, they sent me one just as bad. I had to sign it, because they quit and went home.

They said, when OPA died, that prices would adjust themselves for the benefit of the country. They have been adjusting themselves all right! They have gone all the way off the chart in adjusting themselves, at the expense of the consumer and for the benefit of the people that hold the goods.

I called a special session of the Congress in November 1947—November 17, 1947—and I set out a 10-point program for the welfare and benefit of this country, among other things standby controls. I got nothing. Congress has still done nothing.

Way back 4½ years ago, while I was in the Senate, we passed a housing bill in the Senate known as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. It was a bill to clear the slums in the big cities and to help to erect low-rent housing. That bill, as I said, passed the Senate 4 years ago. It died in the House. That bill was reintroduced in the 80th Congress as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. The name was slightly changed, but it is practically the same bill. And it passed the Senate, but it was allowed to die in the House of Representatives; and they sat on that bill, and finally forced it out of the Banking and Currency Committee, and the Rules Committee took charge, and it still is in the Rules Committee.

But desperate pleas from Philadelphia in that convention that met here 3 weeks ago couldn't get that housing bill passed. They passed a bill they called a housing bill, which isn't worth the paper it's written on.

In the field of labor we needed moderate legislation to promote labor-management harmony, but Congress passed instead that so-called Taft-Hartley Act, which has disrupted labor-management relations and will cause strife and bitterness for years to come if it is not repealed, as the Democratic platform says it ought to be repealed.

On the Labor Department, the Republican platform of 1944 said, if they were in power, that they would build up a strong Labor Department. They have simply torn it up. Only one bureau is left that is functioning, and they cut the appropriation of that so it can hardly function.

I recommended an increase in the minimum wage. What did I get? Nothing. Absolutely nothing.

I suggested that the schools in this country are crowded, teachers underpaid, and that there is a shortage of teachers. One of our greatest national needs is more and better schools. I urged the Congress to provide $300 million to aid the States in the present educational crisis. Congress did nothing about it. Time and again I have recommended improvements in the social security law, including extending protection to those not now covered, and increasing the amount of benefits, to reduce the eligibility age of women from 65 to 60 years. Congress studied the matter for 2 years, but couldn't find the time to extend or increase the benefits. But they did find time to take social security benefits away from 750,000 people, and they passed that over my veto.

I have repeatedly asked the Congress to pass a health program. The Nation suffers from lack of medical care. That situation can be remedied any time the Congress wants to act upon it.

Everybody knows that I recommended to the Congress the civil rights program. I did that because I believed it to be my duty under the Constitution. Some of the members of my own party disagree with me violently on this matter. But they stand up and do it openly! People can tell where they stand. But the Republicans all professed to be for these measures. But Con-

gress failed to act. They had enough men to do it, they could have had cloture, they didn't have to have a filibuster. They had enough people in that Congress that would vote for cloture.

Now everybody likes to have low taxes, but we must reduce the national debt in times of prosperity. And when tax relief can be given, it ought to go to those who need it most, and not those who need it least, as this Republican rich man's tax bill did when they passed it over my veto on the third try.

The first one of these was so rotten that they couldn't even stomach it themselves. They finally did send one that was somewhat improved, but it still helps the rich and sticks a knife into the back of the poor.

Now the Republicans came here a few weeks ago, and they wrote a platform. I hope you have all read that platform. They adopted the platform, and that platform had a lot of promises and statements of what the Republican Party is for, and what they would do if they were in power. They promised to do in that platform a lot of things I have been asking them to do that they have refused to do when they had the power.

The Republican platform cries about cruelly high prices. I have been trying to get them to do something about high prices ever since they met the first time.

Now listen! This is equally as bad, and as cynical. The Republican platform comes out for slum clearance and low-rental housing. I have been trying to get them to pass that housing bill ever since they met the first time, and it is still resting in the Rules Committee, that bill.

The Republican platform favors educational opportunity and promotion of education. I have been trying to get Congress to do something about that ever since they came there, and that bill is at rest in the House of Representatives.

The Republican platform is for extending and increasing social security benefits. Think of that! Increasing social security benefits! Yet when they had the opportunity, they took 750,000 off the social security rolls!

I wonder if they think they can fool the people of the United States with such poppycock as that!

There is a long list of these promises in that Republican platform. If it weren't so late, I would tell you all about them. I have discussed a number of these failures of the Republican 80th Congress. Every one of them is important. Two of them are of major concern to nearly every American family. They failed to do anything about high prices, they failed to do anything about housing.

My duty as President requires that I use every means within my power to get the laws the people need on matters of such importance and urgency.

I am therefore calling this Congress back into session July 26th.

On the 26th day of July, which out in Missouri we call "Turnip Day," I am going to call Congress back and ask them to pass laws to halt rising prices, to meet the housing crisis—which they are saying they are for in their platform.

At the same time I shall ask them to act upon other vitally needed measures such as aid to education, which they say they are for; a national health program; civil rights legislation, which they say they are for; an increase in the minimum wage, which I doubt very much they are for; extension of the social security coverage and increased benefits, which they say they are for; funds for projects needed in our program to provide public power and cheap electricity. By

indirection, this 80th Congress has tried to sabotage the power policies the United States has pursued for 14 years. That power lobby is as bad as the real estate lobby, which is sitting on the housing bill.

I shall ask for adequate and decent laws for displaced persons in place of this anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic law which this 80th Congress passed.

Now, my friends, if there is any reality behind that Republican platform, we ought to get some action from a short session of the 80th Congress. They can do this job in 15 days, if they want to do it. They will still have time to go out and run for office.

They are going to try to dodge their responsibility. They are going to drag all the red herrings they can across this campaign, but I am here to say that Senator Barkley and I are not going to let them get away with it.

Now, what that worst 80th Congress does in this special session will be the test. The American people will not decide by listening to mere words, or by reading a mere platform. They will decide on the record, the record as it has been written. And in the record is the stark truth, that the battle lines of 1948 are the same as they were in 1932, when the Nation lay prostrate and helpless as a result of Republican misrule and inaction.

In 1932 we were attacking the citadel of special privilege and greed. We were fighting to drive the money changers from the temple. Today, in 1948, we are now the defenders of the stronghold of democracy and of equal opportunity, the haven of the ordinary people of this land and not of the favored classes or the powerful few. The battle cry is just the same now as it was in 1932, and I paraphrase the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt as he issued the challenge, in accepting nomination in Chicago: "This is more than a political call to arms. Give me your help, not to win votes alone, but to win in this new crusade to keep America secure and safe for its own people."

Now my friends, with the help of God and the wholehearted push which you can put behind this campaign, we can save this country from a continuation of the 80th Congress, and from misrule from now on.

I must have your help. You must get in and push, and win this election. The country can't afford another Republican Congress.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 a.m. in Convention Hall in Philadelphia. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

161 Statement by the President Upon the Death of General Pershing. *July* 15, 1948

IT BECOMES my sad duty to announce that John J. Pershing, General of the Armies of the United States, a great American, died this morning at Walter Reed General Hospital in Washington.

Embodied in General Pershing's character were all those soldierly qualities that are essential to a great captain: brilliant leadership, steadfast courage, tireless energy, unswerving loyalty, and constant devotion to duty. He had a genius for organization, as everyone who served under him will bear witness. In World War I, he led the greatest army this country had, up to that time, been called upon to assemble.

The sorrow at his passing will not be confined to his own country. Friend and foe alike have publicly paid tribute to his loyalty to duty, his ability to lead and inspire, his wisdom and courage under extreme

stress. In peace, no less than in war, he retained the dignity and modest bearing characteristic of the true soldier.

General Pershing's service in France called not only for the highest quality of military talent but also for the exercise of statesmanship of the highest order. His success in retaining the essential American character of our Army abroad is known to history. He believed in the fundamental institutions of democracy. He saw earlier and more clearly than many of his contemporaries the development of the fast-moving events which culminated in World War II.

The Government awarded General Pershing its highest military rank. To him his fellow countrymen accord unlimited gratitude and affection for selfless service in behalf of our national ideals.

The Nation will ever hold him in grateful remembrance.

NOTE: In addition to the foregoing statement, the President issued Proclamation 2797 (3 CFR, 1943–1948 Comp., p. 213), which provided that as a mark of respect to the memory of General Pershing the flag of the United States should be flown at half-mast on all public buildings, forts, military posts, and naval stations and vessels until after the funeral had taken place.

162 Presentation of a Scroll to Brigadier General Benjamin O. Davis Upon His Retirement From the U.S. Army. *July* 20, 1948

IT IS a genuine pleasure to sign this special testimonial of the admiration and esteem of your host of Army comrades.

You are one of the select few who have devoted a half century in the active military service to the defense of the United States of America and the ideals of freedom and justice for which this country stands.

You have exemplified by your distinguished accomplishments in places of great trust and responsibility, too numerous to recount here, all that is best in a soldier of the highest type.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The presentation was made by the President in a ceremony at the White House at 12:45 p.m. The scroll was also signed by Kenneth C. Royall, Secretary of the Army, and Gen. Omar N. Bradley, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army.

The Army's first Negro general entered the military service in 1898, serving as a temporary first lieutenant during the war with Spain. Mustered out in 1899, he enlisted as a private. He became an officer in 1901 and retired in 1948 a brigadier general. During his career, in addition to active service at many posts, he served as professor of military science and tactics at Wilberforce University and at Tuskegee Institute, as military attaché in Monrovia, Liberia, and as Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Army.

163 The President's News Conference of *July* 22, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. Ladies and gentlemen, I have no special statements to make to you this morning. I thought you might have some questions you would want to ask.

[1.] Q. Mr. President, what do you make of this situation in Berlin?

THE PRESIDENT. No comment.

Q. Is General Clay coming in to see you with General Marshall today?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I see General Clay and General Marshall later in the day.

Q. That is the 12:30 appointment that we have?

THE PRESIDENT. I have an appointment

with General Marshall at 12:30. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether General Clay is coming in then?

THE PRESIDENT. General Clay is coming in then with General Marshall.

Q. Mr. President, will you discuss that situation in your message to Congress? [1]

THE PRESIDENT. I will not. I will not.

Q. You will not?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I will not.

Q. Does that apply to all other angles of the international situation?

THE PRESIDENT. It does.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, you will mention the civil rights legislation in that message, will you?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I hope to. The message is the best evidence. It will speak for itself, and it will be ready in a few days, and I will let you see it on Tuesday at 12:30.

Q. We will have a little time to work on it, won't we?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, you will have a little advance notice. The release hour will be whenever the reading starts.

Q. That is noon—12 noon, I believe?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe it's 12:30.

Q. Changed last night.

THE PRESIDENT. It has to be. They have to meet at 12 o'clock.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, there has been some speculation as to why you called an extra session. Is there anything you can say as to your reasons?

THE PRESIDENT. I set those reasons out very carefully at Philadelphia.

Q. I heard so.

THE PRESIDENT. All right—that's the answer.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment to make on Mr. Brownell's [2] statement——

THE PRESIDENT. No comment.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, do you plan to use the TVA steamplant again——

THE PRESIDENT. The message will speak for itself. You had better wait until the message comes out, then I will tell you all about it.

Mr. Ross has been announcing to you the principal things that will be asked for. But there are some details that are still being worked out, and when the message comes out, it will be furnished to you in plenty of time so you can analyze it.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, Senator McGrath said yesterday, after seeing you, that he was going to start bringing in groups of party leaders to confer with you, and I notice on the calling list today that there is no such group on there.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is going to be started immediately. There will be some of them in to see me today, I think.

Q. Would that include Mr. Philip Murray, who is on the calling list?

THE PRESIDENT. No, it would not. They are political leaders that will come to see me, and not labor leaders.

Q. Mr. President, that will include some Southern leaders in there, will it?

THE PRESIDENT. I imagine it will. McGrath will make out the lists. He is the party chairman.

[7.] Q. Have you decided on a Secretary of Labor yet, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't. I will announce it to you just as soon as I do decide.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, what do you think of the new ticket in the South—the fourth party ticket?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, would you say what you estimate the chances for world peace are at this time?

THE PRESIDENT. I think they are good. In fact, I think they are excellent. General

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[1] See Item 165.

[2] Herbert Brownell, Jr., Republican campaign manager.

Marshall made a statement on that yesterday, in which we are in complete agreement.[1]

[10.] Q. How long do you think the special session will last—have you any idea?

THE PRESIDENT. Well now, that is up to the Congress. They can make it as long or as short as they choose. They are in complete control of that.

Q. Do you plan, while the special session is meeting, to call attention to their shortcomings or achievements——

THE PRESIDENT. I shall ask the Congress to follow out the usual program that is in every message, and that is all. It will be in the message.

Q. Yes, but I mean while the Congress is in session, if it doesn't measure up to what you are hoping for?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't tell about that until they get through.

Q. Are you going to call in some of your Democratic leaders, like Rayburn and Barkley, to plan strategy?

THE PRESIDENT. I will probably consult with the Democratic leaders in the Congress.

Q. You have no immediate plans to call them in now?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. Before you read your message?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. Did you consult with anybody on the special session?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I did.

Q. Mr. President, do you think this session could properly be called a "rump" session?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I can't answer that question. That is up to Congress. [*Laughter*]

[11.] Q. When you spoke of General Marshall's statement yesterday, did you have in mind, sir, his statement that we will exhaust every resource of diplomacy in seeking a solution of the Berlin situation?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, what agency do you have in mind for administering the price controls and the——

THE PRESIDENT. That will be set out in the message.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, how do you feel about the Federal financing of public housing for low-income groups?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think I have been on record 5 or 6 or 7 different times on that. Why don't you read the messages—letters and messages I sent on the subject to the Congress? That's all you need to know.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, will you ask for wage controls as well as price controls?

THE PRESIDENT. The message will speak for itself on that subject. It isn't finished yet.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, will you do any campaigning while Congress is in joint session?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I will not.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, if they adjourn without doing anything on that program, is there any chance you would call them back again during the fall?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that question.

Q. Then may I ask if there is any significance to those four-leaf clovers on your desk?

THE PRESIDENT. No, they just bring luck. Somebody sent them to me. [*Laughter*]

[17.] Q. Mr. President, some of the Republicans are talking about a resolution to restore the country's gold standard as a means

[1] Secretary of State Marshall's statement, released to the press on July 21, follows: "I can merely say at this time that our position I think is well understood. We will not be coerced or intimidated in any way in our procedures under the rights and responsibilities that we have in Berlin and generally in Germany. At the same time we will proceed to invoke every possible resource of negotiation and diplomatic procedure to reach an acceptable solution to avoid the tragedy of war for the world. But I repeat again, we are not going to be coerced."

of combating inflation. What do you think about that?

THE PRESIDENT. The country has been on the gold standard all the time. We own more gold than any other government in the history of the world.

Q. I can't turn in a dollar for it, though, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. No, you can't; but then your dollar is backed by that gold backing. That's what makes it good.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, you have had to delay several of your prospective trips to North Carolina. Do you expect to go during this campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. I have it under consideration.

Q. On going to North Carolina?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, the Communists arrested in New York claim that the administration deliberately staged their arrests to smear their party. Would you comment on that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I knew nothing about that procedure until I saw it in the paper.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, have you made any plans to go to New York and New England yet in the campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. I will go to New York on the 31st of July to review the Air Corps. That is not a political trip, however. Mr. Dewey will be there, too. [*Laughter*]

Q. Do you plan to tour the South during the campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we will have to set that out when the campaign plans have been made. They haven't been made yet.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, what is your reference to the chances of peace being good, the reference to the peacemaking at the close of the last war, or to avoidance of the opening of the——

THE PRESIDENT. I think the chances of world peace are good. They are as good as they have ever been. I am sure that we will get world peace eventually.

[22.] Q. Mr. President, you say that you would set out in your message what agency you had in mind for administering price controls and rationing. Does that mean you are going to recommend price control——

THE PRESIDENT. The message will speak for itself. You asked the question, and I say the message would speak for itself.

Q. Mr. President, would you welcome, in addition, debate on international questions during the special session?

THE PRESIDENT. That is up to the Congress. I don't control that.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You're welcome.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and fiftieth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 10:30 a.m., on Thursday, July 22, 1948.

164 Statement by the President Reviewing Two Years of Experience With the Atomic Energy Act. *July* 24, 1948

TODAY the Fourth Semiannual Report of the Atomic Energy Commission is made public, almost on the eve of the second anniversary of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. Every thoughtful person should become familiar with this report. Atomic energy is not only the Government's business; it is the vital concern of every citizen.

Two years have elapsed since the Atomic Energy Act became law, and it is now possible to see in true perspective the wisdom of that legislation. Rarely has the writing of

a statute so challenged this Nation's political courage and integrity. Never before has a nation victorious in war, and unequalled in power, demonstrated more concretely its devotion to peace and social progress.

The Atomic Energy Act stands upon four policy points. The first is that since a free society places the civil authority above the military power, the control of atomic energy properly belongs in civilian hands. The second is that until the technology of atomic energy is better understood and safeguards are devised to reduce the hazards of its use, the normal role of private enterprise in the development of a natural resource must be restrained, and public ownership maintained. The third point is that until controls are established on the international level to prevent the military use of atomic energy, we cannot, as a nation, afford to disclose the secrets which make this new force the most deadly form of military weapon. The fourth policy point is that we must not relax our efforts to probe deeper into the facts of nature to derive increasing knowledge of atomic energy, both to supplement our defenses and to open new opportunities for peaceful progress.

As to the first of these principles, I have concerned myself since becoming President, with the difficult problem of balancing the civilian and military interests in atomic energy. It was my grave responsibility to make the decision which resulted in the first use of atomic weapons in time of war. Ever since that time, I have sought to eliminate atomic weapons as instruments of war, by seeking through the United Nations to put the control of the dangerous aspects of atomic energy beyond the reach of any individual nation. At the same time, without losing hope of achieving international control, I have directed that every effort be made toward maintaining the leading position of the United States in the knowledge of nuclear energy and its military applications.

Today we possess powerful atomic weapons. The recent tests conducted jointly by the Atomic Energy Commission and the armed services in the Pacific have demonstrated beyond any question that our position in the field of atomic weapons has been substantially improved. Such advances vindicate the faith of the American people in the principle of civilian control of atomic energy.

The progress which has been achieved under the present allocation of responsibilities is itself strong proof of the capacity of civilians and military men to work together in common cause.

As President of the United States, I regard the continued control of all aspects of the atomic energy program, including research, development, and the custody of atomic weapons, as the proper functions of the civil authorities. Congress has recognized that the existence of this new weapon places a grave responsibility on the President as to its use in the event of a national emergency. There must, of course, be very close cooperation between the civilian Commission and the Military Establishment. Both the military authorities and the civilian Commission deserve high commendation for the joint efforts which they are putting forward to maintain our Nation's leadership in this vital work.

The Government of the United States holds in trust all our fissionable materials and production facilities. These are being used, on an increasing scale, to speed the discovery of applications of atomic energy to industry, agriculture, and public health. The Atomic Energy Commission reports that recent experiments hold out the promise of more efficient production on the farm and in the factory and of an increase of mechanical and human energy for doing the world's work. While this program is di-

rected by an agency of the Government, the plants and laboratories are operated by leading industrial and research organizations through contracts with the Federal Government. I hope that, in due course, the Government will be able to permit greater participation by private industry in the development of atomic energy. When that time arrives, our industries and research organizations will be well prepared to carry forward the applications of atomic energy which will provide better living and better health for our people.

Secrecy is always distasteful to a free people. In scientific research, it is a handicap to productivity. But our need for security in an insecure world compels us, at the present time, to maintain a high order of secrecy in many of our atomic energy undertakings.

When the nations of the world are prepared to join with us in the international control of atomic energy, this requirement of secrecy will disappear. Our Government has sought, through its representatives on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, to find a common basis for understanding with the other member nations. However, the uncompromising refusal of the Soviet Union to participate in a workable control system has thus far obstructed progress.

The Atomic Energy Act has stood the test of 2 years of administration. There is no reason to question the sound basis on which it rests. In 2 years, the world has found no ready answers to the problem of war and peace. Atomic energy, therefore, remains a fearful instrument of destruction and a wonderful invitation to progress through peace.

NOTE: The Fourth Semiannual Report of the Atomic Energy Commission is printed in Senate Document 199 (80th Cong., 2d sess.).

165 Message to the Special Session of the 80th Congress. *July 27, 1948*

[As delivered in person before a joint session]

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and Members of the 80th Congress:

The urgent needs of the American people require our presence here today.

Our people demand legislative action by their Government to do two things: first, to check inflation and the rising cost of living, and second, to help in meeting the acute housing shortage.

These are matters which affect every American family. They also affect the entire world, for world peace depends upon the strength of our economy.

The Communists, both here and abroad, are counting on our present prosperity turning into a depression. They do not believe that we can—or will—put the brake on high prices. They are counting on economic collapse in this country.

If we should bring on another great depression in the United States by failing to control high prices, the world's hope for lasting peace would vanish. A depression in the United States would cut the ground from under the free nations of Europe. Economic collapse in this country would prevent the recovery throughout the world which is essential to lasting peace. We would have only ourselves to blame for the tragedy that would follow.

In these tense days, when our strength is being taxed all over the world, it would

be reckless folly if we failed to act against inflation.

High prices are not taking "time off" for the election.

High prices are not waiting until the next session of Congress.

High prices are getting worse. They are getting worse every day.

We cannot afford to wait for the next Congress to act.

The 81st Congress will not get under way for nearly 6 months. Before the new Congress could take action against high prices, it would have to draft new bills, study them, hold hearings, debate and decide whether to pass them. It would be at least 8 months from now before the new Congress could pass the laws we need.

Eight months more of inflation would be much too long.

It was 8 months ago—November 1947—that I called a special session of this Congress, and recommended a comprehensive anti-inflation program. But that program was not enacted. If it had been enacted, we would have lower prices today.

Since last November, prices have gone even higher. As every housewife knows, food prices rose rapidly throughout 1947. They are climbing even faster now. Month after month, the cost of clothing, fuel, and rent keeps on going up.

The cost of living is now higher than ever before in our history.

There are not many very rich men in the Congress of the United States. You all—most of you—have to live on your salaries. All you need do is just go home and ask your wife how living costs are now, as compared to what they were January 1st, 1947.

We cannot risk the danger, or suffer the hardship, of another 8 months of doing nothing about high prices.

Prices are already so high that last year more than one-fourth of the families of this country were forced to spend more than they earned. Families of low or moderate income are being priced out of the market for many of the necessities of life. They are not able to buy as much as they could buy 2 years ago, and they are paying a lot more for what they can buy.

At the same time, industrial prices, which affect all business and employment, are rising, and rising fast. Large price increases have recently been announced by industries that set the pace for the whole economy. Just within the last few days, the steel industry, for example, increased its prices, on the average, by more than $9 a ton.

The rise in industrial prices is just as important, in the long run, as the high cost of living. It is already squeezing the independent businessman. It threatens to destroy a fair balance between industry and agriculture. It can end only in catastrophe if it is allowed to continue.

In the face of these facts, it is foolish to point at every feeble straw as a sign that the danger is disappearing. In February, some people said that the break in commodity prices meant that inflation was almost over. They were wrong. Prices rose again.

There are still some people who repeat the old argument which was used by those who killed price control 2 years ago. They said that if we would only take controls off, production would increase, prices would go down, and there would be more for everybody at lower cost.

The record shows unmistakably that this argument was false.

Production has increased somewhat, and we want it to increase still more. But even with full employment, full use of available materials, and practically full use of plant capacity—all of which we have today—prices are still climbing much faster than production. It is obvious that we cannot rely solely on more production to curb high prices. In-

stead, we must attack inflation directly.

If we do not stop inflation, production and employment will both fall sharply when the break comes.

Positive action by this Government is long over-due. It must be taken now.

I therefore urge the Congress to take strong, positive action to control inflation. I have reexamined the anti-inflation program I proposed to the Congress 8 months ago. In its essentials that program is as sound now as it was then. It has been revised and strengthened in the light of changing circumstances. The program I now propose is as follows:

First, I recommend that an excess profits tax be reestablished in order to provide a Treasury surplus and to provide a brake on inflation.

Second, I recommend that consumer credit controls be restored in order to hold down inflationary credit.

Third, I recommend that the Federal Reserve Board be given greater authority to regulate inflationary bank credit.

Fourth, I recommend that authority be granted to regulate speculation on the commodity exchanges.

Fifth, I recommend that authority be granted for allocation and inventory control of scarce commodities which basically affect essential industrial production, or the cost of living.

Sixth, I recommend that rent controls be strengthened, and that adequate appropriations be provided for enforcement, in order to prevent further unwarranted rent increases.

Seventh, I recommend that standby authority be granted to ration those few products in short supply which vitally affect the health and welfare of our people. On the basis of present facts, and unless further shortages occur, this authority might not have to be used.

Eighth, I recommend that price control be authorized for scarce commodities which basically affect essential industrial production or the cost of living. I have said before, and I repeat, that many profit margins have been adequate to absorb wage increases without the price increases that have followed. Rising wages and rising standards of living, based on increasing productivity and a fair distribution of income, is the American way. Noninflationary wage increases can and should continue to be made by free collective bargaining. Where the Government imposes a price ceiling, wage adjustments which can be absorbed within the price ceiling should not be interfered with by the Government. The Government should have the authority, however, to limit wage adjustments which would force a break in the price ceiling, except where wage adjustments are essential to remedy hardship, to correct inequities, or to prevent an actual lowering of the living standards.

The measures I have recommended make up a balanced program to attack high prices. They are all necessary to check rising prices and safeguard our economy against the danger of depression. If they are made the first order of business by the Congress, as they should be, they can be promptly enacted. Every week of delay will mean additional hardship for the American people.

The second reason why I have called the Congress back is that our people need legislation now to help meet the national housing shortage.

We desperately need more housing at lower prices—prices which families of moderate income, particularly veterans' families, can afford to pay. We are not getting it.

Even more urgently, we need more rental housing—especially low-rent housing. We are not getting it.

Most of the housing now being built is for sale, or for rent, at prices far above the

reach of the average American family.

I have recommended time and again that the Congress pass a comprehensive housing bill which would help us obtain more housing at lower prices—both for sale and for rent.

A good housing bill, Senate Bill 866, known as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, passed the Senate on April 22. This bill would provide aid to cities in clearing slums and in building low-rent housing projects. It would give extensive aid to the private home building industry. It includes provisions for farm housing, and for research to bring down building costs. It contains many other provisions, all aimed at getting more housing at lower prices and at lower rents.

This is the bill we need. We need it now, not a year from now.

If this legislation is passed this summer, it will be possible to start immediately the production of more houses of the kind our families need, and at prices they can afford to pay. If it is not passed now, the 81st Congress will have to start all over again with a new housing bill. In that case, we might lose a full year in meeting our national housing need.

This Congress can complete action on this comprehensive housing bill in a few days. And I strongly urge that it do so.

I have called the Congress back primarily to deal with high prices and with the housing shortage. Delay on either of these items would be most dangerous. In addition, there are other important legislative measures on which delay would injure us at home and impair our world relations.

I therefore recommend that the present session, without allowing anything to interfere with its vital work on legislation concerning high prices and housing, take action on certain other important measures. These measures can speedily be enacted now because of the amount of study already given to them by the Congress.

First, the Congress should provide Federal assistance to the States in meeting the present crisis in education. The children in our schools, and the men and women who teach there, have been made the victims of inflation. More children are entering school than ever before. But inflation has cut down the purchasing power of the money devoted to educational purposes. Teachers' salaries, for the most part, have lagged far behind the increased cost of living. The overcrowding of our schools is seriously detrimental to the health and the education of our boys and girls. Every month that we delay in meeting this problem will cause damage that can never be repaired. Several million children of school age are unable to attend school, largely because of lack of facilities or teachers.

To meet these vital educational needs, the Congress should complete action on Senate Bill 472, which passed the Senate on April the 1st. All that remains to be done is its passage by the House of Representatives.

Prompt action by the Congress is also needed to help another group of our people who are suffering from inflation. These are the workers who depend on the protection of the minimum wage law. The present minimum wage law is pitifully inadequate in the face of today's high prices. Proposals to raise minimum wages have long been before the Congress. I urgently recommend that the minimum wage be raised to at least 75 cents an hour at this session. Senate Bill 2062 and its companion House bills would be suitable measures for this purpose.

I also urge that action be taken by the Congress to relieve other victims of inflation. These are the people who depend upon the benefits being paid under the old-age and survivors insurance system. The average old-age retirement benefit for a man and his wife is only $39 a month. For a widow

with two children, the average monthly benefit is only $49. These benefits are utterly inadequate. I urge that they be increased by at least 50 percent and that the age at which women can receive benefits be lowered from 65 to 60 years. I also hope that the protection of this system will be extended to the millions who are not now covered.

In our relations with the rest of the world, action is also needed at once, and can be taken quickly, to afford additional proof that we mean what we say when we talk about freedom, humanity, and international cooperation for peace and prosperity. Three measures are involved.

First, the Displaced Persons Act in its present form discriminates unfairly against some displaced persons because of their religion, land of origin, or occupation. These provisions are contrary to all American ideals. This act should be promptly amended to wipe out these discriminations. Furthermore, the present act permits the entry of only 200,000 persons, and charges them against future immigration quotas. I believe strongly that this act should provide for the entry of 400,000 persons over a 4-year period, and they should be outside the normal immigration quotas. The act can and should be amended promptly.

Second, many people in the world must wonder how strongly we support the United Nations when we hesitate to assist the construction of its permanent home in this country. Legislation can and should be passed at once to authorize a loan by the United States Government to the United Nations, for the construction of its headquarters buildings in New York City.

The International Wheat Agreement is another vital measure on which the Congress should act. This agreement is designed to insure stability in the world wheat market in the years ahead when wheat will be more plentiful. It would guarantee American farmers an export market of 185 million bushels of wheat at a fair price during each of the next 5 years. Since the agreement is in the form of a treaty it requires only ratification by the Senate. Although this agreement should have been ratified by July 1st of this year, we have good reason to believe that it can still be made effective if it is now ratified promptly.

Also, I wish to call the attention of the Congress to three other problems on which action can and should be taken at this session.

The Congress should reconsider its recent actions which cut sharply into our national electric power policy. There is an acute shortage of electric power in this country now. I am therefore re-submitting to the Congress appropriation requests for certain power projects which must be provided right away. These requests include the TVA steamplant at New Johnsonville, Tenn., and certain other projects on which congressional reductions, if allowed to stand, will delay the production of power for a year or more. These appropriations should be promptly enacted, and at the same time certain crippling limitations should be removed from the law.

In the final days before adjourning in June, the Congress passed a bill raising the salaries of some Federal employees. However, this bill neglected long overdue reforms in the Federal pay scales and discriminated unfairly against certain groups of employees. The Congress should take this opportunity to enact more equitable and realistic Federal pay legislation.

Finally, I again urge upon the Congress the measures I recommended last February to protect and extend basic civil rights of citizenship and human liberty. A number of bills to carry out my recommendations have been introduced in the Congress. Many of them have already received careful consid-

eration by congressional committees. Only one bill, however, has been enacted, a bill relating to the rights of Americans of Japanese origin. I believe that it is necessary to enact the laws I have recommended in order to make the guarantees of the Constitution real and vital. I believe they are necessary to carry out our American ideals of liberty and justice for all.

I hope that there is no misunderstanding of the recommendations I have made. I have asked the Congress to return, first of all, in order to meet the urgent need of our people for relief from high prices and the housing shortage. I urge the Congress not to be distracted from these central purposes.

At the same time, as I have stated, the Congress can and should act on certain other important items of legislation at this special session.

There are still other problems of great moment which vitally affect the welfare of the Nation. I have discussed them in previous messages to this Congress. I have made recommendations for legislation to meet them. I do not repeat them now—because the purposes and limited time of this special session do not readily permit action on them.

However, I feel just as strongly as ever that all these measures are necessary. If the Congress finds time to enact any of them now the country will greatly benefit. Certainly, the next Congress should take them up immediately.

These include: a comprehensive health program, based on health insurance; a fair and sound labor-management relations law—in place of the Taft-Hartley law which has proved to be unfair and unsound and which should be repealed; a real long-range farm program; a stronger reciprocal trade agreements act; a universal training program; a national science foundation; strengthened antitrust laws; and the approval of the St. Lawrence waterway treaty.

The vigor of our democracy is judged by its ability to take decisive actions—actions which are necessary to maintain our physical and moral strength and to raise our standards of living. In these days of continued stress, the test of that vigor becomes more and more difficult. The legislative and executive branches of our Government can meet that test today.

The American people rightfully expect us to meet it together. I hope that the American people will not look to us in vain.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. His address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

On August 12 the White House released the following "Summary of Action by the Congress on the President's Recommendations at the Special Session":

A. Major recommendations:

1. Anti-inflation program:

a. Excess profits tax. (Failed to act. Ways and Means Committee held no meetings; permitted no administration witnesses to testify.)

b. Consumer credit controls. (Enacted, but for a shorter period than recommended.)

c. Bank credit controls. (Enacted in part.)

d. Regulate speculations in commodities. (Failed to act. No administration witnesses permitted to testify.)

e. Authority for allocations and inventory controls. (Failed to act. House committee refused to hear administration case; Senate Committee cut hearings short.)

f. Strengthened rent control. (Failed to act. No administration witnesses permitted to testify.)

g. Authority to ration. (Failed to act. House committee refused to hear administration case; Senate Committee cut hearings short.)

h. Authority for price controls. (Failed to act. House committee refused to hear administration case; Senate Committee cut hearings short.)

2. Housing program. (House leadership refused to permit House to vote on Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. Emasculated housing bill enacted instead.)

B. Other recommendations:

1. Aid to education. (Failed to act. House committee held no meeting. Bill had previously passed the Senate.)

2. Increase minimum wage. (Failed to act. Committees held no meetings. Hearings had previously been held.)

3. Increase social security benefits. (Failed to act. Senate committee held no meeting. Bill had previously passed House (in inadequate form).)

4. Amend Displaced Persons Act. (Failed to act. Senate leadership refused to permit action.)

5. Loan for United Nations headquarters. (Enacted.)

6. Ratify International Wheat Agreement. (Reported by Senate committee, but Senate leadership refused to permit ratification.)

7. Restore vital power appropriations and remove crippling restrictions. (Failed to act. House Appropriations Committee refused to hear administration witnesses. Senate defeated amendments when they were offered by Democratic Senators.)

8. Reforms in Federal pay scales. (Failed to act. House and Senate committees did not meet; permitted no administration testimony.)

9. Civil rights legislation. (Failed to act. Senate briefly considered antipoll tax bill, took no action.)

166 The President's News Conference of *July* 29, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. Ladies and gentlemen, I have no announcements to make. If you have any questions, I will try to answer them.

[1.] Q. Mr. President, General Bradley said he favored segregation in the lower echelons of the Army. Is that consistent with your Executive order regarding the Armed Forces?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't seen what General Bradley says, but I am informed by the Secretary for the Army that he made no such statement.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, Mr. Bevin made a statement today regarding the next approach to Moscow regarding the Berlin situation. Held out, too, his hope for settlement of the whole European problem. I wonder if you could give us any American view——

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't seen Mr. Bevin's statement, and I have no comment to make on it, or on the European situation.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, in the antipoll tax method, would you have any preference for a constitutional method, or the bill?

THE PRESIDENT. That is a matter that the Senate will have to act on, and the House. The House has already acted, I think.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, to go back to the first question, does your advocacy of equality of treatment and opportunity in the Armed Forces envision eventually the end of segregation?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, do you consider that the Senate has acted in good faith in starting its work upon the controversial——

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment to make on the Senate. The Senate stands before the country just the same as I do. They will have to take the consequences of their acts.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, would wages necessarily be frozen under your anti-inflation program?

THE PRESIDENT. Not necessarily.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with the congressional session, do you plan to ask Governor Dewey to use his influence as the leader of his party to do something about getting some action?

THE PRESIDENT. No. [*Laughter*]

[8.] Q. Mr. President, what persuaded you some months after the Federal Reserve Board first made its proposal about bank credit restraints, to endorse most of them?

THE PRESIDENT. The change in the situation.

Q. How is the situation changed?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, consumer credit is rapidly rising.

Q. Were you in favor of reinstitution of Regulation W?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Q. Can you do that by Executive order?

THE PRESIDENT. I cannot.

Q. You cannot do it by Executive order?

THE PRESIDENT. I cannot do it. The authority to do that was repealed.

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Wolcott [1] said today that there is a rider on that amendment which would let you do it if you declared an emergency?

THE PRESIDENT. I did not see Mr. Wolcott's statement, but I think he is mistaken.

Q. He read it right out of the law.

THE PRESIDENT. Did he? Well, maybe he doesn't interpret the law the same way I do. I have to take the Attorney General's rulings.

Q. Mr. President, what is Regulation W? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. It's a brake on buying on credit, and paying for it in payments.

Q. Installment buying?

THE PRESIDENT. Installment buying.

Q. What is—what would be necessary? Does that require an act of Congress, or could the Federal Reserve Board——

THE PRESIDENT. It requires authority from the Congress for the Federal Reserve Board to reinstate it, as I understand it. I will have the Attorney General go into that. If there is a congressional law and we have the power, we will use it.

Q. Why did Secretary Snyder delay his appearance before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it was in his opinion proper for the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board to appear first, which he did today.

Q. Hasn't he almost co-equal authority? The Treasury is buying bonds and so is the Federal Reserve?

THE PRESIDENT. Well now, that's a matter for the Federal Reserve and the Treasury to settle between themselves, and however they settle it, it's all right with me. They will both appear eventually.

THE PRESIDENT [*responding to laughter in the front row*]. What's the matter?

Q. That Regulation W got us just a little bewildered here. [*More laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. I will give you a copy of it, Tony.[1]

Q. We are just police reporters, Mr. President.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, there is a story printed today that you are going to campaign by airplane. Will you do that?

THE PRESIDENT. I have made no campaign plans whatever.

[10.] Q. Any comment on Senator Taft's speech last night?

THE PRESIDENT. No comment.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, there seemed to be some disappointment in Congress that you did not send them a report on the Berlin situation. Do you plan such a message?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, there is wonder why you mentioned oleo legislation in the convention but not in your message.

THE PRESIDENT. I did not mention it.

Q. At the convention?

THE PRESIDENT. I did not mention it. The platform mentioned it, Miss May.[2] [*Laughter*]

Q. I thought you mentioned it?

THE PRESIDENT. I did not mention it. That is a matter that originated in Congress. It has never been on a program of mine. If Congress wants to act on it, I will be glad to sign the bill.

Q. Act on what?

THE PRESIDENT. Oleo.

Q. You would be glad to sign the bill, sir, did you say?

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[1] Representative Jesse P. Wolcott of Michigan.

[1] Ernest B. Vaccaro of the Associated Press.

[2] Mrs. May Craig of the Portland (Maine) Press Herald.

THE PRESIDENT. Sure, I will be glad to.

Q. Are you in favor of that bill?

THE PRESIDENT. I said I would sign it if it came up here.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and fifty-first news conference was held in his office at the White House at 4 p.m. on Thursday, July 29, 1948.

167 Special Message: The President's Midyear Economic Report to the Congress. *July* 30, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

On January 14, 1948, I transmitted to the Congress my annual Economic Report under the Employment Act of 1946. At the present stage in economic affairs it is again desirable that the Congress and the country be presented with an up-to-date survey of the economic situation, the difficulties it presents, and the solutions called for. This Midyear Economic Report is transmitted to the Congress for that purpose.

A TIME FOR ACTION

In the years since the end of hostilities in World War II, the American economy has offered an impressive display of inherent strength and elasticity. More than 10,000,000 veterans have been smoothly absorbed into the activities of the business world. Month after month, the labor force has been employed at a level which but few were willing to forecast. In spite of high living costs, our people continue to enjoy high standards of living. The income of American consumers, and the resources of American business, furnish the basis for sustained markets. Our financial condition is strong. A national debt of tremendous size has been managed so skillfully that we are prone to treat too lightly the problems which it still offers.

But our present prosperity should not blind us to the growing threats to our well-being. Repeatedly, I have called attention to the developing inflationary conditions which endanger both our domestic strength and our place in world affairs. In addition, recent events have forced us into a preparedness program adding to the strains upon our home economy, and making it even more imperative that we act with courage and dispatch. In my recent message to the Congress upon the opening of the special session, I again advised the Congress of the dangers that we face, and made recommendations to meet them.

I must emphasize that the course of inflation does not run according to any set schedule. Until the very eve of an economic collapse many people are apt to grow more and more confident about the soundness of the economy and the indefinite continuance of the boom. It may not be true that "a boom is always followed by a bust," as many students of business affairs frequently say. But it would be reckless to assume that the bust will not happen if we neglect action to control the boom.

For 2 years, it has been asserted that if matters were left alone there would be so great an increase in production that it would take care of prices. Increasing the supply of goods is, indeed, to be sought through every practicable means. But, historically, no important inflation has been cured in that manner. Nor has this one, despite the fact that every factor of high profits, heavy market demand, and large funds available for investment has been favorable to the expansion of production.

The policy proclaimed in the Employ-

ment Act requires us to devise and adopt positive measures to stop this inflation and secure relative stabilization. It is not too late for preventive measures, and we are not yet forced by the tragic consequences of depression to adopt measures which would interfere with our free economy far more than would any or all of the measures I have proposed. I realize that the anti-inflationary program I have offered will impede some business plans, will curb some profit opportunities, and may limit some wage advances. It is of the very essence of a plan to counteract inflation that this be done. All groups will ultimately benefit when it is done.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SUMMARY

The recommendations that I have made for dealing with inflation are based upon a candid look at the whole economic situation as it has developed over the past 6 months, and upon a careful analysis of where this situation may lead us if we do not act in time. Below I summarize what seems to me to be the points of greatest significance in this situation and this analysis. A more detailed examination of the facts, and a more extended analysis, is contained in a report on The Economic Situation at Midyear 1948, prepared for me by the Council of Economic Advisers, which I am transmitting to the Congress along with this Midyear Economic Report.

Employment in the first half of this year ran continuously above the level of a year ago. Some 850,000 workers were added to the labor force, yet unemployment in June was only 2.2 million—400,000 less than a year earlier. June civilian employment set a new record of 61.3 million.

Industrial production reached a new postwar peak in February and, after the work stoppage in coal mining, approached it again in June. Improved industrial relations and high business confidence reinforced by increased Government commitments for foreign aid and defense give promise of continuing high-level output for the rest of the year.

Agricultural production ran below the level of the first half of last year because smaller numbers of livestock and tight feed supplies have reduced the output of most livestock products. At midyear, our second largest wheat crop was being harvested, and generally favorable crop reports were highlighted by an indicated production of over 3.3 billion bushels of corn—a new record. While such a crop could not remedy the meat shortage during the rest of this year, it would provide the basis for more ample supplies of livestock products in 1949 and thereafter.

Gross national product reached a new high of 246.5 billion dollars per year during the first half of 1948, reflecting some increase in production but mostly the rise in prices.

Consumer income ran at an annual rate of about 208 billion dollars, compared with 195 billion in 1947. Consumer income after taxes increased from a rate of 174 billion dollars to a rate of 186 billion.

Consumer expenditure, as a result of some buyer hesitation in the first quarter, increased less than disposable income, leaving a small increase in net consumer saving.

The distribution of income, according to the most recent data, has changed but little since 1946. A survey of families, however, showed half the Nation's consumer spending units falling substantially behind in the race of incomes with living costs during 1947. One-fourth of the family units spent more than they earned. Low-income people were spending past savings predominantly for current expenses, higher-income people more often spending theirs for durable goods or converting them into residential or business investments.

Consumer credit continued to expand during the first half of 1948.

Business investment took a larger share of the national output in the first half of 1948 than during 1947. Equipment outlays have been exceptionally high since the war; plant construction expenditures have increased less strikingly. Present indications are that such outlays will continue high throughout the rest of the year. Nonfarm inventories increased markedly during the first quarter of the year, when sales lagged, but leveled off in the second quarter as sales picked up.

Profits exceeded last year's average, reflecting high prices for a high volume of output. First quarter data, however, indicated a drop in profits of small manufacturing firms.

Residential construction is expected to increase the total supply of dwelling units by more than a million during 1948. This high output has been accompanied by an increase in costs that is outrunning consumers' ability to pay for the housing they need.

Net foreign investment, at less than half the rate of the last quarter of 1947, in part reflected decreases in exports and increases in imports in our trade with all continents. The foreign aid program will increase our surplus of exports during the rest of the year.

The Federal cash surplus during the first half of 1948 amounted to 7.6 billion dollars. Receipts ran 7 percent higher than last year, payments 9 percent lower. The reduction in income taxes and the increase in expenditures for defense and foreign aid will virtually eliminate the surplus for the second half year. The Federal debt was reduced about 5 billion dollars during the first half of the year, bringing it down to 252 billion dollars.

State and local government expenditures have overtaken revenues, and deficits are likely to increase.

Prices rose after a decline in February. Many farm prices regained or surpassed their earlier levels and industrial prices resumed their climb. By midyear, price increases appeared to be accelerating. The index of consumers' prices has now reached an all-time high.

Wages continued the third round of increases that began last fall though interrupted by the break in commodity prices. Most of the third round increases have roughly corresponded to the rise in cost of living since the previous contract.

Foreign aid and defense expenditures during the present fiscal year will increase pressure on the domestic economy. New defense expenditures will not be great during the next few months, but will rise thereafter. Both programs have a special impact upon such short-supply items as steel, other metals, and farm machinery, and will draw increasingly upon our already fully employed labor force. More adequate allocation authority is needed if we are to avoid progressively more serious disruptive effects of these programs upon supplies, prices, and the organization of production.

The reduction in income taxes will reduce Federal revenues by about 5 billion dollars at the same time that expenditures will be substantially increasing under the new programs. The deflationary influence of recent Government cash surpluses will thus be replaced by the inflationary influence of additional expenditures on the part of consumers whose tax burdens are reduced.

The general outlook as to inflation shows conflicting influences. On the one side, the supply situation in a number of industries is improved over a year ago. Bountiful crops are in prospect. Postwar expansion programs are nearing completion in many lines of production, and we should experience a gradual increase in output from an enlarged and modernized industrial plant.

Commendable caution continues to be shown by business in avoiding speculative overexpansion, and many leaders in both industry and labor can be applauded for the conscious restraint they have exhibited in their pricing policies and wage demands.

The immediate situation is dominated, however, by three interacting processes making for continued inflation. First, consumer demand for goods and services, business demand for investment goods, and demands arising from expanding Government defense and foreign aid programs press strongly upon production. Second, we are currently in the midst of a round of substantial wage and price increases in major basic industries. These developments foreshadow continuing and ramifying effects on cost structures and prices in many related lines of production, on the cost of living, and on further wage demands. Third, credit expansion, partly a cause and partly a result of inflation, still persists.

The facts add up to a clear and disconcerting conclusion. In spite of some favorable factors, we are in the very midst of gathering inflationary forces, which day by day are imposing additional hardships upon countless families, and day by day are undermining the foundations of the remarkably high level of postwar prosperity that we have thus far maintained.

The hard facts of today leave no room for complacency. Though most people are optimistic about the immediate business outlook, lasting prosperity is not assured. Even in the midst of the present prosperity, the average American sees that the value of his accumulated savings has declined, and that many of his neighbors living on pensions or fixed salaries are actually worse off than they were a year ago. Looking abroad, we see that, despite great progress, many countries are still far below the living standards needed for sustained production and are dependent on outside help for any hope of further advance. We must be on our guard lest our national prosperity and security be undermined by inflation at home or by misery abroad.

Our American prosperity depends in part on world events, but far more on our own action or inaction right here at home. More than 90 percent of all the goods and services that we produce are for domestic purposes.

But thus far we have shown a blind disregard of the dangers that beset our path. Despite my repeated warnings and recommendations, we have not adopted adequate legislation for controlling inflation. The failure to control inflation effectively in the past makes it increasingly urgent that we adopt and apply vigorous measures to guide us safely from the uneven postwar boom to an era of sustained and stable prosperity.

We are now challenged to carry out the pledge to the American people contained in the Employment Act of 1946 that it shall be the policy of our Government to "utilize all its plans, functions, and resources . . . to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power," in an economy of free competitive enterprise.

It is no less important to take action to forestall a business collapse than it is to use Government measures to overcome a depression once it has arrived. Our success in this effort is essential for the reconstruction of a peaceful world.

RECOMMENDED PROGRAM

[Excerpt from the President's Message to the Congress, July 27, 1948]

Positive action by this Government is long overdue. It must be taken now.

I therefore urge the Congress to take strong, positive action to control inflation. I have reexamined the anti-inflation program I proposed to the Congress 8 months

ago. In its essentials that program is as sound now as it was then. It has been revised and strengthened in the light of changing circumstances. The program I now propose is as follows:

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Fourth, I recommend that authority be granted to regulate speculation on the commodity exchanges.

Fifth, I recommend that authority be granted for allocation and inventory control of scarce commodities which basically affect essential industrial production or the cost of living.

Sixth, I recommend that rent controls be strengthened, and that adequate appropriations be provided for enforcement, in order to prevent further unwarranted rent increases.

Seventh, I recommend that stand-by authority be granted to ration those few products in short supply which vitally affect the health and welfare of our people. On the basis of present facts, and unless further shortages occur, this authority might not have to be used at all.

Eighth, I recommend that price control be authorized for scarce commodities which basically affect essential industrial production or the cost of living. I have said before, and I repeat, that many profit margins have been adequate to absorb wage increases without the price increases that have followed. Rising wages and rising standards of living, based on increasing productivity and a fair distribution of income, is the American way. Noninflationary wage increases can and should continue to be made by free collective bargaining. Where the Government imposes a price ceiling, wage adjustments which can be absorbed within the price ceiling should not be interfered with by the Government. The Government should have the authority, however, to limit wage adjustments which would force a break in a price ceiling, except where wage adjustments are essential to remedy hardship, to correct inequities, or to prevent an actual lowering of living standards.

The measures I have recommended make up a balanced program to attack high prices. They are all necessary to check rising prices and safeguard our economy against the danger of depression. If they are made the first order of business by the Congress, as they should be, they can be promptly enacted. Every week of delay will mean additional hardship for the American people.

NOTE: "The Midyear Economic Report of the President to the Congress, July 30, 1948," is printed together with a report entitled "The Economic Situation at Midyear 1948" by the Council of Economic Advisers (Government Printing Office, 115 pp.).

168 Remarks in New York City at the Dedication of Idlewild International Airport. *July 31, 1948*

Mr. Chairman, Governor Dewey, Mayor O'Dwyer, Mr. Cullman, and distinguished guests:

It is a great pleasure for me to take part in the dedication of this splendid airfield here in the city chosen by the United Nations to be its permanent home.

I am happy also to be present for the

review of the United States Air Force—the first review since the Air Force became an independent arm of our National Military Establishment. The demonstration of air-power held here today consisting of planes of the Air Force and the United States Navy is convincing evidence of our determination to remain strong in the cause of peace.

The New York International Airport is a sign of confidence of the American people that we shall have lasting peace in the years ahead. This is a field built in the conviction that peaceful air travel and air commerce will expand in volume and in importance. But the kind of peace—the peace of free men—which this field represents will not come easily. We must work for it.

Three requirements must be met before we can have world peace with liberty for all. The first of these is confidence—confidence together with firmness and courage among the peoples of the world who are striving toward peace.

A good many people in the world today seem to have lost their hope for peace and their courage to work for it. They seem to have forgotten that courage and the determination to stand up for what is right are essential if peace and liberty are to prevail. When they look around them, they see only trouble and danger. It is our job—the job of the American people—to help restore confidence all over the world that peace is not only possible but inevitable if the peoples of the world work together. It is our job to restore the courage of those who are so worried about today that they have lost the heart to work for tomorrow.

The basis of our national effort to restore confidence and courage must be unwavering support of the United Nations. We are proud of the fact that we played an active part in founding the United Nations. We are glad that the United Nations has chosen New York as its permanent home. Now we must search constantly for ways to strengthen the United Nations and build it into a world organization which can maintain permanent peace with liberty, under a system of world justice. I am convinced that the United Nations can become—and will become—the instrument for the peaceful settlement of all international disputes.

This airport can aid directly in the work of the United Nations. It will be the front door of the United Nations. Men and women from the far corners of the earth will land here in their search for peaceful solutions to their countries' difficulties. Representatives of the United Nations will take off from here for troubled areas to make peaceful, "on-the-spot" settlements. We welcome the dedication of this field for the contribution it will make to the success of the United Nations.

A second requirement for world peace is mutual trust and understanding among the plain people of the world. We in the United States believe that the way to get along with your neighbor is to know him well. We want to know our neighbors all over the world. We want them to know us. We welcome full exchange of information and ideas. We favor the greatest possible freedom in international travel and communication, because we know that knowledge leads to understanding. There never has been and never can be war between nations when their peoples have known and understand each other.

This airfield will help us to know our neighbors better. Planes will land here, bringing newspapers printed only a few hours earlier in Rome, or Paris, or London. Papers printed in the morning in New York will be on the streets of European cities that night.

Of course, the best way to get to know our neighbors is to meet them. We all know how the airplane has made it easier for us

to travel, and how quickly we can go great distances. When I was a boy it would have taken President Grover Cleveland nearly 3 weeks to go to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. But I was able to fly down to Rio last year in 18 hours of actual travel time. I am only one of many thousands of Americans who have become acquainted with other countries because of the airplane. Every year more and more world travelers come to the United States to find out what we Americans are like. Because Idlewild Airport will encourage foreign travel, it will promote the international understanding which makes for peace. We welcome this field for that important reason too.

The third requirement for peace is world economic recovery. The American people are doing their best to bring about recovery by sharing the products of our factories and fields, and by lending the money necessary to revive industry and agriculture in other countries.

We welcome Idlewild Airport because it will help so greatly in the free and rapid exchange of goods. This is the essence of international trade and prosperity.

Once the devastation of war has been repaired, the countries of the world can produce enough for everybody. With the knowledge we now have about medicine, and agriculture, and the many other sciences, the danger of war which comes from mass poverty should vanish forever.

In all these ways—in restoring confidence, in encouraging mutual trust and understanding, and in promoting economic recovery—the American people are meeting the requirements for lasting peace. In all these ways, the New York International Airport is both a symbol of our faith that we shall have peace, and a contribution toward achieving peace.

The Statue of Liberty, only a few miles from here, has long symbolized the liberty of our democracy to all who come by sea. I hope that this field will symbolize our devotion to peace to all who come by air.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:30 p.m. from a stand in the center of the airfield. In his opening words he referred to Grover A. Whalen, Chairman of the Mayor's Committee for Greater New York City's Golden Anniversary, Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of New York, William O'Dwyer, Mayor of New York City, and Howard S. Cullman, Chairman of the Port of New York Authority. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

169 Letter to Robert Ramspeck Concerning National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week. *August* 4, 1948

[Released August 4, 1948. Dated July 31, 1948]

Dear Bob:

Your ability and wide experience, upon which the Government has relied extensively in the past, can again play an important role in the development of a vital program.

I am, therefore, naming you Vice Chairman of the President's Committee on National Employ the Handicapped Week.

In so doing, I know that the good service you will render in helping disabled veterans and other handicapped workers in finding useful jobs will prove of lasting benefit both to the Government and to them.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable Robert Ramspeck, Executive Vice President, Air Transport Association of America, 1107 16th Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: A White House statement of August 4, released with the President's letter, announced that

the President had called for a meeting of the Committee on August 17 to make plans for the 1948 observance of National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, the first week in October. Vice Adm. Ross T. McIntire served as Chairman of the Committee which included leaders of organizations from all walks of life.

National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week was established by Public Law 176, 79th Congress (59 Stat. 530).

170 The President's News Conference of *August* 5, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. Gentlemen, I have a statement I want to read to you, and you will find it mimeographed outside as you go out.

[1.] [*Reading*] "It now appears that the 80th Congress is determined to take no effective action on the proposals which I have submitted to curb high prices and to protect the average American citizen against the certain prospect of increased living costs.

"I have been informed that the Republican leadership has decided that the Congress will not be allowed to consider really effective measures to stop high prices. Republican leaders reached this decision without obtaining the full information that the administration was prepared to offer in connection with my recommendations. In fact, the Chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency refused a request for three Cabinet members to be given an opportunity to testify before that Committee.

"The Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, and Interior were and are now prepared to testify. The Secretary of Agriculture was prepared to offer a program directed to the problem of excessive food prices. The Secretary of Commerce was prepared to discuss with the committee the question of shortages of industrial materials and what could be done to correct the situation. The Secretary of the Interior was prepared to submit a program dealing with the proper distribution and prices of coal, heating oil, and other fuels. The Committee of the House refused to receive the views of these members of my Cabinet. In the absence of such basic information, I do not see how the Committee can make an intelligent decision on issues which so gravely affect the welfare of the American people and their standard of living.

"And, following the same pattern, the Ways and Means Committee of the House refused to give any consideration to the recommendation for an excess profits tax, which is necessary to offset the inflationary effects of the tax bill passed last spring. The Chairman of this Committee has not even called a meeting of the Committee since the Congress reconvened.

"It would appear that the Republican leaders are unwilling to extend to the Congress an opportunity to vote on the issues of direct price control, the authority to impose allocations and priorities, and the other elements of a balanced program which I submitted to the Congress, including provisions to strengthen and reinforce rent control.

"It now appears that so far the Congress has failed to discharge the tasks for which I called it into special session. It is my hope, therefore, that the Republican leadership will reconsider their present plans for quick adjournment and will take action upon the recommendations I have submitted.

"There is still time for the Congress to fulfill its responsibilities to the American people. Our people will not be satisfied with the feeble compromises that apparently are being concocted."

And when you go out, you will find that mimeographed.

Q. Mr. President, do you plan to call the leaders of Congress down now, to communicate that——

THE PRESIDENT. I have called the Democratic leaders of the Congress. I haven't called the Republicans.

Q. Mr. President, again not being able—why don't you call them?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would be glad to see them any time. I don't think there's anything I can say to them that will change their viewpoint.

Q. In other words, you don't think this last-minute appeal will have any effect, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I doubt it very much.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, when are you going to start the campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, a little later on. Probably in September sometime. I will let you know when we get ready in time.

Q. Are you going to open the campaign in Detroit with a Labor Day speech?

THE PRESIDENT. Several cities under consideration.

Q. Is Detroit one of them?

THE PRESIDENT. Detroit happens to be one of them.

Q. Mr. President, do you plan to appear in upstate New York, particularly the city of Albany?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't give you any details of the campaign yet. When they are ready to be announced, I will let you know in plenty of time, so you can pack your bag.

Q. Do you contemplate going to Wisconsin?

THE PRESIDENT. The campaign program is not ready. When it is ready, I will give it to you.

Q. Could you say whether any of the speeches during the campaign will deal with questions of foreign policy?

THE PRESIDENT. They will speak for themselves. When the time comes, I will give you copies in advance.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, do you think that the Republican leader has been negligent in offering leadership to the special session of the Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment on that.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, do you think that the Capitol Hill spy scare is a "red herring" to divert public attention from inflation? [1]

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I do, and I will read you another statement on that, since you brought it up. [*Laughter*]

[*Reading*] "In response to written requests from congressional groups for information relating to the employment of individuals, the department or agency may forward to the committee all unclassified routine papers, such as Civil Service Form 57, records of promotion, efficiency ratings, letters of recommendation, etc.

"No information of any sort relating to the employee's loyalty, and no investigative data of any type, whether relating to loyalty or other aspects of the individual's record, shall be included in the material submitted to a congressional committee. If there is doubt as to whether a certain document or group of documents should be supplied, the

[1] In July and August 1948 Elizabeth Bentley, Louis Budenz, and Whittaker Chambers testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and Miss Bentley and Mr. Budenz testified before the Investigations Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. During these hearings they identified a number of former Government officials as members of the Communist Party. Their testimony is recorded in "Hearings Before the Committee on Un-American Activities Regarding Communist Espionage in the United States Government," dated July–December 1948 (Government Printing Office, 2 vols., 1474 pp.) and in "Export Policy and Loyalty Hearings Before the Investigations Subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments," dated July–August 1948 (Government Printing Office, 2 vols., 402 pp.).

matter should be referred to the White House.

"No information has been revealed by these committees' investigations that has not long since been presented to a Federal grand jury.

"No information has been disclosed in the past few days by the congressional committees that has not long been known to the FBI.

"The Federal grand jury found this information insufficient to justify indictment of the Federal employees involved.

"All but two of the employees involved have left the Federal Government, and these two have been placed on leave without pay before the congressional hearings started.

"The public hearings now under way are serving no useful purpose. On the contrary, they are doing irreparable harm to certain people, seriously impairing the morale of Federal employees, and undermining public confidence in the Government."

And they are simply a "red herring" to keep from doing what they ought to do.

Q. Don't you think the American public is entitled to this information?

THE PRESIDENT. What information?

Q. That has been brought out in these investigations?

THE PRESIDENT. What useful purpose is it serving when we are having this matter before a grand jury where action has to take place, no matter what this committee does? They haven't revealed anything that everybody hasn't known all along, or hasn't been presented to the grand jury. That is where it has to be taken, in the first place, if you are going to do anything about it. They are slandering a lot of people that don't deserve it.

Q. Mr. President, could we use a part of the quote there, that last: they are simply a "red herring," etc.?

THE PRESIDENT. Using this as a "red herring" to keep from doing what they ought to do.

Q. Are we going to get copies of that?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Q. Mr. President, the reports of the hearings yesterday indicated that John Sullivan might ask you with respect to the Remington[1]——

THE PRESIDENT. That is the answer for John Sullivan.

Q. What?

THE PRESIDENT. That is the answer for John Sullivan, right there.

Q. Does that mean they won't get the information on Remington?

THE PRESIDENT. They will get all the information that they are entitled to on Remington. They will not get any confidential information on him.

Q. Why was Remington asked to resign from the Navy?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know anything about that. You will have to ask the Navy about that. I can't answer the question because I don't know. I didn't even know he had been asked to resign.

[1] On July 30 Elizabeth Bentley testified before the Investigations Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. She identified William W. Remington, a former official of the Department of Commerce, as a Communist who had given secret data to her when she served as a Soviet courier.

On July 31 Mr. Remington, in testimony before the Subcommittee, denied Miss Bentley's allegations. He revealed that he had been requested to resign from the Naval Reserve.

On August 4 Secretary of the Navy John L. Sullivan supported several admirals who refused to testify on the Remington resignation because they felt that it would be a violation of administration policies.

The testimony of Miss Bentley and Mr. Remington is recorded in "Export Policy and Loyalty Hearings Before the Investigations Subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments," dated July–August 1948 (Government Printing Office, 2 vols., 402 pp.).

Q. The Navy puts it up to you, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I haven't the information available.

Q. You mean, Mr. President, you think that both Senate and House committees ought to call a halt on these investigations now?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is up to Congress. I have said it as plainly as I can.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, in view of the imminence of the campaign, when will the President of Cuba come up on this visit?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that question. I don't know.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, would you bracket the Senate and House committees in this statement you just made on Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Mundt, the acting chairman of the Un-American Committee, says today that there is now a Communist spy ring operating in the Capital?

THE PRESIDENT. It's in his mind, I think.

Q. If there wasn't ever anything to it, why did the FBI start the investigation?

THE PRESIDENT. To be on the safe side, of course. They got a lot of indictments on these people in New York, on those that got indicted.[1] That was the reason for it. Everything has been presented to the grand jury that they wanted to know about, and if it was possible to indict these people, they would have been indicted.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, have you received a letter from the Governor of Vermont, acting for the New England Governors, relative to a shortage of pig iron up there?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't seen it yet. I saw in the paper I was going to receive it, though.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, going back to the oil and fuel statement, do you know of any way the administration can prevent another fuel crisis on the Atlantic coast this winter, without price control legislation?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not. I do not.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, the Soviet-licensed newspaper in Berlin said this morning that General Clay was going to be replaced, and that his successor would report directly to the State Department. Would you comment?

THE PRESIDENT. It isn't true.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, have you decided to appoint the Secretary of Labor?

THE PRESIDENT. I will announce it whenever I have the man ready.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, 3 years ago, I believe, you gave the order for the first atomic bomb to be used. Do you still feel hopeful that atomic weapons will be outlawed?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I do. I sincerely hope that they will be outlawed.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, do you know when there will be a statement on the results of the Moscow talks?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I do not. General Marshall and I are having a conference today.

Q. Are you hopeful about these talks, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I am always hopeful for peace.

Q. Can you give us any details on what has been going on in Moscow?

THE PRESIDENT. I can give you no details whatever. No comment of any sort on any of these foreign questions at all, except the

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[1] On July 20, 1948, 12 high-ranking members of the Communist Party were indicted in New York City by a special Federal grand jury that had been investigating Communist activities for more than a year. All 12 were accused of conspiring to violate the Smith Act, a defense measure passed in June 1940.

The indictment stated that they had conspired "to organize as the Communist Party of the United States a society, group or assembly of persons who teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence. . . ."

one about General Clay.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, in California I believe you said that Governor Warren was a Democrat and didn't know it. Have you changed your mind on that?

THE PRESIDENT. He evidently is a thoroughbred Republican. He was nominated for Vice President. [*Laughter*] I don't think the Republican platform agrees with his views, however.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and fifty-second news conference was held in his office at the White House at 10:30 a.m. on Thursday, August 5, 1948.

171 Special Message to the Congress Reporting the Settlement of the Bituminous Coal Labor Dispute. *August* 5, 1948

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, I am reporting to the Congress concerning a labor dispute which recently existed in the bituminous coal industry.

The significant facts concerning this dispute may be summarized as follows:

The dispute involved the administration of a collective bargaining agreement known as the National Bituminous Coal Wage Agreement of 1947, which was signed by the United Mine Workers of America and certain coal operators and associations. The dispute grew out of the dissatisfaction of the union with the failure of the trustees of the United Mine Workers of America Welfare and Retirement Fund, established by the Agreement, to begin the payment of benefits. In accordance with the terms of the Agreement the union had appointed Mr. John L. Lewis as trustee of the Fund, the operators had appointed Mr. Ezra Van Horn, and these two had selected Mr. Thomas E. Murray as the third trustee. The trustees were unable to agree upon any plan for the amount of benefits to be paid out of the Fund or the eligibility of miners for such benefits. Mr. Murray therefore resigned from his office as trustee. The continued failure to begin payment from the Fund resulted in a work stoppage.

On March 23, 1948, I signed Executive Order 9939, creating a Board of Inquiry pursuant to Section 206 of the Labor Management Relations Act. I requested the Board to report to me on or before April 5, 1948. The Board held public hearings on March 26, 29 and 30, and filed its first report with me on March 31, 1948. That report advised me fully of the facts of the dispute and indicated that the stoppage had "precipitated a crisis in the industry and in the nation as a whole." A copy of that report is attached.

I therefore requested the Attorney General, in accordance with the provisions of Section 208 of the Labor-Management Relations Act, to petition the United States District Court for the District of Columbia for an injunction. An injunction was granted by Justice T. Alan Goldsborough of that Court on April 3, 1948. It restrained the union from continuing the strike which the court then found was in existence, ordered the union to instruct all members to return to their employment, and further ordered the union and the operators to bargain collectively.

Following the issuance of the injunction on April 3, 1948, there was a gradual return of miners to work. Compliance with the provisions of that injunction and substantially normal production in the bituminous

coal mines was obtained on or about April 26, 1948.

Soon after the issuance of the injunction of April 3, 1948, the Honorable Styles Bridges was selected by the two remaining trustees as the new third trustee under the Agreement. Mr. Bridges and Mr. Lewis, as trustees, approved a plan for beginning payment of benefits under the Fund. Mr. Van Horn withheld his approval and challenged the legality of the action of the majority of the trustees in a proceeding instituted in the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia. On June 23, 1948, Justice Goldsborough dismissed the complaint filed by Mr. Van Horn and held that the plan of Mr. Bridges and Mr. Lewis for beginning payment of benefits under the Fund was legal.

As a result of the settlement of the dispute over the Fund, the Attorney General, pursuant to Section 209 of the Labor-Management Relations Act, requested the Court to discharge the injunction. The injunction was discharged on June 23, 1948.

The Board of Inquiry was reconvened subsequent to the issuance of the injunction, pursuant to Section 210 of the Labor-Management Relations Act, and submitted its final report to me on June 26, 1948. A copy of the report is attached.

It should be noted that this dispute is distinct from that with respect to which I created a Board of Inquiry on June 19, 1948, by Executive Order 9970, and which made its report to me on June 24, 1948. That Board was created because of the imminent expiration of the 1947 contract between the United Mine Workers of America and the bituminous coal operators, and the consequent threat of a stoppage of work. A new contract covering most of the industry was agreed upon by the parties prior to the expiration of the old contract and no injunction was sought. A new contract for the remainder of the industry was subsequently negotiated. Since the report of the second Board contains a comprehensive summary of the entire chain of events concerning both disputes, a copy of its report is attached to this message for the convenience of the Congress.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: In its report of March 31, the first Board of Inquiry, created by Executive Order 9939, found that the union had induced the miners to stop work and that the stoppage was not an independent action by miners acting individually.

On June 26 the second Board, created by Executive Order 9970, reported that the threat of a coal strike had been averted due to the settlement reached on June 24.

The reports were made public by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

Executive Orders 9939 and 9970 are printed in title 3 of the Code of Federal Regulations (1943–1948 Comp., pp. 695, 709).

172 Statement by the President Upon Approving the Housing Act. *August* 10, 1948

I HAVE today given my approval to H.R. 6959, the so-called "Housing Act of 1948."

When I addressed the special session on July 27, 1948, I strongly urged the Congress to complete action on S. 866, the comprehensive Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill, which had passed the Senate on April 22, 1948. The Congress has instead passed an emasculated housing bill, which fails to include several of the most important provisions of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill.

Because the bill which was passed will be

of some help in meeting the critical housing shortage, I am giving it my approval; but the people of this country should understand clearly that it falls far short of the legislation which could and should have been enacted.

The new bill fails to make any provision for low-rent public housing. It fails to make any provision for slum clearance and urban redevelopment. It fails to include any provision for special aids for farm housing. It includes only limited provision for research to bring down building costs.

In short, the Congress in enacting this bill has deliberately neglected those large groups of our people most in need of adequate housing—the people who are forced to live in disgraceful urban and rural slums.

The most astonishing part of the process by which this result was achieved is that the Members of the House of Representatives were never permitted to consider and vote on the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. Even though all the main provisions of that bill were favorably reported by the House Committee on Banking and Currency, the Republican leaders refused to let the full membership of the House consider it.

The record shows clearly where the responsibility lies for this denial of the democratic process. As the Republican Chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee stated on the floor of the Senate last Friday, the Members of the House of Representatives "have been denied by their House leadership the right to vote on the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill."

It is a matter of great regret to me, as it will be to millions of ill-housed families, that a measure which would have helped to provide them with decent housing has been blocked by the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 6959 is Public Law 901, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1268).

For the President's statement upon signing the Housing and Rent Act of 1948, see Item 58.

173 Statement by the President Upon Signing Resolution Authorizing Loan for the Construction of United Nations Headquarters. *August* 11, 1948

IT IS with great pleasure that I have signed Senate Joint Resolution 212, authorizing an interest-free loan of $65 million to the United Nations for construction of its headquarters in New York. The resolution provides for an immediate advance of $25 million by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation; this will enable the United Nations to start construction at an early date.

I am deeply gratified that the Congress has now completed action on this important measure.

At the opening of the General Assembly of the United Nations on October 23, 1946, in New York, I said:

"The overwhelming majority of the American people, regardless of party, support the United Nations.

"They are resolved that the United States, to the full limit of its strength, shall contribute to the establishment and maintenance of a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world."

The loan demonstrates our faith in the future of the United Nations and expresses the welcome which that organization finds within our country. Moreover, it is another example of the solidarity of the American

people in behalf of our national policy of strengthening the United Nations and the cause of world peace and security for which it stands.

NOTE: As enacted, the joint resolution is Public Law 903, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1286).

For the President's address at the opening of the United Nations General Assembly on October 23, 1946, see 1946 volume, this series, Item 236.

174 The President's News Conference of *August* 12, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. I have no statements for you today, but I will try my best to answer questions, if you have any.

[1.] Q. Mr. President, have you any observations to make on the record of the special session?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, my observations are that it was a kind of a poor result that we got.[1] I think more action could very well have been taken. There were instances when committees refused even to meet to hear the administration's views on the subjects on which we asked them to act. On those things that they did act upon, it didn't take them very long. I think it took 40 minutes to pass the appropriation for the—authorization for the United Nations loan; and it didn't take them very long to take the emasculated housing bill out, when they wanted to act. And the educational bill, and the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill—the housing bill that I asked for—were both in the same shape as the U.N. loan was. And I think they could have taken a great many more actions, very easily, and in just as short a time, if they had been so inclined.

Q. Would you say it was a "do-nothing" session, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I would say it was entirely a "do-nothing" session. I think that's a good name for the 80th Congress.

Q. Mr. President, will you hold Governor Dewey responsible for the record of the 80th Congress in the campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment on that.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, Congressman Mundt, commenting on your statement that the red investigation was nothing but a "red herring," [1] told a radio audience that he believed that the committee's work will make you eat your statement word by word.

THE PRESIDENT. General Eisenhower didn't think so. General Eisenhower didn't think so.

Q. You still think it's a "red herring," sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I do. The first—the strongest type you can smell.

[3.] Q. Can you tell us, sir, when Selective Service inductions will begin?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't been informed yet. The machinery hasn't been completely set up. I will let you know whenever the time is ready.

Q. Mr. President, you are considering permitting women to serve on draft boards, in some cases, as has been suggested?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't given it any consideration. There is no reason why they shouldn't.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, recently, the Immigration Service ordered the deportation of

[1] On August 12 the White House released a summary of action taken by the special session in response to the measures proposed by the President in his message of July 27 (see note to Item 165).

[1] See Item 170 [4].

24 nationals of Baltic countries who landed in Boston last month.

THE PRESIDENT. You are mistaken about that. They haven't been ordered to be deported, and every effort is being made to treat them just like those that landed down in Florida.[1] This is different from the one in Florida. And Congressman Kennedy of Boston introduced a bill to allow these people to stay. Of course, the Congress didn't get to act on it. The Attorney General and the Immigration Service are doing everything they possibly can to keep these people in the country.

Q. The problem is whether they will be allowed to stay in this country?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I can't answer that until we have all the facts. But there is no order of deportation being asked, and there won't be one in the immediate future.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us about your conference tonight with political leaders? I should say there is a report that you are conferring tonight with some party leaders.

THE PRESIDENT. I am conferring tonight with the Chairman of the National Committee and some of the men who are connected with the White House and the National Committee, and with Senator Barkley.

Q. That is tonight?

THE PRESIDENT. That is tonight, yes.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, are you going to North Carolina next week?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, will you comment on the decision of Maurice Tobin to accept the appointment as Secretary of Labor?

THE PRESIDENT. I am very happy that he accepted. He will make a good Secretary of Labor.

[8.] Q. Do you have any travel plans between now and Labor Day?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't.

Q. Do you expect to remain in town?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I will probably go out of town on the ship down the Potomac River for a few days at the end of next week, if everything holds together, and get a little sleep.

Q. Other than this cruise on the Potomac, do you plan anything?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. Mr. President, after September 1st, do you intend to go back to the Caribbean?

THE PRESIDENT. No. No, I do not.

Q. Will you go to Detroit, or isn't that known yet, on Labor Day?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not ready to make the announcement on that. It is being considered. I will make the announcement on it very shortly.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, some Republicans have charged that the increase in Federal Government payrolls since January has been about 15,000 monthly, due to election year. Do you have any comment on that, or is there any?

THE PRESIDENT. No. There is absolutely nothing to it. That increase was brought about, I think you will find, due to the European recovery program, and also I know of no appointments on that setup except those necessitated by Mr. Hoffman. I didn't make any of them, rest assured on that.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, do you know when Mr. Tobin is to take his oath?

THE PRESIDENT. He will be at the Cabinet meeting tomorrow at 10 o'clock, and I think he will take his oath immediately after that.

[11.] Q. Is it possible yet, Mr. President, to give any estimate of the progress or lack of progress on the Moscow talks?

THE PRESIDENT. No, it isn't.

[12.] Q. Can you tell us anything at all about your campaign plans, Mr. President?

[1] See 1946 volume, this series, Items 239 and 246.

THE PRESIDENT. No. When I get ready to release them, I will give them to you so as to give you plenty of time to pack your bags and everything.

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us why you might make a Labor Day appearance in Detroit rather than somewhere else? I mean, why—particularly being——

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I will answer that question when I decide to make the announcement that I am going to do it.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, is there a gentleman by the name of Alex M. Campbell about to be appointed Assistant Attorney General?

THE PRESIDENT. I hadn't heard about it.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, Senator Taft said it looks like prices are going to level off from now on. Do you agree with that?

THE PRESIDENT. I hope Mr. Taft is a good prophet. I don't agree with him.

Q. Do you think prices will level off soon then?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, let's wait and see. Your guess is as good as mine on that subject. It has been the case ever since price controls were taken off. I hear every week that prices are going to level off. They are leveling off at a little higher level every week.

Q. Do you think prices will come down under this anti-inflation bill?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I do not.

Q. Have you decided on the action you are going to take on the anti-inflation bill?

THE PRESIDENT. When it comes before me, I will let you know. It isn't on my desk as yet.

Q. What effect do you think the big crops will have, Mr. President, on prices?

THE PRESIDENT. A big crop will be a help in the food situation, a very decided help—I hope. But it will take some time for that to take effect. You see, these crops aren't even gathered yet, except the wheat crop. The corn crop is yet to be gathered, and it will be some time before we will know what effect that will have on the situation.

Q. Mr. President, what is the answer to those who say it is not consistent to have a program to support prices, and a program to reduce or control them?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know what their system of philosophy is. It isn't mine, you can rest assured on that.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You're welcome.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and fifty-third news conference was held in his office at the White House at 4 p.m. on Thursday, August 12, 1948.

175 Statement by the President: The Midyear Review of the Budget. *August* 15, 1948

INTRODUCTION

I am issuing today my regular midyear review of the Budget of the United States.

The Federal Budget expresses in dollar terms the policies and programs of our Government. This review sets forth the changes which have taken place in the Budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1949, since it was originally transmitted to the Congress last January. This review, therefore, gives the American people a factual report on the revised costs of these policies and programs and a reappraisal of our fiscal position. It reflects the effect upon the Budget of subsequent amendments which I have proposed, of actions taken by the Congress, and of changes in conditions both at home and

abroad.

The outstanding facts shown by this review are as follows:

1. Budget expenditures for the fiscal year 1949 are now estimated at $42.2 billion—substantially higher than was estimated in January—largely because of increases in the national defense program, increased benefits for veterans, and increased tax refunds.

2. The tax reduction enacted in April will cause receipts for the fiscal year 1949 to be substantially lower than was estimated in January. Budget receipts are now estimated at $40.7 billion.

3. As a result, an operating deficit of $1.5 billion is now anticipated for 1949, compared with the record surplus of $8.4 billion in 1948. This sharp reversal eliminates one of the principal forces that have been restraining further inflation.

4. The public debt was reduced by $6 billion in 1948. Present estimates indicate that no further reduction in the total debt will be possible in 1949.

5. As we look ahead it is clear that our national and international responsibilities make impossible any sharp reduction in Government expenditures in 1950—indeed it is likely that there will be some increase. It is plain, therefore, that the ill-timed tax reduction of last spring has left the Government facing a period of deficit financing.

PART I. SUMMARY

Budget receipts for the fiscal year 1949 are now estimated at $40.7 billion, $3.7 billion less than was estimated last January. This lower estimate of receipts reflects the impact of the Revenue Act of 1948. It assumes a continuation throughout the fiscal year of approximately the present level of incomes.

Budget expenditures are estimated at $42.2 billion, an increase of $2.6 billion above the estimate made in January.

On the basis of these estimates, an operating deficit of $1.5 billion for the fiscal year 1949 is indicated. However, the Economic Cooperation Act required the transfer of $3 billion of the 1948 surplus to pay part of the 1949 expenditures under that Act. This results in an adjusted surplus of $1.5 billion for 1949.

During the past 3 years I have repeatedly taken action to enforce sound and prudent management of our fiscal affairs, in order to curb inflationary pressures, to safeguard our financial position, and to permit reduction of the public debt.

Nevertheless, as we enter the fiscal year

TABLE 1. BUDGET TOTALS

[In millions]

			1949 estimated	
	1947 actual	1948 actual	Budget January 1948	Revision August 1948
Receipts [1]	$43,050	$44,486	$44,402	$40,658
Expenditures [1]	42,296	36,066	39,594	42,203
Surplus (+) or Deficit (—)	+754	+8,419	+4,808	—1,545
Adjustment for Foreign Economic Cooperation Trust Fund	.....	—3,000	.....	+3,000
Adjusted Surplus	.....	+5,419	.....	+1,455

[1] Budget receipts and expenditures in this review exclude payments into the Treasury by wholly-owned Government corporations for retirement of capital stock or for dividends. Such transactions, previously included in Budget totals, simply inflate both receipts and expenditures by equal amounts. They do not represent operating costs, nor do they affect the size of the Budget surplus or deficit.

1949 we can foresee only a "paper" surplus of $1.5 billion. This should be a sobering thought for all of us. Such a surplus—even if it were real, rather than produced merely by a bookkeeping shift from one year to another—would provide a financial margin far too small in view of present-day uncertainties and the necessity of reducing the debt during periods of prosperity.

In the message accompanying the 1949 Budget I stated that the Budget "demonstrates alike the heavy responsibilities of our international position and our concern for the maintenance of a sound domestic economy." I also pointed out that "our Budget must remain high until we have met our international responsibilities and can see the way clear to a peaceful and prosperous world."

Events of the past 6 months have added emphasis to these facts. We have been compelled to reexamine our requirements for national defense. At the same time, the Federal Government, like the private citizen, has had to meet rising prices. In an effort to keep benefits, services and salaries in step with the mounting cost of living, the Congress has enacted increases in veterans' pensions, other veterans' benefits, grants to States for public assistance, Federal salary scales, and other programs.

Events of the last 6 months have also emphasized that we cannot plan our fiscal policy on the basis of a single year only. Programs already authorized for the National Military Establishment will require a higher level of expenditures for the fiscal year 1950. Expenditures for the European recovery program will reach their peak in the same year. These increases cannot be met next year by the convenient bookkeeping device of a $3 billion transfer.

During the fiscal year 1948, the debt was reduced from $258 billion to $252 billion. On the basis of present estimates no further debt reduction can be achieved this year. Indeed, as long as the present fiscal outlook prevails, we may face an expanding debt—even in a period of high national income when financial prudence clearly would dictate continuing debt retirement.

It is possible that further inflationary developments may produce higher revenues than those now estimated—revenues might even rise above expenditures. Even if this should prove true, however, it is hardly sound fiscal policy to rely on inflation as a method of balancing the Budget.

To cut Government revenues in the face of expanding national and international requirements, and at a time of increasing inflationary pressures, was obviously a grave error.

Appropriations and other authorizations

In this review prospective Government outgo has so far been expressed in terms of estimated expenditures. It is also necessary to consider the appropriations and other authorizations enacted by the Congress, which permit Government agencies to incur obligations. Expenditures occur when obligations are paid; they do not necessarily coincide with Congressional authorizations in any given fiscal year.

The 80th Congress in its second session reduced annual definite appropriations, relating to both the fiscal years 1948 and 1949, by $2.7 billion below the amount which I submitted. For several reasons, however, this figure does not realistically reflect the results of Congressional actions. It relates to only one segment of the budgetary actions of the session. It ignores types of authorizations other than appropriations, such as loan and contract authorizations, which the Congress increased more than $1 billion over my recommendations. It does not allow, of course, for the supplemental appropriations

for 1949 which will be required before the close of the year.

A better perspective may be obtained from the following:

I submitted for the fiscal year 1949 specific requests for appropriations and other forms of authorizations totaling $36.3 billion. Congressional enactments to date, together with permanent appropriations, amount to $34.6 billion, or $1.7 billion less than requested. These Congressional reductions in authorizations will have to be restored for some items, such as veterans' allowances and postal expenditures. Furthermore, it will be necessary to provide appropriations to carry out several laws enacted by the Congress for which it made no financial provision—such as the increases in Federal employees' salaries and veterans' pensions. Finally, a number of programs, such as international aid, will require additional appropriations. In all, it is now estimated that it will be necessary later this year to request $3.6 billion as supplemental appropriations.

PART II. MAJOR CHANGES IN EXPENDITURES BY FUNCTION

Expenditures for the fiscal year 1949 are now expected to be $2.6 billion higher than they were in the January Budget.

Major changes in expenditure estimates since January include:

An enlarged national defense program, including expanded air strength and increases in military personnel, with added expenditures in 1949 of $1.1 billion. This takes into account a reduction of $400 million resulting from failure to enact a universal training program.

Higher readjustment benefits and pensions for veterans, which will increase expenditures for veterans' programs by $689 million.

Increased tax refunds amounting to $799

TABLE 2. BUDGET EXPENDITURES BY FUNCTION

[In millions]

Function	*1948 actual*	*1949 estimated*		
		Budget January 1948	*Revision August 1948*	*Net change*
National defense	$10,648	$11,025	$12,140	+$1,115
International affairs and finance	4,745	7,009	7,010	+1
Veterans' services and benefits	6,563	6,102	6,791	+689
Social welfare, health, and security	1,946	2,027	2,009	−18
Housing and community facilities	96	38	327	+289
Education and general research	73	387	86	−301
Agriculture and agricultural resources	687	838	868	+30
Natural resources	1,095	1,625	1,586	−39
Transportation and communication	1,269	1,646	1,835	+189
Finance, commerce, and industry	95	185	77	−108
Labor	97	116	98	−18
General government	1,390	1,157	1,187	+30
Interest on the public debt	5,211	5,250	5,300	+50
Refunds of receipts	2,309	1,990	2,789	+799
Reserve for contingencies	.....	200	100	−100
Adjustment to Daily Treasury Statement	−158	.....	.....	.....
Total Budget expenditures	36,066	39,594	42,203	+2,609

NOTE: Detailed figures do not necessarily add to totals due to rounding.

million, resulting chiefly from the new tax law.

Larger mortgage purchases, which will increase expenditures for housing and community facilities by $289 million.

There have also been some major reductions in the 1949 Budget since it was transmitted last January. In large measure, these result from the failure of the Congress to enact legislation which I have recommended, such as Federal aid to education, and for which estimates of expenditures were included in the January Budget.

The estimates of expenditures which follow are based not only on appropriations and authorizations already enacted, but also upon anticipated supplementals which it will be necessary to submit to the next session of the Congress.

National defense

Expenditures for national defense are now estimated at $12.1 billion for the fiscal year 1949, an increase of $1.1 billion above the January estimate and $1.5 billion above the amount spent in 1948. The increase since the Budget was transmitted in January reflects the initial impact upon Budget expenditures of the expanded military program enacted last spring.

Within the total of $12.1 billion in estimated expenditures for the national defense program, $4.8 billion, or 40 percent, will be spent for the pay and maintenance of military personnel.

Expenditures in other defense categories for fiscal 1949 are projected at an increased rate over 1948. Payments for aircraft procurement in 1949 will increase by $520 million to a total of $1.3 billion. Expenditures for procurement of ordnance and other equipment and supplies are also expected to rise. Payments for strategic materials for the stockpiling program are estimated to increase from $84 million in 1948 to $300 million this fiscal year.

Increased authorizations for 1949 will result in still higher expenditures in 1950. The trend of expenditures beyond 1949 is indicated by the fact that appropriations and contract authorizations enacted amount to $14.3 billion—including $2.9 billion made available late in the fiscal year 1948. This compares with my recommendation of $10.9 billion in the January Budget plus more than $3.8 billion of increased recommendations which I submitted during the spring to meet our changed security requirements in the light of world conditions. Thus there was a net reduction of $400 million below my recommended authorizations.

The Congress made certain revisions and changes in my recommendations, resulting in a net increase of $110 million. Increases of $880 million were authorized, above my recommendations, principally for aircraft procurement for the Air Force. New authority enacted for other military programs was $770 million less than I requested.

On the other hand, this review omits appropriations of $500 million tentatively included in the January estimates for the proposed universal training program, which was not enacted. However, a new program for training 161,000 18-year-old voluntary enlistees was enacted and authority granted to cover initial expenses from the appropriations already made for the National Military Establishment. Whether or not supplemental appropriations for this new program will be necessary can only be determined by later reviews of the military program.

International affairs and finance

Expenditures for international aid programs are now estimated at $7 billion, the same as in January. Actual expenditures in 1948 were $4.7 billion.

More than half of all international expenditures in the fiscal year 1949 will be required for aid to Europe under the Economic Cooperation Act. In January, expenditures for this program were estimated at $4 billion for 1949; they are now estimated at $3.8 billion. This downward revision results largely from the Congressional reduction of the initial appropriation by $245 million.

Expenditures for Greek-Turkish aid in 1949 are now projected at $385 million, $181 million above the January Budget, largely due to shipments and payments delayed from the fiscal year 1948.

Estimated expenditures for aid to China in 1949 have been revised upward, from $240 million to $359 million, to reflect the increased program enacted since last January.

Expenditures under the Army's program for relief and reconstruction in the occupied areas are now expected to total $1,280 million, a reduction of $70 million since January. This decline is mainly in the reconstruction portion of the program.

Although the Congress reduced the recommended authorization for the European aid program by $1.5 billion, it provided that on recommendation by the Economic Cooperation Administrator and with my approval, the funds appropriated could be fully obligated by April 2, 1949. To permit this program to go forward without interruption during the last quarter of the fiscal year, additional authority and appropriations will probably be necessary. I am therefore including in this review a tentative estimate of $1.5 billion for a supplemental appropriation. Its enactment will not have a significant effect on expenditures until the fiscal year 1950.

Veterans' services and benefits

Expenditures for veterans' programs for the fiscal year 1949 are now estimated at nearly $6.8 billion. This is an increase of $689 million over the January estimate and is $228 million more than was actually spent in the fiscal year 1948.

Nearly four-fifths of the expenditures will be direct cash payments in the form of pensions and readjustment benefits, including education and training benefits.

Expenditures for readjustment benefits are now estimated at $3.2 billion in fiscal 1949—nearly $600 million higher than in January. Most of the increase results from new laws providing increased subsistence allowances in the educational program and more liberal allowances for on-the-job trainees which will add expenditures of about $550 million. Furthermore, expenditures will be increased because of bigger enrollments in the education and job-training programs and higher per capita tuition costs. On the other hand, newly enacted limitations on avocational and recreational training will result in estimated savings of $100 million.

Expenditures for veterans' pensions, including subsistence allowances for disabled trainees, are now estimated at nearly $2.2 billion in fiscal 1949. New laws provide higher compensation for dependents of deceased veterans and for dependents of veterans with major disabilities. These will add an estimated $100 million of expenditures during the fiscal year 1949, and larger expenditures in future years.

Two other major revisions are also made in expenditure estimates for the veterans' program. Additional transfers to the National Service Life Insurance trust fund required by a revaluation of the Government's liabilities for war risk cases probably will require $200 million more than was estimated in January. The lag in construction of veterans' hospital and domiciliary facilities, however, results in an almost equal reduction in estimated expenditures for 1949.

Supplemental appropriations of $942 mil-

lion for veterans' programs are now anticipated for the remainder of the fiscal year 1949 to restore necessary amounts eliminated by the Congress and to cover the higher expenditures required by new laws and increased program needs.

Social welfare, health, and security

For the fiscal year 1949, expenditures for social welfare, health, and security are now estimated at $2 billion, approximately the same as in the January Budget.

The Budget estimates last January, however, included expenditures for putting into effect proposed legislation to provide a much more adequate program, with greater emphasis on contributory social insurance. Instead, the Congress enacted, over my vetoes, revisions which narrowed the coverage and thereby weakened the system of old-age and survivors' insurance.

Because the existing temporary provisions governing grants to States for public assistance were liberalized, the revised expenditure estimates assume a supplemental appropriation of $120 million to provide these larger grants in this fiscal year.

Estimated expenditures for transfers to the railroad retirement trust account do not include $175 million which would be required under present law during 1949 or 1950 to cover the military service credits earned by railroad employees. Good budgeting requires that this law be changed, so that these transfers may be made annually on the basis of claims actually approved as workers retire in the years ahead, rather than on a conjectural, lump-sum basis, estimated far in advance, as the law now requires.

Housing and community facilities

Expenditures for housing and community facilities in 1949, which were estimated at $38 million last January, are now estimated at $327 million. Purchases of guaranteed housing mortgages by the Federal National Mortgage Association (a subsidiary of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation) are expected to be roughly $300 million, partly to meet commitments to purchase mortgages insured by the Federal Housing Administration, and partly under new legislation authorizing purchases of mortgages guaranteed by the Veterans Administration. The actual amount of mortgage purchases will depend on developments in the housing and mortgage markets which cannot be accurately predicted now.

The Congress failed to enact major elements of the comprehensive housing program which I recommended and did not accept my recommendation to revive the authority of the Federal Works Agency to make advances to State and local governments for the planning of their public works. This reduces expenditure estimates by $44 million.

Education and general research

Expenditures for education and general research in fiscal 1949 are now estimated at $86 million—$301 million less than in the January Budget. This results primarily from Congressional failure to provide general assistance for elementary and secondary education. An estimated expenditure of $290 million was included for this program in the January Budget. The Congress also did not establish a national science foundation, which had been expected to spend $5 million this year.

Agriculture and agricultural resources

Programs to promote agriculture and conserve and develop our agricultural resources will require expenditures of $868 million in the fiscal year 1949, $30 million more than the January estimate.

The Congress enacted a more flexible price support program, such as I recommended,

but postponed its effective date. This postponement will result in increased expenditures during the fiscal year 1949 above those estimated in January. This increase will be offset, however, by larger repayments on commodity loans than were previously anticipated. Increases in prices paid by farmers during the past year and a half, coupled with decreases in prices received by farmers for some agricultural commodities, such as wheat, cotton and potatoes, have narrowed or eliminated the margin between market prices and minimum support levels. Under these circumstances, expenditure estimates in this field must be regarded as tentative.

Increased authorizations for Rural Electrification Administration loans, and higher conservation and use payments authorized for the 1949 crop year, will not materially affect expenditures until the fiscal year 1950.

Natural resources

The revised estimate of $1.6 billion for the conservation and development of our natural resources during the fiscal year 1949 is $39 million below the January estimate and $491 million above the 1948 level. Almost 90 percent of all expenditures for natural resources in 1949 will be devoted to atomic energy, flood control, reclamation and power.

Expenditures for the development and control of atomic energy are estimated to be $648 million, $26 million less than the January estimate. This change is the net effect of reductions in appropriations, offset in part by an acceleration of work already under way and expenditures for activities not anticipated in earlier estimates.

The Congress reduced appropriations on approximately one-third of the Corps of Engineers flood control projects under way and disallowed funds for five projects, but added funds to start 22 projects not in my recommendations. The net result will be to increase expenditures substantially during future years. Appropriations for the Bureau of Reclamation were reduced, thus delaying reclamation work in the great basin areas of the West. Expenditures for these two programs in 1949 will be $24 million below the January estimate.

The Congress reduced appropriations in numerous cases which will have the effect of delaying the production and transmission of power urgently needed to relieve present or anticipated shortages. It reduced appropriations for power features of a number of multiple-purpose flood control, river and harbor, and reclamation projects. The Congress denied the request of the Tennessee Valley Authority for $4 million to begin construction of a steam plant, although this plant is needed to assure an adequate and flexible power supply within the TVA system. In addition it denied all appropriations for new construction in the southwestern power transmission system.

Transportation and communication

A sharp rise in the postal deficit is the chief factor which increases Federal expenditures for transportation and communication activities $189 million above the January estimate. Expenditures for this group of activities are now estimated at $1.8 billion.

The postal deficit for the fiscal year 1949 is now estimated at $539 million, payable from the general fund. Last January this deficit was estimated at $321 million. The higher deficit is largely due to the fact that the cost of the pay raise recently enacted for Post Office employees will be only partly covered by the increase in postal rates provided in the same legislation. There have also been increases in the prices of materials and in transportation costs.

Changes in the outlook for road construction result in a reduction of $42 million

below the January estimate of expenditures for the Federal-aid highway program. Other transportation and communication programs show no significant changes in expenditure estimates for 1949.

A number of major additions to the January estimates of appropriations and authorizations have been enacted, which will not affect expenditures until the fiscal year 1950. The main increases are $470 million authorized for public roads in the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1948, and $65 million provided for Maritime Commission ship construction. As in the case of flood control, appropriations for existing rivers and harbors projects were held below my recommendations, but numerous new projects were added by the Congress which will result in higher expenditures in later years.

As part of the civil aviation program for 1949, considerable emphasis will continue to be placed upon the installation of airway and landing aids which will further improve safety and regularity of flight over the Federal airway system. While the Congress reduced recommended appropriations for the Civil Aeronautics Administration by some $57 million, the bulk of this reduction was offset by grants of contract authority; there will be no substantial change in estimated expenditures. The Federal airways program in 1949 will follow in general the outlines laid down in the report of the Radio Technical Commission for Aeronautics. In addition, an Air Navigation Development Board has been established to plan and coordinate research and development work required to achieve an all-weather air traffic control and navigation system suited to joint military and civil use.

Finance, commerce, and industry

Expenditures for Government programs affecting finance, commerce, and industry are now estimated at $77 million, a reduction of $108 million from the January estimate. Most of this amount had been included in the Budget to administer an adequate anti-inflation program, which was not enacted. Reduced estimates of Reconstruction Finance Corporation loans to business account for most of the remaining decrease.

Supplemental appropriations of $22 million will be required, principally to restore cuts made in funds for the census of business and to extend the rent control program.

Labor

Expenditures for labor programs are now estimated at $98 million, $18 million below the January Budget estimate. Of this decrease, $11 million results from reduced appropriations for the United States Employment Service and affiliated State employment services. Most of the remainder results from Congressional failure to approve authorizing legislation for an expanded industrial safety program in the Department of Labor and for the establishment of a national commission against discrimination in employment.

General government

The estimated total of expenditures for general government in fiscal 1949 is now $1.2 billion, $30 million above the January estimate, and $203 million below the 1948 total. The largest expenditures in the general government category are for collecting taxes, for disposing of surplus property and for the Government payment toward the civil service employees' retirement fund.

The reduction below 1948 is primarily due to reduced administrative expenses for disposing of surplus property, and to reduced interest payments by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation reflecting the cancellation of its war-created obligations to the Treasury.

The increase since January allows for some additions to the staff of the Bureau of In-

ternal Revenue, to improve the administration of the tax laws. It includes also an upward revision in estimated expenditures for the return of war dead.

Interest on the public debt

Interest payments on the public debt are now estimated to increase to $5.3 billion in the current fiscal year, or $50 million higher than anticipated in the January Budget.

Despite the reduction in the interest-bearing debt in 1948, interest payments will be $89 million higher in 1949 than in 1948. Accruals on savings bonds will continue to rise substantially as bonds purchased during the war approach maturity. In addition, short-term interest rates have increased, and there has been a gradual shift in the composition of the debt from low-interest obligations held by banks to higher rate securities held by government trust funds and non-bank investors.

Because some of these forces will continue to operate, the failure to achieve any debt reduction in fiscal 1949 will probably mean even higher interest payments in 1950.

Refunds of receipts

Expenditures to refund overpayments of taxes and other receipts are estimated at $2.8 billion. The estimate has been increased by $799 million since January, chiefly because the Revenue Act of 1948 will require refund payments of nearly $700 million. The 1948 experience indicates that corporation tax refunds also will run above the levels previously expected.

PART III. RECEIPTS FROM AND PAYMENTS TO THE PUBLIC

Receipts from the public during the fiscal year 1949 are now estimated at $44.1 billion and payments to the public at $42.7 billion. These totals include trust accounts as well as Budget accounts, but exclude all intragovernmental transactions. Accordingly, they show the flow of money between the Federal Government and the public.

The excess of cash receipts over cash payments in the fiscal year 1949 is now expected to be only $1.4 billion, compared with $7.1 billion estimated in the January Budget. This change reflects a combination of a decline of $4.2 billion in receipts and an increase of $1.5 billion in payments.

The excess of cash receipts arises largely from the accumulation of funds in the social security trust accounts during a period of full employment. This accumulation represents a reserve for future payments of old-age, unemployment, and similar benefits.

NOTE: Appended to the President's statement are tables revising tables 1, 3, 5, 11, and 14 of the Summary and Supporting Tables in the 1949 budget document.

176 Statement by the President Upon Signing Resolution "To Aid in Protecting the Nation's Economy Against Inflationary Pressures." *August* 16, 1948

I HAVE signed Senate Joint Resolution 157.

I have done so even though it is clear that the Congress in passing this law failed to meet its responsibility to the American people.

This bill represents the feeble response of the Congress to the demands of our people for strong, positive action to relieve us from the hardships of exorbitant prices and to protect us from the inflationary dangers

which threaten our prosperity. The failure to take adequate measures in this critical situation is final proof of the determination of the men who controlled the 80th Congress to follow a course which serves the ends of special privilege rather than the welfare of the whole Nation.

The record is clear.

I called the Congress together and laid before its Members the facts concerning the continuing increases in prices—facts already too well known to most of us. At the same time, I laid before them a comprehensive and specific program for dealing with inflation.

I proposed a balanced program that would protect all—not just the few. The excess profits tax would assure a government surplus and thus protect the public debt and the public credit. Allocations would assure fair distribution of scarce commodities and thus protect vital production. Price control would protect wage and salary earners, farmers, and all consumers. Credit controls would protect those who pay the penalty for inflationary expansion of credit—both borrowers and lenders.

The Congress said "no" to my program. They had no program of their own. They made excuses and called names and argued about who was to blame for inflation, but they did nothing effective to control it.

They passed a bill limited to one subject only—credit controls—which is but a tiny fraction of what we need. Then the Congress went home.

The Congress talked a lot about who is responsible for high prices. I think the record is clear on this, too. This question was answered by the Republican Whip in the Senate when he said, "It was the Republican leadership in the Senate and the House that was responsible for ending OPA."

But the important job which faced the 80th Congress was not to debate "Who killed price control?" It was not even to demonstrate the foolishness of those who argued 2 years ago that prices would "take care of themselves if only we would get rid of price control." The important task before the Congress was to halt the continuing spiral of inflation, no matter how it started.

The recommendation I have repeatedly made to the Congress since November 1947 is that we should take action to halt the course of inflation; not that we should hold a debate to settle the blame for it. I recommended methods that we knew would work. They worked in wartime when inflationary pressures were much greater than they are now. The chief difference is that controls now would need to be applied much less stringently and in many fewer places than during the war. This is true because a more adequate supply of goods is now available to meet the demands of consumers. During the war only about half of our national production was available for domestic civilian consumption. Now about 90 percent is available.

But the controls which are needed now, are needed badly. Prices are pulling away from the incomes of most of our people, and we are being forced to get along with less and less. Millions of housewives throughout the country are finding it impossible to pay today's high prices for the food and clothing their families need.

Unless inflation is checked, the situation will get even worse, and we shall invite economic collapse.

This is a situation that calls for firm action; and it calls for the right kind of action. There is a right way and a wrong way to deal with inflation.

The right way to fight inflation is to strike hard at the trouble spots which represent the excesses of inflation, and at the same time to help the people who are its victims. The measures I have proposed would do just

that. These measures would prevent some people from getting too much, and would help others to get enough. They would put our whole economy on an even keel, and thus would help everybody in the long run.

Then there is the wrong way to deal with inflation. That is to let the plain people bear the brunt of its burdens, while special interests reap the benefits of excessive prices. We have heard a lot lately from people who advocate this method.

These people say it would be inflationary to increase the pitifully inadequate benefits provided by our present social security laws. They say it would be inflationary to increase the minimum wage for people who earn only $16 a week. They say it would be inflationary to aid the States in providing adequate schools and decent salaries for teachers. They say it would be inflationary to develop urgently needed electric power. They say it would be inflationary to encourage decent low-rental housing.

But these same men who would protect us from inflation by sacrificing these urgent needs refuse to do anything about the excessive profits of giant corporations. They protest against the inflationary consequences which would follow if an aged couple trying to live on $39 a month were to have another $19.50 a month. But they did not protest against the inflationary consequences of reducing the taxes of a couple with a $100,000 income so that they would have another $16,725 a year to spend.

These same men say that we could put an end to inflation if we were willing to let wages fall behind prices, stop supporting farm prices, bring about a recession, and create large-scale unemployment.

I do not believe that we must sacrifice prosperity to overcome inflation.

I do not believe that we should fight inflation by putting the average American family through the wringer.

I do not believe that we should fight inflation by withholding aid from those who are suffering most from the skyrocketing cost of living.

I assert as a part of my basic philosophy that this Nation has the resources and the ingenuity to maintain good farm prices, good wages, full employment, and maximum production. This can be done if we have faith and act together. It cannot be done if we turn our backs on common problems and completely ignore the bitter lessons of our recent economic history.

Unfortunately for all of us, this Congress has failed to heed those lessons of the immediate past.

NOTE: As enacted, the joint resolution is Public Law 905, 80th Congress (62 Stat. 1291).

177 Statement by the President on the Improved Outlook for the Shipbuilding Industry. *August* 18, 1948

DURING the past few days we have seen the beginnings of fruition of many months of hard work on plans for a new shipbuilding program in the United States. With the end of the recent war, our vital shipbuilding industry began to dwindle until it became threatened with practical extinction. This situation was a matter of grave concern, particularly to those in the Government and the maritime industry who are responsible for the development and maintenance of balanced American-flag shipping services adequate for our trade and national defense.

We now have promise that the shipbuilding industry will flourish again, and that the skills possessed by its trained personnel will

not be lost to the industry. We have promise that the American Merchant Marine will be equipped with the number and types of vessels necessary for our international trade and our national security.

Last week the Maritime Commission awarded to the Bethlehem Steel Company a contract for the construction of two large passenger vessels for the Mediterranean service of American Export Lines. Today, the Commission awarded a contract to the New York Shipbuilding Corporation for the building of three combination passenger-cargo vessels for the round-the-world service of American President Lines. Furthermore, a very encouraging move has been made toward the construction of a superliner for the North Atlantic service of United States Lines, in the invitation issued by the Maritime Commission for bids for the building of the largest passenger vessel ever projected for construction in an American shipyard.

This shipbuilding program, which will provide work for thousands in the shipyards and subcontracting plants throughout the country now, and in the Merchant Marine later, is developing as the result of cooperation in the Government and between the Government and industry.

The postwar needs of the American Merchant Marine have been my concern for some time. I have caused studies to be made of these needs, and have urged the closest cooperation between the Maritime Commission and the National Defense Establishment to insure that our merchant shipping and national defense programs shall be closely integrated. Supplementary to my Budget Message, I asked that the Congress appropriate sufficient funds to provide for the vessel requirements of the Merchant Marine. Congress approved $94,000,000 in contract authorization for the Maritime Commission for the fiscal year 1949, and in addition extended the authority to use $84,000,000 in unobligated contract authorization for the fiscal year 1948 until September 30, 1948, making a total of $178,000,000 currently available.

The willingness of private steamship companies to match their capital with these Federal funds for the building of ships, as indicated during the past few days, is most encouraging. I hope that additional contracts can be placed. A Maritime Commission, Military and Industry Liaison Committee is now exploring the possibilities of extending the merchant ship construction program under the provisions of existing legislation which makes available to private companies construction-differential subsidies offsetting the higher costs of building ships in American yards as against building them in foreign yards. The efforts of this committee, and the continued cooperation of industry with the Government through the Maritime Commission, will assure us of an American Merchant Marine adequate for both trade and defense, as envisaged in the national maritime policy expressed in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936.

178 The President's News Conference of *August* 19, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. I have no statements for you this morning, but I will try to answer questions, if you have any.

[1.] Q. Mr. President, do you know where we can get a boat to——[*Laughter*].

THE PRESIDENT. Tony,[1] I see a great many boats down there on the wharf all tied up,

[1] Ernest B. Vaccaro of the Associated Press.

I thought you could hire one of those. Somebody told me that you were going to get Joe Grundy's yacht.

Q. We haven't had any luck, and we have scoured all the waterfronts.

THE PRESIDENT. I'm sorry. I wish I had one to give you, but I haven't.

Q. Have you got any Democratic friends with yachts?

THE PRESIDENT. The only Democratic friend I have who has a yacht is in it now, and down in the Caribbean somewhere, and that's Joe Davies.

Q. I understand he just started.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I understand that is so. I don't think he would let you have it, though, because it's too fine for you fellows to tear up. [*Laughter*]

[2.] Q. Mr. President, are you going into Miami to speak during the campaign, at the American Legion——

THE PRESIDENT. The decision has not yet been reached on that. I will let you know in plenty of time.

Q. Mr. President, there is a report out that you are going to Tennessee. Anything to it?

THE PRESIDENT. I will give you definite information on the places where I intend to go as soon as the itinerary is made up. No decision has been reached yet as to where I will go, except to Detroit.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us what progress, if any, has been made in Moscow on the four-power talks?

THE PRESIDENT. I can make no comment on that.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, what do you think of Governor Dewey personally?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I like him personally.

Q. Sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I like him personally. I have been with him on several occasions. We have had very pleasant relations.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, is it your idea that Federal Reserve should use its new powers over bank credit immediately?

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly. That is what the bill was passed for, and they will use them as promptly as they can arrange them. Those things can't be done in a minute. It takes time to work them out because there are 12 Federal Reserve banks in the country, and they all have to be unanimous on a thing of that sort. It takes some time to get things worked out, but it will be, just as promptly as it possibly can.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, a week or two ago you said that there was a good chance of an oil shortage on the east coast this winter. The oil industry now seems to think that there is plenty of supply.

THE PRESIDENT. I sincerely hope that the oil industry is right. I doubt it very much. It depends, of course, on whether we have a hard winter or not.

[7.] Q. What do you think of the actions of the Soviet schoolteachers in New York? [1]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that the actions of those teachers indicate that there are a lot of people who believe in the freedom of the individual, just as the whole United States does.

Q. Mr. President, will the same right of asylum be granted to any other Russian citizens placed in similar circumstances?

THE PRESIDENT. It always has been.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, your new Secretary of Labor, Mr. Tobin, yesterday in commenting on the Great Lakes strike situation,

[1] In August 1948 two Soviet schoolteachers, Mikhail I. Samarin and Mrs. Oksana Kosenkina, denounced the Soviet Union and asked for asylum in the United States. Mrs. Kosenkina was taken to the Soviet consulate in New York City and held there against her will. On August 12 she leaped from a third floor window of the consulate and was taken to a hospital in poor condition. She was dismissed from the hospital in November 1948, and she and Mr. Samarin were given asylum in the United States.

in which the NLRB has ruled against the hiring hall, said that he felt the Taft-Hartley Act should be repealed, on the ground that it would promote bootlegging and under-the-table dealing between labor and management. Do you have any comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I think I made it definite on that when I vetoed the Taft-Hartley Act. Covered it very thoroughly. And it is working out just as I stated it would work out in the veto message, if you will read it carefully. I am in agreement with the Secretary of Labor, or he is in agreement with me, whichever way you want to put it.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, is it true that agreement has been reached on a $100 million loan to Palestine?

THE PRESIDENT. It is under consideration. I do not know that any agreement has yet been reached.

Q. Is it also under consideration that American troops may be used in Palestine?

THE PRESIDENT. American troops will not be used in Palestine as American troops. We will make our contribution to the United Nations for any enforcement or police force that they may need, provided the United Nations and the rest of the members of the United Nations go along with us on the same basis. But no American troops as such will be sent to Palestine or any other place at the present time.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, will you tell us something about the ladies who are guests at your press conference today?

THE PRESIDENT. They happen to be Missourians who are friends of mine, and I just invited them to stay. All Democrats! [*Laughter*]

[11.] Q. Mr. President, is that $100 million loan under consideration in the Export-Import Bank, or could you tell us where?

THE PRESIDENT. It wouldn't be anywhere else. The Export-Import Bank is the one that would have to make the loan, and they have it under consideration.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, is there any change in status of the Baltic refugees in Boston who are——

THE PRESIDENT. No. I think I answered that as completely as I could at the last press conference,[1] or the one before that. Their status is just the same.

Q. In other words, you are still trying to find a way to keep them here?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, yes.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, is there any change in the dispute with Senator Ferguson as to what documents are available to Congress and what are not, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. The same documents are available to Congress as have always been available, and that is the employment file but not the confidential files. And the confidential files have been available to the FBI and to the loyalty boards, as they always have been ever since employees have been in the service of the Government and the FBI has been in existence. And those records, where there was anything of a criminal nature have been used by the grand jury and have been available to the grand jury all the time.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, Governor Dewey is reported as saying he thought the Italian colonies should be returned to Italy. What do you think about that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, under the Italian peace treaty, those colonies are under consideration now by the four powers: Russia, Britain, France, and the United States. And under that Italian treaty, if those four powers do not reach agreement by the time the Assembly meets in Paris, then the matter goes into the General Assembly for consideration. That is a United Nations and a four-

[1] Item 174 [4].

power treaty proposition, and cannot very well be handled politically in the United States.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, do you feel that the loyalty program as it has operated to date has added to—protected us against the infiltration——

THE PRESIDENT. I can say categorically that it has. All the things that have been presented to these committees have been FBI files and have been presented to the grand jury long before that. And the only two people who were in the Government employ who have been accused of disloyalty—which hasn't been proven on them by any means—have been placed on indefinite leave, before the committee ever started any hearings. It has had no bearing whatever on the loyalty of the Government employees that are now on the payroll.

Q. Then the program has been successful?

THE PRESIDENT. It has been very successful. It has been entirely successful, I might say.

Q. Mr. President, in your opinion, were any vital war secrets ever carried out of this Government during the war?

THE PRESIDENT. They were not.

Q. Is it true, Mr. President, that the Department of Justice is now preparing a proposed new statute on loyalty and espionage?

THE PRESIDENT. The Department of Justice for a long time has been working on such a statute, but it is a most difficult proposition under our form of government, and under freedom of speech and freedom of the press, to get a statute that does not infringe the Bill of Rights. And I am categorically opposed to any gestapo proposition that does infringe the Bill of Rights. That is the thing for which this Government stands, that is what we have been fighting for since 1776. We can't change our position at this late date. If you will go back and read the history of the alien and sedition laws, you will be surprised to find that it is almost the same—it was brought about by almost the same situation with which we have been faced now.

Q. Mr. President, do you consider these House hearings have infringed on the Bill of Rights in any way?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I do.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, is your family going with you to Michigan?

THE PRESIDENT. My daughter is. Mrs. Truman is in Colorado and won't be able to go. Margaret will go with me.

Reporter: Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. You are entirely welcome.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and fifty-fourth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 10:35 a.m. on Thursday, August 19, 1948.

179 Letter to the Attorney General Directing Him To Petition for an Injunction in the Maritime Labor Dispute. *August* 20, 1948

My dear Mr. Attorney General:

On August 17, 1948, by virtue of the authority vested in me by Section 206 of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, I issued Executive Order No. 9987, creating a Board of Inquiry to inquire into the issues involved in certain labor disputes between employers (or associations by which such employers are represented in collective bargaining conferences) who are (1) steamship companies or who are engaged as operators or agents for ships engaged in service from or to North Atlantic ports from Hampton Roads, Virginia, to Portland, Maine, or from

or to other ports of the United States or its Territories or possessions, (2) contracting stevedores, (3) contracting marine carpenters, or (4) other employers engaged in related or associated pier activities and certain of their employees represented by the International Longshoremen's Association (AFL).

On August 19, 1948, I received the Board's written report in the matter, in accordance with the provisions of Section 206 of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, and the Executive Order. A copy of that report is attached hereto.

As I stated in my Executive Order of August 17, 1948, in my opinion these disputes threaten to result in strikes or lockouts affecting a substantial part of the Maritime industry, an industry engaged in trade, commerce, transportation, transmission, or communication among the several States and with foreign nations, which strikes or lockouts, if permitted to occur, will imperil the national health and safety.

I therefore direct you, pursuant to the provisions of Section 208 of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, to petition in the name of the United States any district courts of the United States having jurisdiction of the parties, to enjoin such threatened strikes or lockouts, and for such other relief as may in your judgment be necessary or appropriate.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable Tom C. Clark, The Attorney General, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The report of the Board of Inquiry stated that the dispute over overtime payments had blocked negotiations and that agreement on other terms might be reached quickly if the overtime question could be resolved. The report was made public by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

On August 21 the Attorney General obtained a temporary restraining order in the District Court for the Eastern District of New York, and on August 24 an 80-day injunction was issued by the same court. The injunction was dissolved on November 9 and a strike followed. Settlement of the dispute was announced on November 25, 1948.

Executive Order 9987 is printed in title 3 of the Code of Federal Regulations (1943–1948 Comp., p. 725).

180 Proclamation 2806: Death of Charles Evans Hughes. *August* 28, 1948

By the President of the United States of America

A PROCLAMATION

To the People of the United States:

The Nation has lost one of its most preeminent elder sages. Charles Evans Hughes, who died at Osterville, Massachusetts, last night, will be counted in the long perspective of history not only as one of the most highly esteemed statesmen of our time, but indeed as among the most distinguished of the men who have devoted themselves to the public weal since the origin of our country.

Humanitarian understanding, exalted vision, and inspired judgment characterized the long career of Charles Evans Hughes, who served the people of New York State as Governor and the people of the Nation as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, as Secretary of State, and as Chief Justice of the United States.

The whole world needs and will continue to need statesmen and citizens capable of viewing the march of events objectively and adhering firmly to the reasonable and just. In view of that need, we should all long remember this superb example of a life dedi-

cated to reason and to justice in human affairs.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, HARRY S. TRUMAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby direct that the flag of the United States be flown at half mast on all Government buildings until after the funeral services for Charles Evans Hughes shall have been concluded, and I request the people of the United States to render every appropriate reverence to this great American, in their homes, their schools, their churches, and in other suitable places.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this twenty-eighth day of August in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and [SEAL] forty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventy-third.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

By the President:
G. C. MARSHALL
Secretary of State

181 The President's News Conference of *September* 2, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] It just now occurred to me, when my friend here mentioned it, that this happens to be V–J Day.[1] Just 3 years ago today the Japanese surrender was signed aboard the battleship *Missouri*. I had thought by this time we would have a settled and permanent peace, but we are still working at it, and eventually we will get it, I am sure.

[2.] We are issuing a health report today, on which I want to read you a statement which will be mimeographed and available for your use when this press conference is over.

[*Reading*] "In January of this year I asked Oscar Ewing, the Federal Security Administrator, to undertake a comprehensive study of the possibilities for raising the level of the Nation's health and to report to me feasible goals which might be realized in the next decade. The report of the Administrator, entitled 'The Nation's Health—A Ten Year Plan,' has now been transmitted to me.[1]

"This report is an impressive document, which describes where we are today with respect to the health of our people and the goals toward which we must move. The report recognizes the great advances that we have made in recent decades toward improving health and relieving suffering. It makes equally plain the additional progress we must make, and outlines a series of objectives which will be important guides for years to come to all who are working to improve the Nation's health.

"The report demonstrates that we now have, and will face for years to come, serious shortages of doctors, of dentists, of nurses, of hospitals, and other medical care facilities. These shortages, together with the fact that millions of our citizens cannot afford good medical care, are the principal obstacles

[1] Prior to the formal opening of the news conference, one of the reporters had mentioned that it was the third anniversary of V–J Day.

[1] The report is dated September 1948 (Government Printing Office, 186 pp.). For the President's letter of January 30 to the Administrator requesting him to undertake the study, see Item 16 above.

which must be overcome if we are to bring good health within the reach of everyone in this country.

"These facts further emphasize the need for the national health program which I have previously recommended to the Congress.[1] The program includes five major points."

I will take these rather slowly.

"1. Adequate public health services, including an expanded maternal and child health program.

"2. Additional medical research and medical education.

"3. More hospitals and more doctors—in every area of the country where they are needed.

"4. Insurance against the costs of medical care.

"5. Protection against loss of earnings during illness.

"I believe that Federal legislation in accordance with this program would carry us far toward the objectives stated in this report. However, more than Federal legislation is needed. State and local governments, medical schools of all types, hospitals, members of the medical professions and other interested groups, and citizens will all have to work together if we are to reach our objectives.

"For this reason I believe that the National Health Assembly, which met here last May, was an extremely important gathering. This assembly, consisting of more than 800 professional and community leaders, reached a wide area of agreement on the Nation's health needs and on ways and means of meeting them. Except for the recommendation for national health insurance, that assembly's conclusions support every major recommendation of this report. That assembly indorsed the principle of contributory insurance as the basic method for financing medical care for the large majority of our people, but took no position for or against national health insurance.

"No health program, of course, can stand alone and apart from the economic and social circumstances of our citizens as individuals and as families. Our boys and girls and men and women will gain and hold good health not only from a sound health program, as such, but from decent housing, from adequate nutrition, and from proper education. It is clear that only as we move forward with a broad program to benefit the well-being of all our people will we be able to achieve the kind of health of which this Nation is capable.

"The principal value of this report is that it outlines broad objectives and definite methods of achieving them. We *can* have more hospitals, more doctors, more dentists, more medical specialists of all kinds. We *can* provide better health care for all the people of our land. I heartily commend this report to every citizen who looks forward to these goals."

This report will be available for you in mimeographed form as soon as this conference is over.

Q. Mr. President, the report to which you refer was issued by the White House for release this afternoon at 6 o'clock?

THE PRESIDENT. Six o'clock, that is correct.

Q. Does a similar release apply to the statement, or may we put it out now?

THE PRESIDENT. It can be used now. Of course, it has to be released on schedule, but the statement can be used now. I am giving it to you now for that purpose.

Any questions?

[3.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with the V–J Day statement, I wonder if you would tell us, in the recent four-power conference, whether anything has developed to provide the basis for your hope for eventual peace?

[1] See 1945 volume, this series, Item 192; 1947 volume, Item 98.

THE PRESIDENT. I can't comment on that, but at a later date I think you will come to the conclusion that I know what I am talking about. I have no comment to make on the four-power meetings in Europe.

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us what the foundation for your optimism is?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't comment on that.

[4.] Q. Anything new, Mr. President, on campaign plans after the Labor Day trip?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that Mr. Ross announced that we will go to Des Moines on the 18th, and further plans will be announced when I get back from Detroit. They are not completed as yet, and we can't go any further than the starting point, which is Des Moines.

Q. Mr. President, do you expect a more cordial reception in the South than Mr. Wallace received?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, of course, I will receive a cordial reception, I am sure, wherever I go. Without comparisons, please.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, you made a very important statement, and I didn't hear the question. Is this correct: In your opening statement you said that you eventually hope for peace, and a gentleman asked you a question; and you said regardless of the fact that you are not saying anything now about the four-power conference, you still believe in eventual peace?

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct. Correct.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, are you going to Des Moines? I understood you were going to Dexter?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, that's right. It's about 18 miles east of Des Moines.

Q. Mr. President, you will go to Des Moines then, too?

THE PRESIDENT. I will go through Des Moines to go to Dexter.

Q. Will there be a stop in Des Moines?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that question until the details are arranged. You will be notified and well-informed in detail when I get back from Detroit.

Q. Mr. President, aside from any actual details, can you tell us approximately when you will go South?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I can't. No arrangements have been made.

Q. You do intend to go South, though, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I hope so.

Q. Mr. President, 6 days after you make 5 speeches in Michigan, Senator Homer Ferguson is up for reelection. I wonder if you are going to suggest during the speeches that Senator Ferguson be impeached by the voters? [1] [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. No comment on that. [*More laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, do you plan to speak in your home State during this campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, certainly.

Q. Will you close your campaign in Independence?

THE PRESIDENT. That is customary. I don't know whether it will be in Independence. Wherever it will be—somewhere in Missouri, I hope.

Q. Do you expect to speak in Chicago, Mr. President, during the campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I think eventually I will land in Chicago.

Q. Late or early in the campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. Can't answer that. I will give you details later.

Q. I think we were told at some time that you planned to speak both in Kansas City and St. Louis during the campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. That is the present plan. But then that is subject to change without notice. I will let you know the details as soon as we have them all worked out. It

[1] Senator Homer Ferguson served as Chairman of the Investigations Subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments which at the time was investigating Communist influence in the Government.

is a very difficult matter to work them out, because everybody wants you to stop at every whistlestop. That's what we want to do, if we can.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, are you prepared to announce the selection of the Air Judge Advocate?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I am not. That is under consideration. I am not ready to announce it yet.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, some of the whistlestops prefer not to be called whistle-stops——

THE PRESIDENT. Los Angeles and San Francisco and Seattle, for instance. [*Laughter*]

Q. Speaking of whistlestops, does that mean you will probably make most of your campaign by train, and probably not by plane?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that, but that is the present intention, of course, to go by train.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, Mr. Stassen charges that the administration is deliberately trying to keep food prices up. Is that correct, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. The Secretary of Agriculture will answer Mr. Stassen's statement in full, and it will be a complete answer. I noticed an article this afternoon in the Star,[1] in which it says $300 million have been expended to support crop prices, and it would imply that that had been done in the last year. It hasn't been done in the last year. If you will read the article carefully, you will find that it covers a 5- to 10-year period.

Q. Mr. President, don't you think that the crop support program is not a big factor in prices?

THE PRESIDENT. It is not.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, here is a hardy perennial.

[1] Washington Evening Star.

THE PRESIDENT. All right. Good.

Q. On the St. Lawrence power project, that it was cheaper to do it from the navigation channel? A formal application to that effect has come from New York authorities?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't approve it. I haven't seen it, but I will not approve it, I can say that to you definitely. The St. Lawrence project goes through as a whole or not at all, so far as I am concerned.

[11.] Q. Like the reply by the Secretary of Agriculture, are you having campaign charges answered by various experts in the way of protocol arrangements?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think that was a campaign charge, that was just a misstatement of facts, and I am having the facts put out to you to know.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, Governor Dewey said yesterday that cleaning the Communists out of Washington was a national job of great urgency, and one that should be tackled as soon as a Republican President could get it done. Any comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I think Mr. Dewey is mistaken about Communists in Government. There has been a program, ever since the war started, to see that disloyal people are not in Government, and very few disloyal people have been found in Government, and those few have been discharged long ago. I think Mr. Dewey's intention is to eliminate the Democrats from Government, not the Communists. [*Laughter*]

[13.] Q. Mr. President, will you go to upstate New York in your campaign trips?

THE PRESIDENT. The plans have not been completed as yet, and when the time comes for the announcement, I will let you know about that definitely. I can't answer the question now.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, some people have said that you must back down on your "red herring" characterization of the spy investigation?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not going to back down on that because it is a fact, and I will prove it before the campaign is over.

Q. It has been charged that you are protecting Communists.

THE PRESIDENT. Of course, that is just a lie out of the whole cloth, and you know it. I never protected Communists or any other disloyal people. You know, the spies that really caused us trouble during the war were not Russians. Russia was our ally. The spies were Germans and Japanese. I have never heard anything about a search for them. They were our enemies, if I remember correctly.

Q. That's a pretty good quote, "a lie out of the whole cloth." What about it?

THE PRESIDENT. Go ahead, quote it. It's true. It's also a plain lie. I never protected a disloyal person in my life.

Q. It's the quote which makes the statement.

THE PRESIDENT. Make it a quote. It's all right. You can use it.

Q. May we quote "just a plain lie"?

THE PRESIDENT. A lie out of the whole cloth, that's what it is, just a lie out of the whole cloth. I could give it an adjective, but you wouldn't print it. [*Laughter*]

[15.] Q. Mr. President, do you know of any crisis facing the United States on the domestic scene today?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't know of any serious crisis facing the United States on the domestic scene. I haven't been informed of one.

Q. Is that the first time in 8 years?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, I—no, I wouldn't say that. I wouldn't say that.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, I think you could get the adjective printed where no one else could. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, you know what it is.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, won't continually rising prices become a crisis?

THE PRESIDENT. They will be, eventually, if they keep on climbing. They can cause a serious crisis.

[18.] Q. Do you want to enlarge on what you have already said about the garbage thrown at Mr. Wallace in the South?

THE PRESIDENT. I made a statement on that through Mr. Ross which covers the situation completely, and that statement still stands.[1]

Q. Mr. President, do you plan to take any action on the west coast maritime lockout and the truck strike in New York?

THE PRESIDENT. Every action possible has been taken in that west coast strike. This is the end of the 80th day, and I have no emergency powers. There is nothing that can be done now in that strike. We have done everything possible and are still trying to settle it by negotiation.

Q. Mr. President, do you plan to appoint Mr. David Henderson as temporary judge of the western district of North Carolina?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that has already been done.

Q. I think there's a temporary appointment recommended for the interim—until the action on the Judge Warlick[2] nomination?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that, because I don't remember the details. I will hunt it up for you and see that you get it, if you are interested.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and fifty-fifth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 4:05 p.m., on Thursday, September 2, 1948.

[1] On August 31 the President issued a statement through his Press Secretary in which he denounced the hostile reception given to Henry A. Wallace, Progressive Party candidate for President. The President said that the rowdy behavior which greeted Mr. Wallace in North Carolina was "contrary to the American spirit of fair play."

[2] Wilson Warlick whose name was submitted to the Senate by the President on April 2 for confirmation as District Judge of the Western District of North Carolina.

182 Statement by the President: Labor Day. *September* 4, 1948

THE FOURTH Labor Day since the war affords us an opportunity to pay tribute to the achievements of American labor in the tremendous task of reconverting our economy to a peacetime basis.

The skill and energy of American workers have played a major part in the national effort which has resulted in today's all-time high records in employment, production, income, and profits.

Despite great stresses and strains, in general we have succeeded in working as a team. Labor, agriculture, and business have all worked to boost our national production and our standard of living.

Free collective bargaining and our free enterprise economy have proved their strength during these trying years and the production of American workers has helped to make our Nation the cornerstone in international efforts to bring about world recovery and prosperity and a lasting peace. American labor has never wavered in its support of our bipartisan effort to win peace by aiding other nations in their effort toward industrial recovery.

Our goal now is to continue to increase our production and our standard of living.

Equally important, we must improve the fairness of the distribution of the fruits of our labor.

Our American way of life is the best way of life in the world. But we can and must improve it. Some workers see their actual earnings reduced, despite pay increases, by the rising tide of inflation. We must act to end this economic dislocation. We must curb inflation before it leads us to economic disaster.

Some workers lack the protection of a decent minimum wage. We must relieve such injustice and increase the minimum wage level from 40 cents an hour to at least 75 cents an hour.

Too many workers lack the protection of adequate social security and a national health insurance program. We must provide this security for them.

All American workers lack the services which should and could be provided by an integrated Department of Labor provided with adequate staff and adequate funds. This situation must be remedied.

Finally, there is at present on the statute books a law which unfairly restricts labor unions and their members. It should be repealed.

Better legislation on labor-management relations is an absolute necessity in the program to increase our economic strength and to improve our national standard of living.

This year labor, always interested in good government, is making great efforts to get out the vote in November. It is to be hoped that every eligible voter—not just the customary minority of those eligible—will go to the polls and register an opinion on what course the United States should take in the days ahead. Then, the outcome will be the decision of all America.

Labor was in the forefront when our democracy was challenged on the battlefield and in the factory. We all know that labor will be in the forefront in meeting the challenge of today's peacetime problems to that same democracy.

183 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Michigan and Ohio. *September* 6, 1948

[1.] GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN (Rally, 9:10 a.m., e.d.t.)

My, what a wonderful crowd at 8:15 in the morning. I wonder what it would have been at 8:15 in the evening! I don't see how it could have been any greater. I am looking at three solid blocks of people spread out in three different directions from this square. It is remarkable. I never thought you could do it. It just goes to show that you are interested in the welfare of this great Nation, and that you want to hear some of the facts in connection with the coming campaign.

It is a great day for me. It is a great day for you. I am just starting on a campaign tour that is going to be a record for the President of the United States, and when I get through you are going to know the facts.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this welcome. It is a wonderful thing. It warms your heart—makes you feel like going out and making a fight for the people, when they turn out to see you like this.

I appreciate very much that key to the city which Acting Mayor Davis has given me, and I shall treasure it along with several more that I have. I appreciate it just as highly as I do the others. In fact, I have two keys to the city of Grand Rapids and that is a wonderful thing. That is the only city I have ever been in where I got two keys.

Your Mayor Welsh wrote to me that he was sorry he couldn't be present as he had to go abroad. He has been in to see me on several occasions with the mayors organization in the country and I have had some very pleasant talks with him.

This also is the hometown of my good friend and former colleague when I was in the Senate, Senator Arthur Vandenberg. The Senator and I have spent 10 years in the Senate. While we didn't always agree on domestic problems, I will say this to you, that Senator Arthur Vandenberg is intellectually honest and I like him.

I understand that there are three Congressional Medal of Honor men on this platform with me this morning. You know, that is a wonderful thing. That is a real record for one city, to have three Congressional Medal of Honor men. It was my privilege to hand the medals to these young men. They made wonderful records. If you haven't read those citations, I hope everyone of you will make it a point to read the citations which accompany these medals for these young men.

You know, that is the greatest honor that can come to any man. I have said it time and again, and I don't mind repeating it, that I would rather have that Congressional Medal of Honor than to be President of the United States. And I mean every word of it, and I know what I am talking about.

When the war ended there were some 12,500,000 young men and young women in the Armed Forces of the United States, and they were a cross section of the country, just as these three young men are a cross section of the country. I am not alarmed about the future of the United States as long as we have young men and young women like that.

Now these young men, and all those who were under arms when the war ended, were fighting for a principle. They were fighting for peace in the world, and they were fighting for the freedom of the individual.

We are still making that fight, and we are still making a fight for an honorable peace, and a just peace in the world. And I

am here to tell you we are going to get it before we get through.

The working people of this country have demonstrated time and again that they are devoted to freedom and to world peace. They had an essential part in winning this war. Organized labor has been a leading force in international cooperation. Working people are also interested in building a better United States of America.

For the most part, workers have the same kind of problems that everybody else has—high prices, housing, schools for their children. In recent years, labor has become strong enough to have real influence. This is a development that I am very happy to see. Some people are not.

In November you will have a chance to use your influence in a manner that will be the determination of your destiny for years to come.

Now the necessity that faces us is one of voting on November 2d. You must register, you must vote, if you expect to get a square deal in this great Nation. Doesn't do any good to talk about voting, if you are not on the books. Doesn't do any good to talk about voting, if you sit around on election day, too lazy to turn out. The interests of this great Nation are such that every man and woman of voting age in this country ought to turn out and vote on November 2d.

If you will do that, I am perfectly willing to abide by these results, because I know it will be right.

You just have two parties to choose from in this election: the Democratic Party which stands for the peace and the welfare of the people and the little man, and the Republican Party which stands for special interests.

The record proves conclusively that the Republican Party is controlled by special privilege; and that the Democratic Party is responsive to the needs of the people.

Let us look at some of the instances of how that works and what it means to you. One of the things that worries you is high prices. During the war we were able to control prices, keep them at a fairly reasonable level. We could help rising prices now. It would be just as easy as it was to do it during the war. But the Republican 80th Congress would not pass a price control law, although I recommended that they do that time and time again. As a result many of you and millions of other Americans are not able to buy the things you need, because prices are far higher than you can afford.

Another thing that troubles you in Grand Rapids is the housing shortage, and the shortage of school facilities. School facilities are short all over the Nation. Not only are we short in facilities, we are short in teachers and people to guide the young people through the lower grades in the schools. I tried every way within my power to get the Congress to do something about that. The Senate passed the bill. Most of the Democrats in the Senate voted for that bill, and some of the Republicans did. In the House that bill died along with the housing bill. I am told that within sound of my voice there are 62 veterans and their families with small children living in what was formerly a furniture factory, here in the heart of this city, subject to all the noise and confusion that goes on in a busy city.

There are other veterans in this community who are housed in temporary buildings with no early prospects of anything better. I have been doing everything within my power to get that Republican 80th Congress to pass a housing bill to help meet the housing shortage. But the real estate lobby did not want low-rent housing, and did not want slums replaced by decent housing. That real estate lobby is one of the most powerful lobbies that

ever came to Washington, and along later in this campaign I am going to tell you about a lot of other lobbies that came to Washington and got just what they wanted out of that 80th Congress—and the people didn't get a thing!

The housing bill passed the Senate in the 80th Congress and was voted out of the House committee by 11 Democrats and 3 Republicans against 13 Republicans on the other side. But the Republican leadership wouldn't even let the full membership of the House vote on that bill.

Finally the special session of Congress in July—after I had made things so hot for them; it looked for a while like we might get some action on that bill—still managed to kill it in the Rules Committee of the House. In fact, Senator Taft ran out on his own bill. You know, the bill in the first instance was called the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. That is the bill that passed the Senate and died in the House. Along came the 80th Congress in 1947 and it passed the bill again. This time it was called the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill—a slight change. But when it was time for that bill to be pushed through the House, the Republicans voted against it, and Senator Taft ran out on his own bill. I am sorry to say that.

The veteran who needs a home is not greatly interested in the quarrel between the Congress and the President. What he wants to know is if he is going to have a place to live. The record shows that the Democrats want to use the full power of Congress to help provide homes. The Republicans do not want to do that.

Now you make your choice. You are going to have a chance in November.

There are many other ways in which the Republicans have proved that they serve special privilege and the privileged few at the expense of the people. I am going to talk about them a lot in this campaign, and I hope you will learn all about them. The fact that we have had a Republican Congress for 2 years has at least given you a chance to see what they are like and what they will do.

I call it the worst Congress, except one, this country has ever had. Because I was in the White House, however, they didn't get to walk backwards quite as fast as they wanted to. They have interrupted the progress which we have made, though, since 1932. If you want to resume the progress to go on as we have been going on, under this administration that believes in the welfare of the whole people and not just in the welfare of the real estate lobbies and a few other great lobbies, you will send the Democrats back to power on November 2, 1948.

Thank you very much.

[2.] LANSING, MICHIGAN (Rear platform, 11:05 a.m.)

Governor Sigler, the citizens of Michigan, fellow Democrats:

It is a very, very great pleasure to me to see this turnout in Lansing at this time of day. I appreciate it most highly. I want to thank the Governor most cordially for his kind welcome to me. I appreciate it most highly. I have had the Governor at the White House, and I know he will be there several times again before I leave there.

We have had a wonderful day today. I opened the proceedings at Grand Rapids at 8:15 in the morning and it looked to me as if everybody in western Michigan was there. I think everyone in central Michigan is here.

You know we are facing a very important situation. We are celebrating Labor Day today, and it is going to be my privilege to address the combined labor organizations in Detroit at 12:30 this afternoon, a most momentous occasion.

I am starting out on a campaign for the Democratic election on November 2d, and I want you to bear in mind that the issues are very plainly drawn.

It is the people against the special interests—the people against the special interests. Bear that in mind. The people are made up mostly of those who work with their hands.

When the 80th Congress assembled in January 1947, I asked them to give me the opportunity to control prices. We had successfully controlled prices during the war and we could have successfully controlled prices during the peace, or the coming of the peace—awaiting the coming of the peace. And that peace is coming. All of you want it, and so do I.

I asked that 80th Congress to pass housing legislation, housing legislation which had been pending for 4 years. The bill known as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill had passed the Senate more than 4 years ago. I was in the Senate at that time and voted for that bill. It died in the House. In 1947 they introduced another bill called the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill—a slight change you will notice. That bill passed the Senate and it slumbered in the House Banking and Currency Committee until 3 Republicans joined 11 Democrats and outvoted 13 Republicans and voted that bill out. Then it went to the Rules Committee, and the Rules Committee sat on the bill. The House of Representatives never did get a chance to vote on it because the real estate lobby did not want them to vote on it.

Now we have got a situation, I am told, right here in Lansing, that is most horrible so far as veterans are concerned. I understand in your State College out here the veterans are sleeping three deep in a gymnasium, and that there was a time when your Republican City Council here in Lansing could have helped remedy that situation. They decided not to do it.

They are running true to form, my friends. They are running true to form.

We could have passed that Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill at this session of Congress if Mr. Taft himself had not run out on his own bill. He decided that the real estate lobby should be kowtowed to. That is one of the most powerful lobbies that has ever been in Washington.

Before this campaign is over I am going to tell you about a lot more lobbies, the lobby that got the rich man's tax bill through and several others I will talk to you about. You will find before I get through the day, just why the rich man's tax bill was passed. It was not passed for the benefit of the common, everyday man. It was passed for the special interests. I will tell you all about it before the day is over, but I don't want to make all of my speeches in one place.

I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for this hearty welcome, and for this wonderful turnout. I want to say to you again that I do appreciate most highly the courtesies of your Governor to the President of the United States. I appreciate the courtesies of all the Michiganders. They have been exceedingly kind to me in times past. I was here when I was running for Vice President of the United States in 1944. I did not stop at Lansing, but I was a speaker on the Labor Day program in 1944, and they estimated that there were 130,000 people out in Cadillac Square that day. I am told that if the sky doesn't leak this morning, there will be 300,000 here today.

One thing I want you to remember is that November 2d is election day. And it doesn't do any good to vote if you are not registered on the books. I want to see every man who labors get his friends out and get them on the books and when election day comes, go and vote. Don't sit at home—don't sit at home. If you really have the welfare of this country at heart, and want

to prevent the country from being turned over to special privilege, you must vote on November 2d. That is the most important thing with which you are faced now. That is the most important thing that this country is faced with, to see that everybody in this country expresses his sentiments.

When they do that, I shall be perfectly satisfied with the result. I know what that result will be.

I want to thank you again for all the courtesies you have extended to me. I appreciate this welcome.

Thank you very much.

[3.] DETROIT, MICHIGAN (Address in Cadillac Square at 1:40 p.m., see Item 184)

[4.] HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN (2:45 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, citizens of Hamtramck:

It certainly is a pleasure and a surprise to me to come out here today. I didn't know this was on the route. I am glad it was. The Mayor tells me that this is the greatest Democratic city in the world. Now he said "the U.S." when he introduced me. He took in a little more territory when he was talking to me. I understand that you are 97 percent Democratic. Now I wonder what's the matter with that other 3 percent? See what you can do about that in November.

Today I initiated the campaign for reelection, in Grand Rapids, in Lansing, in Detroit, here, and I shall go to Pontiac and Flint, and by that time I think the Republicans will understand that I don't believe they have done much for labor.

As you know, back in the fall of 1946 they put out a slogan that they needed a change.

Well, on January 1st you got your change. As I told the people downtown, they gave themselves a tax cut, and they cut your freedom.

Now, if you return them again this fall, you will get just what is coming to you, and I don't think you are going to return them. I don't see how you can.

I want to thank you very much for this pleasure, for the honor that you have paid me here today on such short notice. And I want you to see what you can do about that other 3 percent this fall.

Thank you very much.

[5.] PONTIAC, MICHIGAN (Oakland Park, 4 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

I am happy to join you in celebrating labor's holiday and I want to say that I am highly complimented and very much pleased that your broadcasting company was willing to interrupt the ball game to broadcast what I am going to say here this afternoon. It is very kind of them. I know there are plenty of people who would much rather hear the ball game than hear me.

As I have visited the great Labor Day celebration, I thought of the gains that labor has made in this country in recent years. You know it made tremendous gains from 1932 until 1947. Labor's gains have strengthened our democracy and increased the prosperity of the whole Nation. Whenever labor does well, of course the whole country does well. There never was a time in the history of the country when everybody and every segment of the population has been more prosperous, and that is because everybody is receiving his fair share of the national income. And that is the way it ought to be. It is possible to say that the gains are protected. We have only to look back to 1932 and realize how much things have improved for the wage earner.

In 1932 we were in the worst depression in history. Labor was bearing the brunt of it, as it does in every depression. During the last 16 years the Democratic administration managed to bring about a great improvement. People can get jobs now at decent wages, and there are more jobs than there are people to take them, for the first time that I can ever remember—and I am 64 years old.

As labor has prospered under Democratic administration the rest of the country has prospered at that same time. Farm incomes have increased. Farmers are making more money than they ever did in the history of the world. American farmers are in better condition than they have ever been in history. Business profits have increased tremendously. Corporation profits in 1947 were the greatest in the history of the country, after taxes. Our whole economy is busy turning out things which we need. All this didn't come about by accident. The Democratic Government took positive action instead of waiting for prosperity to come around the corner. You know the laws that were passed. This is the time when you ought to think carefully of how much they have meant to you and to all of us.

Let me remind you of just a few of them. The Wagner Act, which gave national protection to collective bargaining.

The Home Owners' Loan Act which saved millions of homes from foreclosure.

The Federal Deposit Insurance Act to protect banking deposits. There has not been a single loss to a depositor in a bank in 3 years. That is the greatest record in the history of the country.

The Fair Labor Standards Act which established a minimum wage and prohibited child labor.

Social security laws which provided protection for those who needed it most.

The list is longer than that, but I haven't got time to go over that whole list here this afternoon. I could go over it, but I think I will do that at a later date.

This is the kind of record the Democratic Party has made in the last 16 years, and in the face of that some Republicans are trying to tell us that the Democrats could be turned out of office and should be turned out of office, because it's time for a change.

That is the silliest thing I ever heard of. I never heard of a sillier remark than that.

I want to draw you a comparison. Years ago you used to make buggies and wagons in this town. Then you began to make automobiles. You have been making automobiles for over 40 years. Just because you have been making automobiles for 40 years, that is no reason to stop making automobiles and go back to making buggies. It will be just as sensible for you to do that as to turn out the Democrats who have done the most for you in your history.

One kind of change we do need. We need a change that will make it possible for us to resume the progress that was interrupted by the election of that Republican 80th Congress in 1946.

In 1946 we got what we might call a half a change, which turned out very badly—turned out very badly indeed.

I have been saying all over the United States that that 80th Republican Congress is the second worst one in the history of the country, and they haven't been able to disprove that statement.

The "half-a-change" Republican Congress passed a law that weakened labor unions. They have taken social security benefits away from more than 700,000 people. They have given tax relief to the rich at the expense of the poor. They have passed a rich man's tax law, which I am going to analyze for you some of these days, and you will be astonished.

What that Congress refused to do is a

much longer list than what they did do to you. They refused to pass a law to control prices. They refused to provide adequate housing, though they have had a housing bill—a good one—pending in the Congress more than 4 years. They killed it this time. They called it the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. Before, the old bill was the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. You see, they changed it around a little bit. Mr. Taft ran out on his own bill. They couldn't pass it this time.

They refused to provide aid for education. In several messages I suggested that our educational situation is in the doldrums, that the education of the grades is in a condition that is going to cause us serious trouble in the next generation if we don't do something about it. Teachers are overworked—they are underpaid. There are not adequate facilities, and there are teachers who are teaching as many as 55 to 75 pupils when 25 to 30 is about as many as any one teacher can handle; and they are the poorest paid people in the country.

They had a good educational bill that passed the Senate, and that same House that killed the housing bill for the real estate lobby, killed that educational assistance bill in the House of Representatives.

We ought to do something about that when you elect Congressmen this year. You ought to see that you get Congressmen this time that are interested in the welfare of the people and not in the interests of the lobbyists.

It has refused to increase the pitifully inadequate social security benefits that millions of old people and widows and orphans depend upon. They increased their own pay but they couldn't increase the social security benefits of those people who really need it.

That is only a part of the list, but that gives you a general idea of what the Republican Congress did to you. That is just a sample of what they would do if they had a Republican President who would go along with a Republican Congress.

You know, they didn't get to go half as far back as they wanted to go, because I wouldn't let them. I stood there with the veto and knocked them down every time I got a chance. I think I have the greatest veto record in the history of Congress except Grover Cleveland.

The kind of change we need now is one that will put us back on the road to progress. We don't want to complete the change that threw us all off the road after the end of 1946. We don't want to get completely turned around to start backward down the road toward another depression. We don't want to go back to making buggies in Pontiac. We want to go on making cars, and cars that will sell.

What we need is a change—now listen to this—what we need to change is that Republican majority in the Congress.

The thing which is really important in this campaign is to get out and vote. A light vote favors the Republicans. You know, they have got out a pamphlet to their workers in which they urge their workers not to get out the vote. They say a heavy vote helps the Democrats and a light vote helps the Republicans. Now bear that in mind.

This election makes a lot of difference to you. Among other things, it might make the difference between whether you have a job 2 years from now or not.

Just remember that, on election day, and I think you will agree that it will be worth your while to go to the polls and vote. If you don't go to the polls and vote, and if you don't help get out that vote on election day, and you get a continuation of this

Taft-Hartley backward-looking Congress, you will have just exactly what is coming to you.

You didn't go out and vote in 1946—and look what you've got. Look what this country got!

I am urging you with everything I have, on November 2d: do your duty. If you are not registered, see that you get there to register.

If all the people in this country who are entitled to vote, do vote, I will be completely satisfied with the result, and I won't have to worry about another 80th backward-looking Congress—and I won't have to worry about moving out of the White House.

[6.] FLINT, MICHIGAN (Flint Park, 7:15 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, members of the American Federation of Labor, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, visitors and guests:

It is a very great privilege for me today to have had this opportunity to wind up my trip in Michigan before this magnificent crowd. As I came up here from the station, I thought everybody in Flint was on the street. I was very much mistaken. Only about half the people of Flint were on the street, and thirty or forty thousand out here.

It is a wonderful crowd. I don't see how you do it. I think, though, the reason you do it is because you are celebrating Labor Day.

While we are celebrating Labor Day I would like to recall labor's contribution to the winning of the great war, and I know something about it. I spent most of my time during the war while I was in the United States Senate going into the contributions which labor and industry made toward winning that war.

No one made a contribution greater than in the industrial cities of Michigan, and I know that, for I was on the ground and on the spot, and I visited those places and looked through several of your factories during the war.

I have been invited today and have spoken at five Labor Day celebrations here in Michigan, and I thought at every single one of them I had seen at least half the population of Michigan, but the population of Michigan grew as I went along. It makes me feel good. I think it means that the working people feel that I am their friend. The workers are satisfied with what I have been doing in Washington. I know absolutely that I am on the right track. If the working people of the country are well off, whether they work in factories or on the farm, in offices or in stores, the country will get along all right. I don't think there has ever been a time in the history of this country when all the inhabitants have had as fair a share of the national income of the country as they are getting now, or were getting up until this Republican 80th Congress tried to take some of it away from you.

You know, the Republican 80th Congress does not believe that. They believe in helping the wealthy people and the big corporations—and some of the benefits will trickle down the line to take care of the rest of us. They have always believed that. That is their philosophy—doesn't work out that way, as you all know. Most of us have seen complete proof of that in our own lifetime. We saw a depression that resulted from the "help the rich" policies of the 1920's. We have also seen recovery and prosperity that came when the Democrats changed the course of things in 1933.

The people in control of the National Republican Party today are just like the ones who controlled it in 1920. They gave ample proof of that during that "do-nothing" 80th Congress.

At their convention in Philadelphia they

adopted a platform that was full of double talk—didn't say much; but it did represent some improvement over the way they had been acting in Congress. And, you know, I sent them message after message, begging them to implement some of the things they had said they were going to do in the 1944 platform.

When they wrote that 1948 platform, after they had done absolutely nothing for the benefit of the country, I called them back into special session to see whether they meant what they said in that platform. And they didn't! They not only didn't mean to do what they promised in that platform, but they said it was impossible to do it until they had complete control of the Government. If there ever was a piece of poppycock, that is it.

There are a great many fine people in the Republican Party but they had been disillusioned by the actions of this "do-nothing" 80th Congress, and by the actions of their convention in Philadelphia.

The 80th Congress' failure to act on the measures I have recommended is serious. It is not only serious. It is inexcusable. They failed to act on bills to control prices, to provide adequate housing, aid to education, and to increase social security benefits. But they were willing and able to pass a repressive labor law, and a rich man's tax bill. Congress not only failed to pass a law to control prices, they actually passed laws that made prices go higher. They passed that so-called tax reduction bill. They thought that would be good politics. I knew it would be bad for the country and I vetoed it; and they had to pass it three times before it was gotten through. The last, it was not quite so bad as the last two, but it was bad enough.

I thought we ought to pay off some of our war debts, and I still think so. I thought the tax bill would make these prices even higher. That is exactly what it has done. The tax bill did not do you any good. If you get $60 a week, taxes were reduced $1.50 a week, but since May when the $1.50 began to show up in your pay envelope, prices had gone up so much that that $1.50 is already wiped out, and another $1.50 with it.

The rich man fares a little better under the tax bill. If he has an income of $100,000 a year, he and his wife got a tax cut of $16,725 a year. Of course, prices haven't gone up for him any more than they have gone up for you, so he has a tremendously big gain in his income.

Is it any wonder that we call this a rich man's tax bill?

The Republican National Committee thought it was and undertook to collect.

I want to read you something here that is just as interesting as it can be—I don't think I have ever seen anything as interesting. Now this is called "The Republican News." It gives the editors and the associate editors—it is the official publication of the Republican Party—it is published on Connecticut Avenue in Washington, D.C., as the official Republican mouthpiece. Now I want to read you something because it is very enlightening. It is exceedingly enlightening, and it is terrible for the country.

Here it is: "Don't Throw Peanuts to the Elephant!" [*Laughter*] Wait a minute—you will find out what that "peanuts" means. Take a look at the table below: "Many of our friends feel that, entirely apart from other important considerations, the least they can do to express their appreciation is to contribute a substantial part of their tax savings for this year to insure the reelection of the Congress which made this possible."

That is the terrible 80th Congress they are talking about that didn't do anything for the country.

Now this is the savings of a family of four under the tax plan: net income $2,500; pres-

ent tax $95; new tax $16.60. That is a saving of $78.40, and the implication is that they ought to give that $78.40 to the Republican National Committee.

Then it goes on down and gives $5,000, on which is a saving of $157.40; $10,000, on which there is a saving of $501.04. Then it gives $15,000 on which there is a saving of $1,126.50; $25,000 on which there is a saving of $3,045.66; and $50,000, it says there is a saving of $7,533.08.

Just take those fellows with $25,000 or $50,000 or $100,000—I don't think many of them have four children—they expect those birds to turn those savings into the Republican National Committee.

It says: "Enclosed is my contribution. Please send me items checked: The Republican News for duration of the campaign; the 'Republican Fact Book,' a Party 'almanac'; the booklet 'There Is No Other Vehicle.'"

This is the Republican Party that has been taking things away from the public. I think that is one of the most outrageous things I ever heard. They are crying over here in another column because labor has decided to contribute a dollar a head if they can afford it. That is to pay the expenses of the Democratic Party for such broadcasts as this I am putting on now, for traveling and radio broadcasting of the National Committee of the Democratic Party. And they say that is outrageous that labor has contributed a dollar! Perfectly all right for some fellow who has had his taxes cut from, say $16,000 to $7,000, to put the $9,000 into the Republican campaign fund. That is a bay horse of a different color. Just bear that in mind. That is the most outrageous thing we have had in this country, and I don't know, I think that it is plain, outright bribery.

Instead of passing a tax bill that is helping only the rich, the Republican Congress could have passed an anti-inflation program that would have helped everybody. That is what I tried to get them to do. That is the reason I called back this Congress, after they had passed that platform up in Philadelphia. I called them back and pleaded with them to do something about inflation. But they did nothing at all, they got mad and went home, and said I was to blame for it.

The real way to happiness and prosperity in this country is to see that everybody is fairly treated. The man or woman who works for wages or for a salary ought to be paid enough to get a fair share of the things that the country produces. That is exactly what the Democrats have been working for since 1932. They ought not to have it taken away from them by excessive prices.

The farmer ought to get his fair share, a fair price for his crops. Don't let anybody tell you that farm prices are an excuse for inflation. That is not true. Before this campaign is over I will prove it. You will hear from me time and again on that subject. I will prove to you that the spread between what the farmer gets and what you have to pay is going into somebody's pockets who is profiting by this tax bill. No doubt about that—and I will prove it.

This is an election year. I suppose you all know it. If you don't, I'm telling you about it right now.

The choice is between Republican Government on the 80th Congress pattern and a Democratic Government which has done more for labor and more for the farmers, and more for the welfare of the country than any party in the history of the world. I say that advisedly.

All labor stands at the crossroads today. You can select your reactionary administration and go into an era of fear. You can elect a Democratic administration which stands ready to play fair with every element of American life, and enter a period of new

hope. And that is what I am asking you to do. A Republican Government will take you back to the policies which led to the disaster of the 1920's. The 80th Congress has proved that the same kind of thinking still controls the Republican Party. I gave them a lot of chances to prove that that was not so. They have proved it absolutely to my satisfaction, and when I get through with this campaign, it will be to your satisfaction, too.

And I know, I think, what you are going to do. You can expect a Democratic Government to go ahead with the same kind of policies that proved so successful in 1933 until the time when they began to be blocked by the Republicans in the Congress 2 years ago.

Don't let them turn the clock back—don't let them turn that clock back. You can't afford it!

You can't afford to go back to the "boom and bust" period that the Republicans would like to have. You just can't afford to do that. The way to prevent that is for all of you to turn out on election day, turn out and register so as to get your name on the books. Then on the 2d of November go to the polls and vote, and I want to say to you, if all of you go to the polls and vote, as I hope you will, I won't have any worries about moving out of the White House, and we won't have another 80th Congress.

[7.] TOLEDO, OHIO (Rear platform, 11:55 p.m.)

It is a very great pleasure to me to have the opportunity to stop here in Toledo tonight. I didn't expect to see that half the population of northwest Ohio would be here. It looks as if it is. In every city I have been to in Michigan today, I thought I would see half the population of the State of Michigan, yet it never stopped growing in population all day long. I don't know what these people will say about the crowds. You know, when I made the trip across the country, on an inspection tour to see how things were going—a nonpolitical trip, if you remember, one of these great magazines took a picture of a soldier facing a vacant lot and said that was the kind of reception I got. There never was a crowd much less than this at any place where I stopped.

I think people want to see what the President of the United States looks like, and I think they are vitally interested in finding out what the President of the United States stands for.

You see, it is most difficult to get the facts and the truth to the public under present conditions, and I am not saying that in a critical manner at all. I am merely telling you what are facts.

Now, before this campaign is over, I expect to visit every whistlestop in the United States. You remember, on that western trip, I went to Omaha, Cheyenne, Wyo., various towns in Idaho, Butte, Mont., and Spokane, Wash., Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, and Albuquerque, N. Mex., and stopped in Columbus, Ohio, too, on the way back. And the Senior Senator from Ohio said I was stopping at every whistlestop.

Well, Toledo is right in that same class. If all the rest of these cities are whistlestops, so is Toledo. And I don't think we class Toledo as a whistlestop, what I know about it.

In fact, I wonder just how the Toledo ball team stands? [*Laughter*] You see, Kansas City is a suburb of my hometown at home, and Kansas City is in that same American Association, too.

I have appeared before six Labor Day audiences in Michigan today, and I am glad to finish up today in this great State of Ohio. This may be the end of Labor Day,

but I am just beginning the most important labor of my life. I am going to make the most important campaign that this country has witnessed since the Lincoln-Douglas debates. I intend to cover the length and breadth of this land, and take to the American people a message of the utmost significance. I am going to tell you the facts.

The message concerns November 2d. The question before you people is whether you want to go forward with the Democratic Party, or whether you want to go back to the past, go back to the horse and buggy days of the Republican Party.

I stopped in Pontiac today, and you know Pontiac—a city where they used to make buggies and wagons. They have been making automobiles up there for about 40 years. And I asked them if they wanted to make that sort of a change, if they would like to go back to making buggies and wagons in an automobile and airplane age. They didn't want to do that.

These are not just words. Let me give you two vital illustrations of what I mean.

Most of you people are working people, just as I have been all my life. I have had to work for everything I ever received. I never went into a political campaign in my life that I didn't have a fight to obtain what I thought was real and for the benefit of the people.

I have only been defeated once and that was for township committeeman in Washington Township in Missouri, back in 1912.

It does you a lot of good, sometimes, to understand just exactly what defeat means. In 1940 I had the bitterest campaign for reelection to the United States Senate that I think any man had in the history of this country. I had every newspaper in the State against me, the Governor of the State and his organization was against me, and at 11 o'clock that night, all the radio broadcasters and the papers said that I was defeated by 11,000 votes. I went to bed, got up next morning and found out I had been nominated, which was equivalent to election by more than 8,000 votes. I knew just exactly what it feels like to be defeated for major office.

I don't want to have that experience this time. I would like to go to bed elected on November 2d.

The Republican 80th Congress has struck you people deadly blows in each of the major fields. You are interested in security, good wages, and in the prices you are paying to support your family.

The Taft-Hartley Act was passed by the Republican Congress for the sole purpose of making it harder for organized labor to bargain for better wages and better living conditions. It was done with that express purpose in view. I vetoed that bill, and I set out in that veto just exactly what I thought the final result would be. And labor is just now beginning to feel the effects of that Taft-Hartley law.

Big business was getting worried about the strength of the organization of the people who work with their hands. The Republican Congress, that 80th "do-nothing" Republican Congress, joined with big business at the top to weaken organized labor.

What is more, it is just the opening gun in the Republican plan to go back to the days when big business held the upper hand and forced the workingman to take only what they wanted to give him. I can remember that day very well—remember the Colorado Fuel and Iron strike, the Homestead strike, and a lot of other things. I was a little bit of a boy when the Pullman strike took place. Those were historical events, and some of these people would like to turn the clock back just that far.

And if you people on November 2d do not exercise your God-given duty to go to the polls and vote, if you do not get yourselves

on the books where registration is required, and you get what you got in 1946 by staying at home, you will deserve everything you get; and I won't be a bit sorry, for I will be at home enjoying myself.

I think you will find that the vast majority of labor is going to vote for me. Labor knows which side its bread is buttered on. Labor knows what is best for the country. And the best thing for the country is to go forward with the Democratic administration, and not go backward into the past with a lot of backward-looking Republicans who want to get control of this country for their own selfish interests.

Look at the tax bill they passed—the rich man's tax bill, the tax bill that helped the rich and hurt the poor.

Then what did they do about prices? You know, my sympathies are all with the mothers and wives of this country who have to buy books for the children, clothes at outrageous prices. I don't see how they do it. I just wonder how they do it. But they do manage it, some way.

I tried to get that 80th Republican "do-nothing" Congress to give you some help on that, and I couldn't get it done. In fact, they went to Philadelphia, after they had adjourned, after I had sent them message after message on what I thought would be the best thing for the welfare of the country. They went to Philadelphia and passed a platform in which they said they wanted to do all the things that I had been asking them to do for a year and a half!

I never was as exasperated in my life as when I read that cynical platform. I called them back into session, and they didn't do one single thing.

You know what they said? They said that platform was made to run on, and if they took any action on it at all, they would take it in 1949, after they had elected a Republican President.

Now, do you believe that? Do you believe that?

You know very well that they will do just exactly what they did with the 80th "do-nothing" Congress. They will turn the clock off a few hours farther back than it is now.

Remember, then, November 2d is the day. I want to say to you that if everybody who is entitled to cast his ballot on that day casts it, I will be entirely satisfied with the result, for I can assure you that we will have a Congress that will work in the interests of the people, and I will still be in the White House.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on September 6 the President referred to George Welsh, Mayor of Grand Rapids, Kim Sigler, Governor of Michigan, and Stephen S. Skrzycki, Mayor of Hamtramck.

184 Labor Day Address in Cadillac Square, Detroit. *September* 6, 1948

Mr. Mayor, distinguished leaders of labor and fellow citizens:

This, in my opinion, is a great day for labor. This is a great day for the country. When I can stand on this same platform in the city of Detroit with the Mayor and with Walter Reuther and Frank Martel, I know the country is on the road to recovery.

I am more than happy to join in this Labor Day celebration. I am more than happy to be present with the CIO and the A.F. of L. in marching together side by side in the interests of the welfare of the country's citizens.

In unity there is strength. Working people need every ounce of strength they

possess to meet today's problems. Forces in the world, and in our Government, would destroy free labor. Therefore, I am urging you with everything I have, to send Frank Hook to the Senate of the United States, and to send a Congressman from Michigan that will go along with me on that program.

As you know, I speak plainly sometimes. In fact, I speak bluntly sometimes. I am going to speak plainly and bluntly today. These are critical times for labor and for all who work. There is great danger ahead. Right now, the whole future of labor is wrapped up in one simple proposition.

If, in this next election, you get a Congress and an administration friendly to labor, you have much to hope for. If you get an administration and a Congress unfriendly to labor, you have much to fear, and you had better look out.

I believe that a strong and free labor movement constitutes a tremendous force for preserving our form of government. A free and strong labor movement is our best bulwark against communism. To remain strong and free you must have a friendly administration and a friendly Congress.

There is only one test of friendship. It is a test of the heart. You know without being told who is your friend and who is not your friend. Glance back over the years between 1900 and 1933. Labor was dealt three major blows. In each case these blows coincided with depressions which occurred under Republican administrations and Republican Congresses.

In the depression years of 1907 and 1908, sweeping injunctions were used against labor and sent its trusted leaders to jail. But another blow to the heart of labor came in 1921 when the Republican depression put nearly 6 million workers out of employment. The strength of labor organizations dropped off and vicious campaigns of anti-labor propaganda swept the country. It was an era of the open shop and the yellow-dog contract.

A few years passed, and you all remember came the Republican panic of 1930 and the great depression, which dealt the workers of the country a terrible blow. There was no unemployment compensation under the Republicans. There was no floor under wages under the Republicans. Average hourly earnings in 1932 were only 45 cents under the Republicans. From 12 to 15 million workers were out of work and unemployed under the Republicans.

And then in 1933 came the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

For the first time, labor received the recognition and encouragement that it merits. By constructive legislation, President Roosevelt and a sympathetic Congress corrected many of the abuses against which labor had been contending. That Democratic administration, of which I was a party from 1935, passed the Wagner Act to assure fair collective bargaining, abolished the sweat shop, provided unemployment compensation, passed the Social Security Act, saved millions of workers' homes from foreclosure, brought the average wage from 45 cents to $1.33 per hour.

You all remember how a Democratic administration turned the greatest depression in history into the most prosperous era the country has ever seen.

Sixty-one million people are employed today.

The gains of labor were not accomplished at the expense of the rest of the Nation. Labor gains contributed to the Nation's general prosperity.

Incomes of farmers and businessmen are higher than ever before in the history of the world.

But we still have to fight to keep the gains that we have made in the last 16 years. The

plain fact is that these gains are under heavy attack by the spokesmen of reaction.

Two years ago the people of this country, and many workingmen among them, seemed to feel that they wanted a change. They elected the Republican 80th Congress—and they got their change. That Congress promptly fell into the familiar Republican pattern of aid for big business and attack on labor. The Republicans promptly voted themselves a cut in taxes, and voted you a cut in freedom.

That 80th Republican Congress failed to crack down on prices but it cracked down on labor all right!

The Republicans failed to give the consumers of America protection against the rising cost of living, but at the same time they put a dangerous weapon into the hands of the big corporations in the shape of the Taft-Hartley law which I vetoed, but which was passed over my veto.

The union men with whom I have talked tell me that labor is just beginning to feel the effects of the Taft-Hartley law. And you and I know that the Taft-Hartley law is only a foretaste of what you will get if the Republican reaction is allowed to continue to grow.

Important Republican newspapers have already announced in plain language that Republicans in Congress are preparing further and stronger measures against labor.

If the congressional elements that made the Taft-Hartley law are allowed to remain in power, and if these elements are further encouraged by the election of a Republican President, you men of labor can expect to be hit by a steady barrage of body blows. And if you stay at home, as you did in 1946, and keep these reactionaries in power, you will deserve every blow you get.

Not only the labor unions, but all men and women who work are in danger, and the danger is greatest for those who do not belong to unions. If anything, the blows will fall most severely on the white-collar workers and the unorganized workers.

And that is not all!

If this Taft-Hartley law remains in effect, labor's position will be bad enough. But suppose, while that law is in effect, a reactionary Republican administration were to bring upon us another "boom and bust" cycle similar to that which struck us during the last Republican administration?

I don't have to tell you that that is an exceedingly real possibility if the Republicans get control of this country again. You can already see signs of it. The "boom" is on for them, and the "bust" has begun for you.

If you let the Republican administration reactionaries get complete control of this Government, the position of labor will be so greatly weakened that I would fear, not only for the wages and living standards of the American workingman, but even for our Democratic institutions of free labor and free enterprise.

Remember that the reactionary of today is a shrewd man. He is in many ways much shrewder than the reactionaries of the twenties. He is a man with a calculating machine where his heart ought to be. He has learned a great deal about how to get his way by observing demagogues and reactionaries in other countries. And now he has many able allies in the press and in the radio.

If you place the Government of this country under the control of those who hate labor, who can you blame if measures are thereafter adopted to destroy the powers, prestige, and earning power of labor?

I tell you that labor must fight now harder than ever before to make sure that its rights are kept intact. In practical terms, this means a powerful political effort which must

culminate in an all-out vote on election day. Anything short of an all-out vote would be a betrayal by labor of its own interests.

It is not only the rights of the unions which are at stake, but the standard of living of your families. If prices are permitted to rise unchecked, it is your wives and your children who will suffer. As real wages decline in the face of rising prices, it is the housewife who must try desperately to feed and clothe her family while her buying power is steadily whittled away.

My sympathy is with those best of business managers—the wives and mothers of this Nation. Think how they have made the pay envelope stretch with each rise in prices.

Now, Mother has to outfit the children for school at outrageous prices. How she does it, I don't know. I tried to help her out in this terrible price situation, but I got absolutely no help from that "do-nothing" 80th Republican Congress.

Make no mistake, you are face to face with a struggle to preserve the very foundations of your rights and your standards of living.

If we were to have a reactionary administration in the years ahead, labor could be only on the defensive, fighting a losing fight. If you produce a smashing victory at the polls, you have much to hope for.

Given such a victory I foresee the time, and not far off, when it will be possible to develop a new and sounder program of labor relations for the Nation; when it will be possible for labor to obtain a more equitable share of the Nation's increased productivity than it ever has had.

As a basis for such a new program of labor relations, I think it is clear that labor will need to link its position more closely with that of the farmers and the small businessman.

I know from my own experience with labor leaders and unions that the ability of labor to discipline itself and to cooperate with other groups in the country is steadily growing.

During the war, when I was surveying American industry as Chairman of the Senate Investigations Committee, I came to know the conditions under which labor works and lives. I came to know and respect the minds and spirit of workers and union leaders. I saw them and talked to them, and visited their homes in scores of communities. I watched them at work in hundreds of plants.

I know that labor is just as willing as any other group in the country to cooperate with intelligent programs in the interest of the Nation as a whole.

I am one of those who believes in the fundamental good sense and good feeling of the American people. It is my conviction that Republican reaction will be rejected. The American public wants a Congress and an administration that will play fair with labor. The people will support a program under which labor makes gains consistent with the progress of our total economy.

I said a moment ago that the public is full of good feeling and good sense. That is certainly true of the great majority.

Nevertheless, I must point out that there are too many short-sighted and unthinking Americans who have adopted a "damn labor" attitude which doesn't become any citizen of this country.

It is time that every American recognize what our fathers knew—that it is an honorable thing to work with your hands.

Our basic social freedoms can be traced largely to the fact that labor had its birth of real freedom in the United States of America. That is why our fathers came to America—to find the country where the man who worked with his hands is as good as the next man.

Today, too many Americans in dining

cars, in country clubs, and fashionable resorts are repeating, like parrots, the phrase "labor must be kept in its place." It is time that all Americans realized that the place of labor is side by side with the businessman and with the farmer, and not one degree lower.

One of the aspects of this Taft-Hartley agitation that has been most shocking to me has been the Republican attitude as expressed in the pious speeches of some of their leaders in Government and in business. They seem to think that labor is some kind of a spoiled child that needs to be spanked. They lift their eyes sympathetically and say "it hurts me more than it hurts you." It does not hurt them one bit, but it certainly does hurt you.

In practical terms, it means that labor needs to unite in common causes. They must unite, and it will be a great day for labor and a great day for the country when that happens.

All of labor stands at the crossroads today. You can elect a reactionary administration. You can elect a Congress and an administration which stands ready to play fair with every element in American life and enter a new period of hope. The choice is yours.

Do you want to carry the Taft-Hartley law to its full implication and enslave totally the workingman, white-collar and union man alike, or do you want to go forward with an administration whose interest is the welfare of the common man?

Labor has always had to fight for its gains. Now you are fighting for the whole future of the labor movement. We are in a hard, tough fight against shrewd and rich opponents. They know they can't count on your vote. Their only hope is that you won't vote at all. They have misjudged you. I know that we are going to win this crusade for the right!

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:40 p.m. in Cadillac Square. In his opening words he referred to Eugene I. Van Antwerp, Mayor of Detroit, Walter Reuther, President of the United Automobile Workers, and Frank Martel, President of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

185 The President's News Conference of *September* 9, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. I have no statements for you this morning, so if you want to ask questions, I will try to answer them.

[1.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us in any more detail about your campaign plans—immediate?

THE PRESIDENT. About campaign plans—I can give you a few details. I expect to be in Des Moines—Dexter, just outside Des Moines—on the 18th and in Denver on the 20th; and several other Colorado cities: Colorado Springs, Glenwood Springs, Pueblo——

Q. Glenwood Springs and what else, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Pueblo—G l e n w o o d Springs. Then from there to Salt Lake City——

Q. Do you know the date you will be in Colorado?

THE PRESIDENT. The 20th—we will be in Denver on the 20th, and I think Salt Lake City the 21st or 22d. And then San Francisco the day after Salt Lake City. Salt Lake City will be a night meeting, and then Los Angeles. That is as far as the details have been worked out. As soon as we get it

worked out, we will give them to you at once.

Q. Will you go down to San Diego from Los Angeles then?

THE PRESIDENT. It hasn't been decided yet. It's under consideration. All I can give you definitely is that we will go to Los Angeles.

Q. Will that 'Frisco meeting be a night meeting, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I think so.

Q. And Los Angeles, too?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't give you the exact details on that. Just as soon as we get them worked out, we will give them to you. I'd hoped to have them ready this morning, to give you the details. In a day or two I will have it.

Q. Spending Sunday in Independence after Dexter, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I am going there Saturday night—go down to Independence Saturday night, and leave there, I think, Sunday afternoon sometime, and go to Denver. I shall be home that night.

Q. Mr. President, the Democrats out in Iowa say that you are going to make your first stop on the 18th at 6:30 in the morning, at Davenport.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is not unusual. [*Laughter*] Of course, that will be up to them. I will try to give you the exact details on the whole thing as soon as I get it.

Q. Do you have the dates for San Francisco and Los Angeles?

THE PRESIDENT. Tentatively only, and I would rather give them to you definitely in a day or two.

Q. Well, Salt Lake City is definite for the 21st?

THE PRESIDENT. I think so. I think it is the 21st.

Q. What is the meeting in Denver, can you tell us that?

THE PRESIDENT. I cannot. I will have to give you details on these things a little later. It has been very difficult to get this worked out, because everybody wants you to stop everywhere at the same time, and you can't do that very well.

Q. Do you know yet when you expect to be back?

THE PRESIDENT. Around the—I think 7th or 10th of October.

Q. The 7th or 10th of October?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, somewhere along there.

Q. That's all one trip, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. All one trip.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, Mr. Stassen made a few remarks in Detroit about—said you were responsible for inflation, he said you were trying to stimulate class warfare. Will you comment on what he had to say?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, will you come through any Southern States on your way back?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that question. As soon as I get it definitely worked out, I will let you know. I can't give you any further than Los Angeles definitely.

Q. Do you know when you will give us it complete?

THE PRESIDENT. Just as quickly as it is ready.

Mr. Ross: The schedule says the 1st of October, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Charlie says the schedule ends about the 1st. I was thinking about another one. [*Laughter*]

[4.] Q. Mr. President, Mr. Stassen, the other night in Detroit, implied that there are "red herrings" in the Government. Is that true?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment on Mr. Stassen's statement—Professor Stassen, I should say. [*Laughter*]

[5.] Q. Mr. President, there have been reports in some political quarters in Puerto Rico that you are considering Governor Piñero for an ambassadorship down in Latin

America or the Philippines, as soon as one becomes available?

THE PRESIDENT. I hadn't heard about it.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, is Secretary Marshall leaving shortly for Paris?

THE PRESIDENT. Secretary Marshall, I think, is due in Paris the 19th of September. I think he will leave here the 17th or 18th. He is going over in the *Independence.*

Q. Any chance he might go over for these four-power talks?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that.

Q. Mr. President, the Secretary of State said yesterday that he has a bipartisan policy on the Italian colonies.[1] Would you give us any background on what consultations—whether there have been consultations with Republican leaders on this issue?

THE PRESIDENT. Secretary Marshall I think answered that question definitely yesterday, and Secretary Marshall answered it correctly.

Q. Mr. President, can you give us anything new on the Berlin situation?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I cannot. I have no comment on the Berlin situation. I think Secretary Marshall covered that yesterday as well as it can be covered at the present time.[2]

Q. Mr. President, I was going to ask that question in another way, if you don't mind because I know you are limited on this thing. But that thing hangs awfully heavy on people's hearts and minds on Berlin, and with that in mind, is there anything you could say that would be cheering or hopeful or optimistic?

THE PRESIDENT. Secretary Marshall, I think, made as definite a statement on that as it is possible to make at this time.

Q. That was it? That they would resist?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. We are still standing up for our rights in Berlin. There are still some more arguments to be had on the subject. We are doing everything we possibly can, through negotiation, to straighten the thing out.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, are you ready to name your committee on segregation in the Armed Forces yet?

THE PRESIDENT. Not yet. I will have it ready in a day or two. We are having difficulty getting a chairman. As soon as we have that chairman, I will have it for you.

[8.] Q. That is still all confusion to me, to say we are negotiating, because I had understood that we would not negotiate as long as the blockade was on?

THE PRESIDENT. No, that is not—no such statement as that. We have been trying to negotiate all our difficulties. We have been negotiating ever since the war ended, and we are going to continue negotiating, hoping to get a settlement. You can't settle it in any other way.

Q. I didn't understand it. The statement said that we would not negotiate under duress, I think was the phrase.

THE PRESIDENT. No, we will not negotiate under duress. We have not been negotiating under duress.

Q. The blockade is not under duress?

THE PRESIDENT. It is attempted duress, but we are not negotiating under duress. We have been negotiating right along ever since the war ended. We will continue to negotiate, always hoping we will get a peace.

Q. Well, sir, is the action of certain civilians, and Russian policemen, and Berlin policemen—is that a part of the negotiation, or is that outside?

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[1] At a press conference held on September 8, Secretary Marshall stated that the United States policies toward the former Italian colonies had been formulated with bipartisan approval.

[2] At his press conference on September 8 Secretary Marshall denounced attacks by Communist-led mobs on the City Government of Berlin. He said that Communist efforts to disrupt conferences on the future status of Berlin must be firmly resisted and that he hoped the talks could proceed in a quiet and orderly atmosphere.

THE PRESIDENT. That is outside. I think Secretary Marshall commented on that very fully yesterday.

Q. He did. I didn't quite get what he meant. [*Laughter*]

[9.] Q. Mr. President, getting back to the campaign and subsequent trips, are you going to Troy, Schenectady, and several other upstate New York——

THE PRESIDENT. They are under consideration. I can't give you anything definite on that until we have made a decision on it. I will let you know in plenty of time.

Q. How about Albany, N.Y., Mr. President? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I will let you know about that when we get that trip definitely worked out.

Q. You are not going there on this trip?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh no, no.

Q. Do you plan to stop in Texas on your current trip?

THE PRESIDENT. I will let you know about that. I have gone as far as I can on that with a definite statement. Trying to get the thing arranged so that it will be satisfactory and so you won't lose too much sleep.

Q. Mr. President, can you guess how many speeches you will make a day on this western——

THE PRESIDENT. I cannot guess. I thought Labor Day was a pretty good sample. [*Laughter*]

Q. There was one report that you might make 500 appearances between Labor Day and Election Day?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as Mark Twain said about his death, I think that is rather exaggerated. [*More laughter*]

[10.] Q. Mr. President, will recognition of the Government of Israel have to wait until after the election in Israel?

THE PRESIDENT. I have that matter under consideration now. I cannot give you a definite answer on it now.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, I think there may be some confusion about Mr. Marshall's statement yesterday regarding the Italian colonies. He said that the policy was bipartisan. Does that mean that Mr. Dewey has been consulted——

THE PRESIDENT. General Marshall's statement will have to stand on just what he said.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You are entirely welcome.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and fifty-sixth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 10:30 a.m. on Thursday, September 9, 1948.

186 Address Before the American Association for the Advancement of Science. *September* 13, 1948

Mr. President, members of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, ladies and gentlemen:

I am deeply honored in being with you tonight on the 100th anniversary of the founding of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. As President of the United States, I welcome you to Washington.

In the 100 years since this association was organized, science has helped transform the United States into the most productive nation in the world. I know that in your meetings this week you will be looking back over the progress of American science in the past century. I also know that you are much more interested in looking into the future.

You are looking forward, I know, because

we stand at this moment at the threshold of revolutionary developments. Scientific research daily becomes more important to our agriculture, our industry, and our health. The members of this association know better than I what developments to expect in the years ahead in physics, in chemistry, in biology, and the other sciences, but I am certain of this—that science will change our lives in the century ahead even more than it has changed them in the hundred years just past.

I hope you will also be thinking about the relationship between science and our national policy.

Two years ago, I appointed a Scientific Research Board. Its report, entitled "Science and Public Policy," was submitted last fall. The report stressed the importance of science to our national welfare, and it contained a number of important recommendations.

The most important were these:

First, we should double our total public and private allocations of funds to the sciences. We are now devoting, through Federal and private expenditure, little more than $1 billion for research and development per year. With a national income of more than $200 billion annually, the Board felt that we should devote at least $2 billion to scientific research and development each year.

Second, greater emphasis should be placed on basic research and on medical research.

Third, a National Science Foundation should be established.

Fourth, more aid should be granted to the universities, both for student scholarships and for research facilities.

Fifth, the work of the research agencies of the Federal Government should be better financed and coordinated.

I hope that you have been weighing these recommendations carefully, and that if you agree with me that they are sound, you will consider how they can be made effective national policies.

I know that you are also deeply concerned with the relationship of science to our national defense and security. Three years ago, when the fighting stopped, all of us were eager to return to our peacetime pursuits. The first thought of a great many of us was how to translate our wartime advances in scientific knowledge into better standards of living.

It is an unfortunate fact, however, that the peace we hoped for has not come quickly. We are still living in hazardous times. We are required to give unremitting thought to the defense of the United States at a period when defense has become incredibly more difficult. American scientists must, like all the rest of our citizens, devote a part of their strength and skill to keeping the Nation strong. At a time when we hoped our scientific efforts could be directed almost exclusively to improving the well-being of our people, we must, instead, make unprecedented peacetime efforts to maintain our military strength. For we have learned—we have learned the hard and bitter way—that we cannot hope for lasting peace with justice if we do not remain strong in the cause of peace.

If we are to maintain the leadership in science that is essential to national strength, we must vigorously press ahead in research. There is one simple axiom on which this thought is based. The secrets of nature are not our monopoly. Any nation that is willing and able to make the effort can learn the secrets that we have learned. Such a nation may, indeed, discover new facts of nature we have not yet discovered.

Our problem, therefore, is not a static one of preserving what we have. Our problem is to continue to engage in pure—or fundamental—research in all scientific fields.

Such research alone leads to striking developments that mean leadership. Yet it is precisely in this area that we, as a nation, have been weakest. We have been strong in applied science and in technology, but in the past we have relied largely on Europe for basic knowledge.

Pure research is arduous, demanding, and difficult. It requires unusual intellectual powers. It requires extensive and specialized training. It requires intense concentration, possible only when all the faculties of the scientist are brought to bear on a problem, with no disturbances or distractions.

Some of the fundamental research necessary to our national interest is being undertaken by the Federal Government. The Government has, I believe, two obligations in connection with this research if we are to obtain the results we hope for. First, it must provide truly adequate funds and facilities. Second, it must provide the working atmosphere in which research progress is possible.

As to the first point, the Government is developing impressive programs in many scientific fields. Fundamental research is being carried on for the National Military Establishment in the laboratories of the Armed Forces, of industry, and of our universities. The Atomic Energy Commission has been pushing its extensive research. The National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics has expanded its many aeronautical developments. The Federal Security Agency has engaged in extensive medical studies, in its own laboratories like the National Institutes of Health, and through grants to colleges and universities. Other Federal agencies, such as the Departments of Commerce, of Agriculture, and of the Interior, have pursued vigorous programs. The Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific Research and Development, appointed by me last March, aids in coordinating the Government's many research programs. I sincerely hope that these programs will be further developed and coordinated by the early passage of a National Science Foundation bill.

The second obligation of the Federal Government in connection with basic research is to provide working conditions under which scientists will be encouraged to work for the Government. Scientists do not want to work in ivory towers, but they do want to work in an atmosphere free from suspicion, personal insult, or politically motivated attacks. It is highly unfortunate that we have not been able to maintain the proper conditions for best scientific work. This failure has grave implications for our national security and welfare.

There are some politicians who are under the impression that scientific knowledge belongs only to them. They seem to feel that it is dangerous to let scientists know anything about scientific developments in this country.

This situation has been of increasing concern to me. It was highlighted by a telegram I received last week from eight distinguished scientists. These men expressed their alarm at the deterioration of relations between scientists and the Government because of the frequent attacks which have been made on scientists in the ostensible name of security. The telegram points out that the actions of certain groups are "creating an atmosphere that makes men shun Government work," and that the Federal Government is losing the services of excellent scientists because they have been looked upon from certain quarters as "men not to be trusted." The telegram points out that scientists fully appreciate the need for sensible security measures. But scientists very

understandably are reluctant to work where they are subject "to the possibility of smears that may ruin them professionally for life."

That telegram was a balanced and sober presentation of a vital problem that concerns every American.

Continuous research by our best scientists is the key to American scientific leadership and true national security. This indispensable work may be made impossible by the creation of an atmosphere in which no man feels safe against the public airing of unfounded rumors, gossip, and vilification. Such an atmosphere is un-American. It is the climate of a totalitarian country in which scientists are expected to change their theories to match changes in the police state's propaganda line.

I hardly need remind this association that it is primarily to scientists that we owe the existence of our atomic energy enterprise.

It was the scientists who first saw the possibility of an atomic bomb. It was the scientists who proved the possibility. It was the scientists who first saw the need of security measures, and who on their own initiative clamped down a tight lid of secrecy on all experiments. It must not be forgotten for a moment, and certainly it must not be obscured by any smear campaign, that but for the scientists we would have no atomic energy program.

We are only in the beginnings of the atomic age. The knowledge that we now have is but a fraction of the knowledge we must get, whether for peaceful uses or for national defense. We must depend on intensive research to acquire the further knowledge we need. We cannot drive scientists into our laboratories, but, if we tolerate reckless or unfair attacks, we can certainly drive them out.

These are truths that every scientist knows. They are truths that the American people need to understand.

Science has no political affiliation. Concern for our national security is nonpartisan. Sober recognition of scientific research as the basis of our future national security should certainly be nonpartisan. All Americans have a solemn obligation to avoid those methods and procedures which are impeding scientific research—whether adopted mistakenly with good intent, or advocated in the name of security by men with other axes to grind.

My emphasis tonight has been on the physical and biological sciences. These are obviously in the forefront in terms of our industry and technology. But the social sciences and related fields are at least as important in the present stage of human affairs.

The physical sciences offer us tangible goods; the biological sciences, tangible cures. The social sciences offer us better ways of organizing our lives. I have high hopes, as our knowledge in these fields increases, that the social sciences will enable us to escape from those habits and thoughts which have resulted in so much strife and tragedy.

Now and in the years ahead, we need more than anything else the honest and uncompromising commonsense of science. Science means a method of thought. That method is characterized by open-mindedness, honesty, perseverance, and above all, by an unflinching passion for knowledge and truth. When more of the peoples of the world have learned the ways of thought of the scientist, we shall have better reason to expect lasting peace and a fuller life for all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:45 p.m. in Constitution Hall in Washington. His opening words "Mr. President" referred to Edmund W. Sinnott, President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

187 Letter to the Associate General Counsel, National Labor Relations Board, Concerning a Meeting in Senator Taft's Office. *September* 14, 1948

[Released September 14, 1948. Dated August 20, 1948]

Dear Mr. Findling:

I read your letter of August nineteenth regarding the meeting in Senator Taft's office with the publishers and the Chicago newspapermen with a lot of interest.

It seems to me that it is entirely improper for any Senator, no matter what his politics or his rank in the Senate may be, to attempt to put the heat on one of the Executive Departments.

In my conference with the National Labor Relations Board on its organization, I informed the members of that Board and the Counsel that they constituted a part of the Executive Branch of the Government and, since the Chief Executive did not expect to interfere in their internal affairs, he expected that they would be immune to pressure from the Legislative Branch of the Government.

I sincerely hope that the Counselors of the National Labor Relations Board will bear this admonition in mind in the transaction of public business.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable David P. Findling, Associate General Counsel, National Labor Relations Board, Washington 25, D.C.]

NOTE: In his letter, dated August 19 and released with the President's reply, Mr. Findling reported on a meeting held in Senator Robert A. Taft's office on July 28, 1948. He stated that Senator Taft had called the meeting to discuss the enforcement of the injunction decree issued under the Labor-Management Relations Act in the dispute between the Typographical Union and newspaper publishers. Mr. Findling added that the Senator declared that he was greatly disturbed by reports that there was a breakdown of enforcement machinery in this case and that the union was violating the injunction. Senator Taft felt that it was the most important case that had arisen under the new act and that it was the Government's business to see that the injunction was obeyed and the act enforced.

Mr. Findling stated that he told Senator Taft that he was in no position to discuss the matter; that the National Labor Relations Board had sent staff investigators to various cities all over the country and that they were in the process of preparing a written report correlating the data they had obtained. Mr. Findling added that the Senator then excused himself from the meeting which continued for a short time without him. The meeting closed with the understanding that after the National Labor Relations Board had analyzed the findings of the investigators they might wish to discuss the situation with the publishers' attorneys in Washington.

188 Letter Accepting Resignation of Dwight Griswold as Chief, American Mission for Aid to Greece. *September* 15, 1948

Dear Governor Griswold:

On June 10, 1947 you undertook the assignment of Chief of the American Mission for Aid to Greece. At that time Greek internal security was seriously threatened by armed guerilla bands, and the Greek economy was on the verge of imminent collapse.

On May 22, 1947 the Congress of the United States had decided that our gallant wartime ally, who had suffered two cruel invasions and four years of Axis occupation, should not be allowed to fall under Communist domination as a result of foreign pressure or the actions of armed minorities, but that we would help her maintain her independence and territorial integrity through a program of assistance. It was to direct that effort that you responded to your

nation's call and took up your task in Greece.

Today the situation in Greece is greatly changed. The guerilla bands which threatened Greece's internal security have been defeated in the Grammos Mountains, and remnants are being brought under control by the Greek National Army troops, which are supplied by United States aid. Although the economic situation in Greece is not as yet satisfactory, the inflationary crisis has been passed and there is hope for gradual improvement under the Economic Recovery Program. Due to the heroic efforts of the Greek people and the American Mission for Aid to Greece, but due also in large measure to the leadership which you provided, Greece has been saved as a democratic nation, and important American security interests in this strategic area of the world have been maintained.

In accepting your resignation as Chief of the American Mission for Aid to Greece, I wish to extend to you my personal thanks and those of the people of the United States for a job well done.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable Dwight Griswold, Chief of the American Mission for Aid to Greece, Department of State, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: Mr. Griswold's letter of resignation, dated September 14, was released with the President's reply.

189 Letter in Response to a Proclamation on Living Costs by Mayors of Hudson County, New Jersey, Municipalities. *September* 15, 1948

Dear Mayor Eggers:

I appreciate having your letter of August 11 and the copy of the proclamation of the Mayors of the municipalities of Hudson County, New Jersey, concerning present high living costs. Their action puts the blame for the heavy burden placed on the housewives of the nation exactly where it belongs—on the Republican dominated Eightieth Congress. The wives and mothers of America also know where the blame belongs.

The average housewife finds it almost impossible today to purchase the food needed by her family because of runaway prices. These were kept at a fairly reasonable level during the war years and it would be just as easy now to halt the rise if we had the necessary curbs. But the Republican dominated Eightieth Congress would not pass a price control law, although I recommended time and time again that this be done. American women will agree with the Hudson County Mayors in condemning that Congress for its failure to relieve this critical situation.

You and your fellow Mayors ask me to call Congress back into special session to get needed food price relief. That would be useless, for we would only have a repetition of the "do nothing" performance.

The remedy lies in electing a Democratic Congress in November. Then we can relieve housewives from exorbitant living costs, provide sufficient low cost housing, adequate minimum wages, and wider social security coverage. Such a Congress will support me in a forward looking program in the interest of the average family and against any reactionary program with its threat to bring back the conditions growing out of the 1930 Republican panic. Americans do not want a repetition of that, and I believe they will

make sure that such a situation will not be allowed to develop.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable Frank H. Eggers, Mayor, Jersey City, New Jersey]

NOTE: On September 15 the White House announced that similar letters were sent to the following mayors of Hudson County, New Jersey: Fred M. DeSapio, Hoboken, Harry J. Thourot, Union City, Paul F. Cullum, North Bergen, John J. Kane, Secaucus, John G. Meister, Weehawken, Wilbur J. McGowan, West New York, Andrew Johnstone, Guttenberg, Harry F. Lawson, East Newark, Frank E. Rodgers, Harrison, and Charles Heiser, Bayonne.

190 Statement by the President Making Public a Report on Moral Safeguards for Selective Service Trainees. *September* 16, 1948

UNDER the Selective Service Act of 1948 additional thousands of our young men will soon be assembled in camps for military training. I am most anxious that the Government take all practical steps to safeguard the religious, moral, educational, and recreational welfare of the personnel of the armed services. As that subject was strongly emphasized by the President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training in its report submitted on May 29, 1947, I convened a special session of the members of that Commission at the White House on August 3, 1948.

The Commission has amplified its original recommendations in the light of the new legislation and the recent experience of the armed services—particularly the great strides made in connection with the Experimental Training Unit at Fort Knox, Ky. The Commission has submitted the attached report. I have approved its recommendations and have directed the Secretary of Defense to carry out those recommendations which can be put into practice by the armed services.

As the Commission emphasizes, it must not be taken for granted that social responsibility for the religious, moral, educational, and recreational welfare of servicemen rests solely on the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. I share the Commission's conviction that the spiritual and moral health of the Armed Forces is a vital element in our national security. Together with a universal understanding of the principles of citizenship and American democracy, it constitutes the bedrock on which security and the success of military preparedness depend.

Much has already been done in this field by the armed services themselves and by individuals, groups of individuals, and communities throughout the country. An outstanding example is the Civilian Committee on Welfare and Recreation, appointed by the Secretary of Defense and headed by Dr. Lindsley F. Kimball. Other examples are the information and education programs of the armed services, the civilian advisory committees now functioning in many cities, the character guidance councils functioning within the Army, the many groups in and around Louisville, Ky., whose enthusiastic assistance contributed so greatly to the success of the Fort Knox experiment, and so on.

In order to further the work in this field, and in order to implement the Compton commission's recommendations, I am taking steps to create an overall Civilian Advisory Commission on Religious and Moral Welfare and Character Guidance in the Armed Forces. This commission, utilizing the already established activities operating in this

field to the maximum possible extent, will coordinate the activities of the armed services and local communities.

Local communities will be invited to begin plans now for resumption of social welfare and religious activities for the benefit of the Armed Forces in their vicinity during off-duty hours. By such timely provision it is hoped that preparation will be well advanced when the new training centers begin to function in the near future.

It is my firm hope that by these means we will achieve the best possible training for young men, and at the same time can, through cooperation between communities and the armed services, contribute to a strong, united people.

NOTE: The Commission's report (9 pp. processed), dated September 13, 1948, is entitled "Report to the President on Moral Safeguards for Trainees To Be Inducted Under the Selective Service Act."

The report pointed out that 60 percent of the men in uniform were under 21 and that nearly all of the remaining 40 percent were under 26. This situation, so different from that of 1939, required different approaches to the problem. The report proposed that communities establish civilian interfaith service committees modeled after those in Louisville, Ky., and that the armed services assist communities in organizing such groups. Specific recommendations include the exchange of clergymen and chaplains in communities near service installations, the solicitation of cooperation of bars and taverns near service installations in denying sale of alcoholic beverages to those under 21, the requirement that servicemen under 20 stay only at service clubs or in approved homes, the reestablishment of wartime controls on venereal disease and prostitution, the revival of wartime social activities including dances and soldier shows, and the organization of servicemen's tours to places of historic and educational value.

The report of the President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training, dated May 29, 1947, is entitled "A Program for National Security" (Government Printing Office, 453 pp.).

A list of the members of the Commission is appended to the President's remarks at a meeting with them in December 1946 (see 1946 volume, this series, Item 268).

On October 27, 1948, the President issued Executive Order 10013 "Establishing the President's Committee on Religious and Moral Welfare and Character Guidance in the Armed Forces" (3 CFR, 1943–1948 Comp., p. 835).

191 Letter in Response to a Telegram on the Problems of Scientists in Government Service. *September 17, 1948*

[Released September 17, 1948. Dated September 16, 1948]

Dear Dr. ————:

I wish to thank you and the seven other scientists for your telegram of September 6, 1948, in which you gave me your views on a matter which has been of increasing concern to me—the maintenance of working conditions under which scientists will be encouraged to engage in Government service.

Your views on this subject seem to me so important and timely that I commented on them at some length in my September 13 address before the opening session of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Washington. I am sending you herewith a copy of that address since it incorporates my views about the situation which disturbs you.

The Nation must protect itself against espionage, infiltration of foreign agents, and untrustworthiness of governmental personnel, particularly in its atomic energy plants and laboratories. I am determined that we shall protect ourselves effectively, but I am equally determined that we shall maintain our safeguards within the framework of our democratic principles. With this I know you agree.

I have fought to keep the subject of atomic energy out of partisan politics, to preserve it as a trust for the American people. I shall continue to do so to the full extent of my powers as head of the Executive Branch of our Government despite the opposing efforts of persons, however highly placed, who understand neither the significance of atomic energy nor the meaning of genuine national security in a democratic nation. As always, public opinion will decide the merits of this controversy. It is your responsibility as well as mine to see that public opinion is informed as to the real issues and the merits or demerits of the opposing views. I enlist your help in order that this objective may be achieved.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to Dr. Harrison S. Brown, University of Chicago, Dr. Philip M. Morse, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Dr. Karl T. Compton, President, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Dr. T. R. Hogness, University of Chicago, Dr. J. C. Warner, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Dr. Harold C. Urey, University of Chicago, Dr. George Pegram, Columbia University, and Dr. Charles C. Lauritsen, California Institute of Technology.

For the President's address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, see Item 186.

192 Letter to Premier de Gasperi on Italian Participation in the European Recovery Program. *September* 17, 1948

[Released September 17, 1948. Dated September 16, 1948]

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for the letter you wrote to me after signing the Economic Cooperation Agreement.

Men everywhere participate in and contribute more effectively to an undertaking when the terms and purposes are clearly understood and the commitments are freely undertaken. The great amount of discussion in our respective countries and the large consensus in favor of the Agreement augurs well for its success.

The American people support this program wholeheartedly both for humanitarian and for practical reasons. In a world growing smaller day by day, no nation can profit by isolating itself. Mutual dependence means that your welfare affects our welfare and vice versa. Therefore, for our sake, for your sake, and for the sake of all other like-minded countries, it is our hope that the program in Italy and elsewhere will be crowned with success.

I express my admiration for the will to work shown by the Italian people in their most difficult moments. I admire also the sense of moderation and political maturity shown by your people who have regained so recently the privileges and responsibilities inherent in a liberal democracy.

I am certain that with the broad participation in the Recovery Program of all elements in the Italian nation, with your demonstrated will to work, and with your political maturity, Italy will play a significant constructive part in the European Recovery Program.

With cordial greetings, I am

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Honorable Alcide de Gasperi, President, Council of Ministers, Rome]

NOTE: Premier de Gasperi's letter, dated July 6, was released with the President's reply.

The agreement was signed in Rome on June 28. The text is printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 19, p. 38).

193 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Pennsylvania and Ohio. *September* 17, 1948

[1.] PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA (From the Freedom Train, 6:25 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

This is indeed a surprise to me. I started this train off in Washington just about a year ago; and I'm happy to be present in Pittsburgh on its anniversary.

I am informed that it has been in something over 300 towns and that something like 2,700,000 people have been through it. It's an education in itself and I want to advise everyone who has not seen it to go through it and get an education on the history of the United States. It has documents in it that will convince you that your Government is the greatest and the best Government in the world, if you don't already believe that way.

There is the original document of the Declaration of Independence, the Gettysburg Address, the Constitution of the United States, and many others, too numerous for me to mention this evening.

I certainly do appreciate this privilege. This stands for real Americanism, real patriotism. You can't help but be a happy person after you walk through this train and see what all our interests have been—the welfare and the right of the individual, the first ten amendments to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights.

We have a system in which we believe that the Government is for the benefit of the individual. There are other systems which make the individual subject to the whims of the Government. We've been fighting for that ever since 1776, for the welfare and the benefit of the individual.

We have the greatest Government in the world. We have the greatest country in the world. We have the most powerful country in the world. Let's live up to our ideals and keep working for that peace which all of us want so badly. We want peace in the world and justice to every individual in every nation in the world. That's what we fought two world wars for. I'm hoping, and I've always been hopeful, that we would eventually reach that ideal condition where the United Nations would represent the world as the United States represents the Government of the United States.

Thank you very much.

[2.] CRESTLINE, OHIO (Rear platform, 10:30 p.m.)

Thank you very much, Mr. Congressman. I hope you will be the next Congressman from this district.

I have just received a confirmation of a very sad incident. The United Nations Mediator in Palestine was assassinated today.

It is a pleasure to be with you tonight. It is a great deal of pleasure to me to visit with you people tonight in this lovely, peaceful American city—especially true tonight after what I have just told you. This is the first opportunity I have had to speak since I received the official confirmation of the tragic death of Count Bernadotte, the Mediator of the United Nations in Palestine. I am saddened and shocked. His death emphasizes again the difficulties in our efforts to secure liberties under law to all the peoples in the world. We know that through orderly world organization we must seek liberties like those we hold precious in towns such as this beautiful city in Ohio. Tonight in Crestline we take courage for our continuing efforts to reach such liberties everywhere.

My faith remains unshaken that we shall achieve a peaceful settlement of the problems in the Middle East. And I am hopeful that we will be successful in the peaceful settlement of the problems in all the rest of the world.

You know, we have fought two long, bitter wars to establish liberties in the world, which we enjoy here as a matter of right, and about which we think very little. Most of us are not appreciative of the Government under which we live until a tragedy such as that which took place today brings it home to us that what we have is liberty of the individual. We have a peaceful country in which to live. We have rights, which protect us from the infringement of the Government on those rights. That is what we fought two great world wars to attain in the world.

It was my duty, immediately after I was sworn in as President of the United States on April 12, 1945, to decide whether the conference to organize the United Nations should go forward in San Francisco or not, on the 25th of April. That was the first decision I had to make. I made the decision and the United Nations was organized as a going concern. We must implement the principle set out in the Charter of the United Nations so that we can have world peace, and so that we can maintain world peace.

In order to maintain that peace we must continue to be a strong nation, and that is what I have advocated ever since I have been President of the United States.

I want to thank you most sincerely for this wonderful turnout. I appreciate it most highly. This is the second time within a short time that I have been in your wonderful city, and I hope it won't be the last time.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In addition to the statement made at Crestline on the death of Count Bernadotte, a White House release of September 17 announced that the President had sent a message to Countess Bernadotte expressing sympathy on the death of her husband.

194 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri. *September* 18, 1948

[1.] ROCK ISLAND, ILLINOIS (Rear platform, 5:45 a.m.)

I don't think I have ever seen so many farmers in town in all my life. I had no idea that there would be anybody else in a town the size of Rock Island at this time of day.

It is a pleasure for me to be here with you, and I am highly honored to be introduced by the next Senator from Illinois, and I am highly honored to have alongside me the next Senator from Iowa, Guy Gillette. Senator Gillette and I served in the Senate, and Douglas—I never had the pleasure of serving with Senator-to-be Douglas, but I will probably have a chance to associate with him a very great deal the next 4 years.

You know the issues in this campaign are not hard to define. The issue is the people against the special interests, and if you need any proof of that, all you need to do is to review the record of this Republican 80th Congress.

You remember in 1946, when everybody said he wanted a change, that he thought the country had had enough, and they put out such propaganda as that, most of you stayed at home, and by a minority vote of about a third of the voters, you elected a Congress that I think has given you enough!

The object of this 80th Congress, it seemed to me, was to take the bargaining power away from labor and give it back to the special interests. It was also the idea of the

lobbies that controlled that 80th Congress to see that prices were not controlled. You know, I think they really like to have a "boom and bust." You know, that Congress had some of the most terrific lobbies that have ever been in Washington in the history of the country. They had the real estate lobby, the one that turned the rent control program loose, and they had the speculators lobby, and they had the National Association of Manufacturers lobby, whose interest is not the public interest—it is special interest.

I want to bring it home to you that you must yourselves analyze the condition of the country at the time the 80th Congress took over, and you must also analyze the condition of the country over a 16-year period, 14 years of which were in the hands of a Democratic administration. You must also go back and compare that situation with the one with which we were faced after 12 years of "normalcy," shall we call it?

That is what they want to go back to. We don't want to go back, we want to go forward!

Dozens of times—I won't say that—at least half a dozen times I'll say—I asked the Congress to give us a price control bill that would gradually release those controls as production caught up with consumption and prevent a runaway inflation.

You were informed by the National Association of Manufacturers in 1946 that within 1 year prices would adjust themselves. They have adjusted themselves. They have gone all the way off the chart. It has not been in the interests of the common man either. It has been in the interest of special interests who want to control this country again.

Now you can't afford to let that happen. You must, if you want this country to go forward, you must always be sure that you have people in control of the Government whose interest is yours and not the special interests who want special privilege in everything that takes place.

Now, in order to prevent that, you must elect men like Senator Douglas here in Illinois, and men like Senator Gillette in Iowa. You must elect Congressmen whose interest is the people's interest, and not special privilege interests. I hope you will keep that in mind, and I hope you will do that on November 2d.

In order to get that done, you have got to get on the books and get registered. And you have got to go out and vote on election day. As I told you a while ago, just one third of the people voted—a light vote in 1946, and you see what you got. You got the Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress.

Now, if you are going to stay at home again—if you are going to shirk your public duty again, that is what you will get again, and that is just exactly what you will deserve.

Thank you very much.

[2.] DAVENPORT, IOWA (Rear platform, 6:10 a.m.)

Good morning! I am not surprised to see you up at this time of day. I was surprised, though, in Illinois to see them get up so early. You know, Iowa is, outside of Missouri, I guess, the greatest farm state.

It is a great pleasure to me to be with you this morning, and it is a very great pleasure to be present with your next Congressman, your next Senator, and your next Governor—all Democrats.

I understand that the people of Iowa have been suffering from the same things that all the rest of the country has been suffering from, and that is the 80th Congress. They were elected in 1946 because people didn't seem to be satisfied with everything in the world they needed. They wanted a change, and they got it.

Now I think they have had enough of that situation and when the votes are counted on election day, you are going to find that Iowa will have a Democratic Governor, and this district will have a Democratic Senator and we will have Guy Gillette back in the Senate.

It is a very great pleasure to me to be able to go across the country in this manner and see you and talk to you and let you know what I am thinking. Today at Dexter, west of Des Moines, I am going to tell you just exactly what my program is on the farm and the farmer, and then you will have a chance to make a choice between Republican reaction and Democratic forward-looking administrations. You have to make up your mind then as to what your best interests are, and on election day it will be your duty, no matter what your politics or what your program is or what you believe in, to go to the polls and exercise that privilege.

You know, in 1946 a little over one-third of the population voted, and look what you got! Now, I am begging you and pleading with you, to be sure that on this November the 2d you vote.

If the people turn out and express their will, then we have the Government which is intended in our Constitution. If you don't do that, you are not only shirking your duty but you are liable to continue something like the 80th Congress.

Thank you.

[3.] IOWA CITY, IOWA (Rear platform, 7:25 a.m.)

Senator, ladies and gentlemen:

It certainly is a wonderful welcome from Iowa's university city. I am certainly happy to be here, and I am certainly happy to have these good Iowa Democrats on the train with me—your candidate for Governor, your candidate for Congress and for the United States Senate, and your State Democratic Senator.

You know, one of the first things that those ancestors of ours who settled this part of the world thought of was education. The first thing that they set up was a church. The next thing they set up was a schoolhouse. The University of Iowa is one of the first of the educational institutions set up west of the Mississippi River and north of the Mississippi line. You know, Missouri and Iowa were from the same territory, first Louisiana, then Missouri territory, then Iowa decided they wanted to become independent and became the great State of Iowa where the tall corn grows. I contend that we grow corn as tall in Missouri, but I have never been able to prove it.

I am also very much interested in education. You know, we have reached a saturation point in our educational institutions because there are so many more people interested in getting an education. Your university, like every other university in this country, is crowded. It is short of housing facilities, it is short of teachers, it is short of all those things that go to make for proper education.

I have been fighting with the Congress of the United States in an effort to get an educational bill through the Congress that would be helpful to all those universities that are overcrowded, both in a housing way and in a teacher's salary way, and in a way to help take care of the crowded conditions in those schools.

There are some people who like to live back in the 1840's, who think that education is not the backbone of this country, and who are not really interested in the educational welfare of the country as a whole.

When our educational program breaks down, then we are fertile field for "isms." Education is the best defense against totali-

tarianism. It is because we know better that we don't believe in and that we don't have those things.

I hope you will continue with your great educational program here in this great State of Iowa, and that you will give me the support which I need to implement it on a Federal basis by sending to Washington a Democratic United States Senator from Iowa, and a Democratic Congressman from this district.

To help yourselves completely, you ought to elect a Democratic Governor from the great State of Iowa. I am sure that is what you are going to do, because Iowa has gone a time or two with a Democratic Governor.

I want to thank you very much for this privilege, and I would like very much to introduce one of the members of my family who is with me, my daughter Margaret.

[4.] OXFORD, IOWA (Rear platform, 8:50 a.m.)

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen:

I certainly am happy to see this wonderful turnout in Oxford, Iowa. You know, your candidate for Senator, who will be Senator from Iowa after this election is over—Senator Gillette, told me that Oxford University in England was named after this town. It was rather difficult to understand that, since I understand you just celebrated your 100th anniversary last year, but it is interesting anyway.

I know you live in a very wonderful, fertile part of this great United States, and I heard another remarkable fact about this great city of Oxford. They tell me in all the hundred years of your existence you never went wrong politically—you have always been Democratic.

I don't have to stand here and convince you, then, that the Democratic Party stands for what is best for the farmer. I am going to elaborate on that down in Dexter, which I understand is a hotbed of Republicanism. But I know I don't have to convince you about conservation and crop insurance and rural electrification and those other things which the Democratic Party instituted and which have given the farmers the greatest prosperity they have ever had in their history.

There is only one thing I want to caution you about. Prosperity sometimes is a bad thing for some people. It makes them lazy and indifferent to the welfare of their country and their neighbors. The farmer now is in a prosperous condition, the most prosperous condition he has ever been in in the history of the country, or in the history of the world, for that matter.

I want to urge you people who live in the great farming communities to remember that the Government of the United States is a Government of the people. It is your Government. In fact, you are the Government. In order to implement that Government and make it work as it should, you must exercise that greatest of all privileges, the privilege of voting—expressing yourself at the polls in a free country.

Now, in 1946 people didn't do that. They didn't exercise their right on election day, and a very small minority of the voting population of the country gave us the worst Congress we have had in the history of the country, except one. Only one, I would say, was worse than this 80th Congress which has just finished. I will let you look up your history books to see which one that was, and I think you will agree with me when you read about it.

I want to urge you, don't make that mistake again—don't make that mistake again. Turn out and vote the Democratic ticket on November the 2d, and elect a Democratic Governor from Iowa, a Democratic Senator,

and a Democratic Congressman from this district. It will be a lot easier for your President to protect the rights of the people.

I can't tell you, again, how much I appreciate this privilege. They tell me these bands come from all over Iowa that are here this morning. That is a compliment, and I appreciate it. I hope you have a most successful celebration the rest of the day.

Thanks again.

[5.] GRINNELL, IOWA (Rear platform, 8:55 a.m.)

I appreciate that introduction very highly. Thank you, Doctor. I am a synthetic alumni.

My first honorary degree in my life I received from Grinnell College and I treasure it above all the others I've received since.

I'd like very much to introduce my daughter to you: Miss Margaret.

You know, it's a very great pleasure for us to be in Iowa today on this wonderful sunshiny fall day. You know, I met a fellow a while ago who is one of the most unusual I've ever seen. He told me that he had moved from Miami, Fla., to Iowa 6 years ago; and I also met another remarkable fellow who told me that he moved from California to Iowa. When I'm out in California about half the population out there is made up of Iowans and Missourians, so we've got at least some reverse on the subject.

This country is wonderful. I was raised down here in Jackson County, Mo., which is just like this Iowa country. It has black soil, raises corn and wheat and oats and alfalfa and lespedeza and soybeans and most everything else that you raise around here in this part of the world; and I'm so happy to see the prosperity as I come across this great State.

I never saw such corn crops. They tell me it's the greatest one in the history of the country; and the wheat crop is the second largest that this country has ever raised; and you know, that's necessary, for we have been under these emergency conditions, responsible for keeping millions and millions of people from starving to death, and I think Almighty God gave us that privilege, and I think we ought to make use of it.

Now, down here at Dexter today I'm going to try to outline to you the Democratic farm program. You know what that program is, but I'm going to reiterate it and bring it home to you and try to get you into a frame of mind so that you'll exercise your responsibility this fall when it comes time to vote. Your greatest responsibility is the responsibility of seeing that your Government is the sort of government you want because you are the Government. You are not the Government, though, when you don't exercise your franchise. I'm emphasizing that everywhere I go.

The most patriotic thing you can do under the circumstances today is to be sure and cast your vote on the 2d of November.

Again, I want to thank you for this privilege of stopping here in this wonderful town where this wonderful Grinnell College is, and a part of which I feel I am.

Again, thank you, Dr. Stevens.

[6.] DES MOINES, IOWA (Rear platform upon arriving, 10:20 a.m.)

Governor, Senator Gillette, distinguished members of my party who have been on the train with me across the State of Iowa, including your Democratic candidate for Governor, your Democratic candidate for Congress, and several other of your distinguished candidates, and ladies and gentlemen:

I am delighted to arrive here this morning exactly on time. I'll say this to you, though: that in every city there were immense num-

bers of people who were anxious to shake hands with me, and if I had delayed the train long enough to do that, I wouldn't have been here till the day after tomorrow.

I always feel like I'm a part of this part of the world because I was raised down in Jackson County, Mo., near a little town called Grandview, and I lived the best part of my life in Independence. Kansas City, you know, is a suburb of Independence, Mo.!

I understand the thinking of the people in this part of the world because I think as you do and you think as I do—I think.

I understand that Des Moines' baseball team won the pennant this year in the Western League. I've been trying to get Kansas City to win the pennant in the American Association ever since I was a kid. They won one when I was a little boy. I had hoped also to see St. Louis and Washington win the championships in the American and National Leagues. So I go for St. Louis one time and Washington the next, but I'm afraid they're both out. I know Washington is out. I think it's struggling to get to the bottom place in the American League.

I can't tell you how pleased I am to see how well the countryside looks out here. I've been vitally interested in the prosperity of the agricultural section of the United States.

The fact that you have been able, during the last 6 or 7 years, to produce bumper crops has been one of the greatest contributions that we have had toward winning World War II and toward keeping the world on a basis of nonstarvation since the war ceased. It's a wonderful thing. I don't think you yourselves appreciate what that contribution means. I don't think you appreciate what wonderful yields there have been in the last few years.

Down home, not long ago, land on which I used to raise 14 and 15 bushels of wheat to the acre is now producing 25 and 30; land on which I used to raise 60 bushels of corn an acre is raising 100, and I understand up here you are now raising 165 bushels of corn an acre. That's the most wonderful thing in the world, and I want to see that kept up. I want to see that prosperity continue which has been the result of a Democratic policy so far as the farmer and the workingman and the little businessman is concerned.

I think I can remember a time when a farmer didn't know whether he was going to stay on his farm till the next morning or not, and it hasn't been so very far back. And I think I can remember when there were a great many people who didn't know where the next meal was coming from.

That's not the case in this country today. We have a situation where the distribution of the national income is such that everybody gets a fair share of it. Now, that's not due to accident. That's due to a policy which has been pursued over the last 16 years.

I regret to say that a lot of you stayed at home in 1946 and set the clock back a little bit when you elected that "do-nothing" Republican 80th Congress. That was almost a disaster for the country. And if you stay at home again and let that situation continue you'll deserve just exactly what you get.

Now, when I get out here to Dexter, west of town, I'm going to outline for you the policy of the Democratic Party as it affects the farmer, the laboringman, and the small businessman, and I'm going to explain to you exactly why you should continue that policy in power; and then if you don't take my advice you won't have anybody to blame but yourselves.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the cordial welcome which has been extended me across the great State of Iowa this morning. Every place we've stopped at looked as if everybody in the whole surround-

ing country were there, and I believe they were.

We had quite an experience this morning down at a little town called Oxford. They told me the town had 500 people in it, and there were 2,500 people on the platform. Now, that's a feat that I never have known a big city to do in the history of the country—to get 5 times the number of the people in the town on the platform to welcome the President of the United States. That's been a very great pleasure.

[7.] DEXTER, IOWA (Address at National Plowing Match, 12:30 p.m., see Item 195)

[8.] DEXTER, IOWA (Following main address at the National Plowing Match, Item 195; 2:15 p.m.)

Thank you very much. I have had a most pleasant day, and outside the fact that I have had to make speeches it has been a happy day.

I heard a fellow tell a story about how he felt when he had to make speeches. It's an old, old story. I heard it about 40 years ago. He said when he has to make a speech, he felt like the fellow who was at the funeral of his wife, and the undertaker had asked him if he would ride down to the cemetery in the same car with his mother-in-law. He said, "Well, I can do it, but it's just going to spoil the whole day for me."

I am in sort of that frame of mind, but I have had to make a speech, especially one as important as that one this morning which I made which outlines the Democratic platform on the farm.

I had a most interesting and educational tour around this plowing contest ground today. I met the owners and tenants of these farms and inquired of them if they thought all of this tramping would ruin this good Iowa soil; and they said, "no, one rain would cure it all." That is remarkable. That is entirely remarkable.

I saw this straight line plowing contest as we came in, and was particularly interested in watching to see whether there were jumps and curves in the furrows. I didn't see any places where it could be said there was a crook in the furrow. They were all so straight. I don't see how they could ever check them.

I went over and looked at the contour plowing, and the uses that were being made of the waterholes to stop the wash—most interesting. I was down in the Virgin Islands not long ago and they are starting that contour treatment of the hills and volcanoes down in that part of the world, and they are raising some remarkable crops on those terraces. So you see, we are using our knowledge not only to improve Iowa and Missouri and Illinois, we are using it to improve those peoples who are dependent upon us for a living and for information on how to make a living.

Your friend who introduced me said that he would like to hear some of my experiences as a farmer. It is hardly worth telling at this age.

[*At this point Herbert Plambeck, Director of the National Plowing Contest, asked the President to comment on a statement that Mr. Truman could "plow one of the straightest furrows of anyone in your community."*]

I will tell you frankly, that statement was made by a very, very prejudiced witness: that statement was made by my mother.

I did have a reputation, though, of being able to sow a 160-acre wheat field without a skip place showing in it. My father used to always raise so much fuss about a skip place on an oat field or a wheat field that I was very careful never to have a skip place. I accomplished it by putting a marker on the drill—it was like planting corn.

I have had some other experiences that are interesting. In those days, we had what we called a gang plow, two 12-inch plows on the same frame with three wheels on it, and the locomotive power was four horses, or four mules, or three mules and a horse, or whatever you could get to pull it. It moved at a rate where it turned over a 2-foot furrow, and you could count the revolutions of the big wheel, from which you could tell how long it would take to plow an acre or to plow a field—3 or 4 days, sometimes longer.

Now you can get on a tractor and plow night and day—you don't have to feed it or water it—you can get off it whenever you please, take a nap, come back and run it again. I didn't live on the farm in this age. I'm sorry I didn't. I don't want to turn the clock back. I don't want to go back to the horse and buggy age, although some of our Republican friends do.

[*At this point Mr. Plambeck reminded the President that many of the estimated 100,000 persons present had arrived since his appearance earlier in the day and were seeing him for the first time. He suggested the President might want to tell them how he felt about "coming back to the land of golden corn and green fields." The President then resumed speaking.*]

I will come back any time you ask me, especially if I am met by 10 acres of people. Now you figure out how many that is!

[9.] DES MOINES, IOWA (Rear platform, upon departing, 4:10 p.m.)

I appreciate that introduction from the next Governor of Iowa; and I also had the privilege today of riding with the next Senator from Iowa.

We had a wonderful day. I think I must have seen all of 600,000 people today. They couldn't estimate what the number was out at the National Plowing Contest, but I estimated that there were 10 acres of people, and there are 43,560 square feet in an acre. Now you figure out how many people were there! I judge that there were at least 100,000 out there, and it was a most cordial and pleasant place to be.

I learned a lot about plowing that I thought I already knew, but didn't. I found out that there are a lot of things you can do with a plow and tractor that I couldn't do with four mules. It was an interesting experience.

I do want to express to you my sincere appreciation for the cordiality of your welcome, for the hospitality of the great State of Iowa, and do thank you very much for coming into the Democratic column on the 2d of November.

[10.] MELCHER, IOWA (Rear platform, 5:08 p.m.)

Thank you very much. That was a wonderful introduction and I appreciate it.

They tell me that this great Democratic town has a population of 500. Somebody told me that, and if that's the case I wish I could get New York and Chicago and Kansas City and St. Louis and San Francisco to turn out like this. I did have a turnout like this in Des Moines today and in Dexter. I understand Dexter has only about 1,400 and there were 100,000 people out at that show.

I appreciate your courtesy and your cordiality. I've had a wonderful time in Iowa today. We started at Davenport and we stopped at nearly all the towns between Davenport and Des Moines, and they turned out just like this to see the President. It's a wonderful tribute to the President of the United States when people want to see and hear what he has to say.

I don't know whether you listened in today at the meeting at Dexter. If you did, you found out exactly what the program of the Democratic Party is with regard to the

farmer and labor and the small businessman. If you haven't heard that speech, it's going to be rebroadcast again tonight. You better listen.

I appreciate your being here. I understand that this town has been Democratic ever since it was founded. I found another town like that over here in eastern Iowa, a town that has 500 people and which never has gone Republican. They tell me that's true of this town. That's a wonderful record and I hope you keep it up.

There is another little town named Oxford, and Guy Gillette—Senator Gillette—with whom I served in the Senate and who I think is going back to the Senate in this next election, told me that Oxford University in England was named for that town. I told them that Senator Gillette told me that, and they didn't believe me.

I think there isn't any doubt but what people are beginning to educate themselves in political economy. They have begun to understand that the Government of the United States is their Government and that they themselves are responsible for that Government. I think that lesson was brought home to them in 1946 when one-third of the voters in the United States elected that "do-nothing" 80th Republican Congress.

You'll have a chance to redeem yourselves on the 2d of November if you go out and vote for the welfare of the country, and for nothing else. As I said over at Dexter today, vote for yourselves and vote for the welfare of the country; and if you do that I won't have to move out of the White House.

I have had a wonderful time riding around over Ohio today—Iowa; I was in Ohio yesterday; I was in Ohio yesterday—riding around over Iowa today with your Democratic candidate for Governor—Carroll Switzer. He strikes me as a man who would make a good governor of Iowa and I know you are going to put him in that position. I have ridden with your Congressmen and with your local officials, and they all look good to me. I like Democrats anyhow.

So do the right thing here on election day.

[11.] CHARITON, IOWA (Rear platform, 5:36 p.m.)

I appreciate that introduction very much, and I think he is a good prophet.

I have had a wonderful tour today beginning at Rock Island, Ill., and they tell me this is the last town in Iowa I'll stop at, and I'll regret that because at every place I have been the crowds have been just like this, and they've been exceedingly cordial. I feel that Iowa is beginning to wake up to the situation, and on November 2 I won't have to say much more about them voting Democratic.

You know, the reason for that is that the Democratic Party gave the farmers the price support program, soil conservation, rural electrification, crop insurance, and other progressive measures of this kind. They have led to the greatest prosperity for the farmer that the farmer has ever had in the history of the world.

In 1932, 123,000 farmers in the United States had lost their farms. In 1947, less than 800 farms were foreclosed. That's the greatest record in history.

In 1932, the farmers were hopelessly in debt. Their indebtedness has been reduced by more than 50 percent and they have $18 billion in assets. Think of that! Just think of that!

Now, there are people in this United States that would like to go back to that condition, when labor was receiving an average of 45 cents an hour and when the farmer was getting 3 cents for hogs and 15 cents for corn and burning the corn because it wasn't worth the price. Those same people now have made an attempt to do away with the price support program which is responsible

for this immense production which we have had in the last 7 years and which has kept millions of people in this world alive.

I'm asking you just to read history, to use your own judgment, and to decide whether you want to go forward with the Democratic Party or whether you want to turn the clock back to the horse and buggy days with such people that made up that "do-nothing" 80th Congress.

That Congress tried its level best to take all the rights away from labor. That Congress tried its level best to put the farmer back to 1932. That Congress tried its level best to put small business out of business. For what purpose? To help the big interests which they represented.

Do you know that there were more and bigger lobbies in Washington than at any time in the history of the Congress of the United States? Some time a little later on I'm going to tell you about those terrible lobbies: The Association of Manufacturers' and the speculators' lobbies and several others that I could name right now; and I've got the facts and figures on them. They spent more money lobbying for special privilege in this "do-nothing" 80th Congress than has been spent in Washington in the whole history of the country.

Now, why did they do that? Because they wanted to take you to town. I'll tell you—you're going to get taken to town if you don't use your privilege on election day.

You stayed at home in 1946 and you got the 80th Congress, and you got just exactly what you deserved. You didn't exercise your God-given right to control this country. Now you're going to have another chance. If you let that chance slip, you won't have my sympathy.

If you don't let that chance slip, you'll do me a very great favor, for I'll live in the White House another 4 years.

It's been a very great pleasure to be in Iowa, and I appreciate it. I have had the privilege of riding with all your public officials today. It's been a very great pleasure to ride with your candidate for Governor, who is a wonderful man, the Democratic candidate for Governor. And I was with Guy Gillette, with whom I served in the Senate, and there never was a better Senator in the Senate than Guy Gillette. I'm extremely fond of him, and I hope, for your own welfare and for the welfare of this great State, that you'll send Guy Gillette back to the Senate, and that you'll elect the Democratic candidate for Governor and all the Democratic Congressmen and public officials you possibly can. I like Democrats no matter what office they're running for.

I hope that everything will go well with you. I can't tell you how I appreciate this wonderful turnout, this wonderful reception. It's been just like this all day long. I have come to the conclusion that the people in Iowa like their President and appreciate what he's trying to do for the common people.

[12.] TRENTON, MISSOURI (Rear platform, 7:10 p.m.)

It certainly is a pleasure. This is the first Missouri town at which we have stopped since we left Washington, and I certainly was highly pleased when the next Governor of Missouri met me in Des Moines this morning and spent the day with me. We went to that great meeting outside of Des Moines, and he has been with me ever since. I told him that at the first stop in Missouri he was going to have to present the President of the United States, although so far as Missouri was concerned, they didn't need such a presentation.

Forrest Smith and I are going to carry this State, and so is every other Democrat on the ticket. I have got a lot of friends here in

Trenton. I have been here many a time. When I was a kid, I had a job in the National Bank of Commerce in Kansas City, and I was getting $35 a month, and I had an old lady who ran a boarding house out on 1314 Troost, and she let me live there and have two meals a day for $5 a week. Imagine that! And she was a native of Trenton, Mo. That has been so long ago, I hate to remember just exactly how long it has been, but because that good old lady was so kind to me, I have always had a warm spot in my heart for this town, even if it does go Republican sometimes.

I don't think you are going to do that next time. How about it?

I am not supposed to address or make a political speech in my home State at this time, but I sincerely hope that all of you will study the issues for what they are worth, and I sincerely hope that on election day you won't hesitate to go to the polls, because this Government of ours is made up of the people. Every one of you has a hand in this Government, and when you don't exercise that great privilege which our forefathers sought to give you, you are shirking your duty, and then if the Government goes wrong, there is nobody to blame but you.

You know, in 1946 two-thirds of you stayed at home and you have got the 80th Congress—I say, next to one, the worst Congress the country has ever had for the welfare of the public.

If you will study the record, I am sure you will come to the same conclusion that I have, although you are not as close to those things as I am. But your interests are involved in the results of this—the action and nonaction of the 80th Congress.

All of you in this good town depend either on some job or on the soil, and if you do your interests have been vitally affected by the actions of this "do-nothing" 80th Republican Congress.

Now you are going to have a chance to remedy that on November 2d. You are going to have a chance to make Forrest Smith Governor of Missouri, and you are going to have a very, very great chance of keeping a Missourian in the White House for another 4 years.

There is one thing I want to bring home to you. I am on a crusade for the welfare of the everyday man in the United States. I am not working for special privilege. I am not working for the speculators' lobby. I am not working for the real estate lobby. I am not working for any special interests in the United States but the interests of the everyday man whose interest is my interest—and that interest is your interest.

You know, Lincoln said that the Lord certainly loved the common people or he wouldn't have made so many of them. I think that is just as true as it can be.

Now I want you, as citizens of the great State of mine, of which I am prouder than anything else, because I think it is the greatest State in the Union, and I can't say that in California or New York or Pennsylvania, but I say it here. It's the only State in the Union around which you can put a fence and it will survive. It has got everything it needs. There is no other State in the Union that has that.

I want every citizen of this great State to help me in that crusade, to keep the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. And if you will do that, this country will continue for another thousand years as the greatest country in the world.

[13.] Polo, Missouri (Rear platform, 8:10 p.m.)

It's certainly been a pleasure to have been able to stop for you tonight. I didn't think I was going to be able to do it but the railroad finally consented to stop.

I have had a great day today over the whole State of Iowa. Yesterday, I was over Ohio and Illinois.

The first meeting I had this morning was at a quarter of 6 at Rock Island, Ill., and I've had a meeting nearly every hour since then.

When I got to Des Moines, the next Governor of Missouri met me there—Forrest Smith— and we have been traveling together ever since.

If you are sure to elect Forrest Smith Governor, of course there will be no difficulty about the President carrying the State. I'm sure you will.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the cordiality of the receptions I have received today and yesterday on this crusade I am starting, to keep the Government in the hands of the people. That's what it amounts to, and nothing else.

I think the last Congress conclusively proved that the Republicans are entirely for special privilege, and you can't afford to have that sort of an administration in the Government. I sincerely hope that every one of you will turn out on election day and make Forrest Smith the Governor of Missouri, and fix it so that your native son can carry the State for the Presidency.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on September 18 the President referred to Paul H. Douglas, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator from Illinois, Guy M. Gillette, former U.S. Senator and Democratic candidate for Senator from Iowa, Leroy S. Mercer, State Senator from Iowa City, J. L. Kinney, Mayor of Oxford, Dr. Samuel N. Stevens, President of Grinnell College, Robert D. Blue, Governor of Iowa, Vincent Browner, Democratic candidate for Representative from Iowa's Fifth District, Carroll Switzer, Democratic candidate for Governor of Iowa, and Forrest Smith, Democratic candidate for Governor of Missouri.

195 Address at Dexter, Iowa, on the Occasion of the National Plowing Match. *September* 18, 1948

Mr. President, and all the good farmers who are responsible for this wonderful demonstration:

It does my heart good to see the grain fields of the Nation again. They are a wonderful sight. The record-breaking harvests you have been getting in recent years have been a blessing. Millions of people have been saved from starvation by the food you have produced. The whole world has reason to be everlastingly grateful to the farmers of the United States.

In a very real sense, the abundant harvests of this country are helping to save the world from communism. Communism thrives on human misery. And the crops you are producing are driving back the tide of misery in many lands. Your farms are a vital element in America's foreign policy. Keep that in mind, that is of vital importance to us and to the world.

And while I am on that subject—I know that the war talk which is so prevalent today is causing all of you deep concern. It is plain enough that we are facing a very disturbing international situation. I should like every American to realize that this country is making every possible effort to preserve the peace.

In this critical situation, my motto has been: "Keep your temper and stand firm." We have kept our tempers. We have stood firm. And we have been reasonable and straightforward at all times.

It is the policy of this Government to continue working for peace with every instrument at our command. At the same time, we have been rapidly building up our

strength. The peace of the world and the prestige of the United States require that the Nation be strong and vigilant.

But that is not the main point I wish to cover today. In addition to the issue of peace, there is another important reason why this is a critical period for America. I am talking about our economic future—your economic future.

Will this Nation succeed in keeping its prosperity? Will it preserve its high standards of living next year, and the year after, and the year after that?

I know of only one way to get assured prosperity. That is by cooperation of agriculture with labor, cooperation of agriculture and labor with business, large and small.

When these groups work together in a common cause, this country can achieve miracles. We saw that during the war. We saw it before the war. By common effort, in the last 15 years, every group in the Nation steadily increased its income. Our people rose from despair to the highest living standards in the history of the world.

So long as the farmer, the worker, and the businessman pull together in the national interest, this country has everything to hope for.

But it is terribly dangerous to let any one group get too much power in the Government. We cannot afford to let one group share the Nation's policies in its own interest, at the expense of the others.

That is what happened in the 1920's, under the big business rule of the Republicans. Those were the days when big corporations had things their own way. The policies that Wall Street big business wanted were the policies that the Republicans adopted. Agriculture, labor, and small business played second fiddle, while big business called the tune.

Those were the days of Republican high tariffs—tariffs which penalized the American farmer by making him pay high prices for manufactured goods, while he was receiving low prices for his crops.

You remember the results of that Wall Street Republican policy. You remember the big boom and the great crash of 1929. You remember that in 1932 the position of the farmer had become so desperate that there was actual violence in many farming communities. You remember that insurance companies and banks took over much of the land of small independent farmers—223,000 farmers lost their farms.

That was a painful lesson. It should not be forgotten for a moment.

Since then the farmer has come a long way. The agricultural program of the Democratic administration in 16 years has enabled farmers to attain decent standards of living. Interest rates on farm credit have been sharply brought down. Farm mortgage indebtedness has been reduced by more than 50 percent. Farm mortgage foreclosures have almost disappeared. In 1947 the smallest number of farm foreclosures in the history of the country took place.

All this was done under a Democratic administration.

Today the world needs more food than ever before. There is every reason for the American farmer to expect a long period of good prices—*if* he continues to get a fair deal. His great danger is that he may be voted out of a fair deal, and into a Republican deal.

The Wall Street reactionaries are not satisfied with being rich. They want to increase their power and their privileges, regardless of what happens to the other fellow. They are gluttons of privilege.

These gluttons of privilege are now putting up fabulous sums of money to elect a Republican administration.

Why do you think they are doing that? For the love of the Republican candidate?

Or do you think it is because they expect a Republican administration to carry out their will, as it did in the days of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover?

I think we know the answer. I think we know that Wall Street expects its money this year to elect a Republican administration that will listen to the gluttons of privilege first, and to the people not at all.

Republican reactionaries want an administration that will assure privilege for big business, regardless of what may happen to the rest of the Nation.

The Republican strategy is to divide the farmer and the industrial worker—to get them to squabbling with each other—so that big business can grasp the balance of power and take the country over, lock, stock, and barrel.

To gain this end, they will stop at nothing. On the one hand, the Republicans are telling industrial workers that the high cost of food in the cities is due to this Government's farm policy. On the other hand, the Republicans are telling the farmers that the high cost of manufactured goods on the farm is due to this Government's labor policy.

That's plain hokum. It's an old political trick. "If you can't convince 'em, confuse 'em." But this time it won't work.

The farmer and the worker know that their troubles have been coming from another source. Right here I would like to cite you an example of the situation that they were faced with not so long ago. In 1932, under the Republicans, we had 12,500,000 unemployed, with average hourly wages at 45 cents, and we had 15 cent corn and 3 cent hogs. In fact, you burnt up some of your corn, because you couldn't market it, it was too cheap.

Those gluttons of privilege remember one plain fact. Never once during the great crises of the past 50 years have the Wall Street Republican administrations lifted a finger to help the farmer. Wait a minute—wait a minute!—they did once. They gave you a Farm Board. That was their great contribution.

How well you must remember the depression of the 1930's! The Republicans gave you that greatest of all depressions, as I said before, when hogs went down to 3 cents, and corn was so cheap you were burning it up.

All through this country, the American farmer and worker have been the victims of boom and bust cycles—with accent on the bust, especially for the farmers and the workers. And they have suffered alike in these misfortunes.

I wonder how many times you have to be hit on the head before you find out who's hitting you? It's about time that the people of America realized what the Republicans have been doing *to* them.

Why is it that the farmer and the worker and the small businessman suffer under Republican administrations and gain under Democratic administrations?

I'll tell you why. It is the result of a basic difference in the attitude between the Democratic and the Republican parties.

The Democratic Party represents the people. It is pledged to work for agriculture. It is pledged to work for labor. It is pledged to work for the small businessman and the white-collar worker.

The Democratic Party puts human rights and human welfare first.

But the attitude of the Republican gluttons of privilege is very different. The big-money Republican looks on agriculture and labor merely as expense items in a business venture. He tries to push their share of the national income down as low as possible and increase his own profits. And he looks upon the Government as a tool to accomplish this purpose.

These Republican gluttons of privilege are cold men. They are cunning men. And it

is their constant aim to put the Government of the United States under the control of men like themselves. They want a return of the Wall Street economic dictatorship.

You have had a sample of what the Republican administration would mean to you. Two years ago, in the congressional elections, many Americans decided that they would not bother to vote. Well, others thought they would like to have a change. And they brought into power a Republican Congress—that notorious "do-nothing" 80th Republican Congress.

Let us look at the results of that change. This Republican Congress has already stuck a pitchfork in the farmer's back.

They have already done their best to keep the price supports from working. Many growers have sold wheat this summer at less than the support price, because they could not find proper storage.

When the Democratic administration had to face this problem in the past, the Government set up grain bins all over the wheat and corn belts to provide storage.

Now the farmers need such bins again. But when the Republican Congress rewrote the charter of the Commodity Credit Corporation this year, there were certain lobbyists in Washington representing the speculative grain trade—your old friend.

These big-business lobbyists and speculators persuaded the Congress not to provide the storage bins for the farmers. They tied the hands of the administration. They are preventing us from setting up storage bins that you will need in order to get the support price for your grain.

When the farmers have to sell their wheat below the support price, because they have no place to store it, they can thank this same Republican 80th Congress that gave the speculative grain trade a rakeoff at your expense.

The Republican reactionaries are not satisfied with that. Now they are attacking the whole structure of price supports for farm products.

This attack comes at a time when many farm prices are dropping and the price support program is of the greatest importance to the farmer.

The Democratic Party originated the farm support program. We built the price support plan out of hard experience. We built it for the benefit of the entire Nation—not only for the farmer, but for the consumer as well.

Republican spokesmen are now complaining that my administration is trying to keep farm prices up. They have given themselves away. They have given you a plain hint of what they have in store for you if they come into power. They are obviously ready to let the bottom drop out of farm prices.

The purpose of price support is to prevent farm prices from falling to ruinously low levels. Every consumer should realize that these supports apply only when farm prices have dropped below parity.

The Government is not now supporting the price on major food items such as meats, dairy products, and poultry.

The Government has just begun to support the price of wheat, which has dropped from around $3 a bushel to about $2 a bushel.

This support price has nothing to do with the price the consumer is paying for bread.

Now, listen to this! When wheat prices were going up, the price of bread rose steadily. It went up from 10 cents a loaf to 11 cents—to 12 cents a loaf—to 13 cents—to 14 cents.

Now, wheat prices have fallen a dollar a bushel. But the price of bread has come down not one cent!

There you have the policy of the reaction-

ary big business. Pay as little as you can to the farmer, and charge the consumer all he can bear. That is a fair sample of what the Republican reaction has meant to you in the past 2 years—to you, and to every consumer, in the cities and on the farms.

When the Republicans claim that the wheat price supports are to blame for the high price of bread, they are trying to stir up the city consumer against the farmer by downright dishonesty.

The truth of the matter is that by encouraging the record production of the last few years, the support program has actually kept the consumer prices down.

Those who are wilfully trying to discredit the price support system don't want the farmers to be prosperous. They believe in low prices for farmers, cheap wages for labor, and high profits for big corporations.

These are the facts the people need to know. I am going to keep hammering away at the facts until the whole country rings with the truth about these gluttons of privilege.

The record of the Republican 80th Congress is one long attack on the welfare of the farmer.

Under the Democratic administrations since 1933, the Government sponsored the great soil conservation program which helped to lay the foundations for the present prosperity of the American farmer. But that "do-nothing" Republican 80th Congress, under the false mask of economy, cut and threatened to kill the soil conservation program. You people here know best the importance of soil conservation to American agriculture. You bet you do! You know what the reactionary attack on soil conservation will cost the farmer if we let the Republicans have their own way.

At every point the Republican 80th Congress did what the speculative grain lobby wanted it to do.

They have killed the International Wheat Agreement, which would have assured the American wheat growers a large export market for 5 years at fair prices.

They started a move to put a death-tax on farm cooperatives.

They ruled out the grain bins that help make the ever-normal granary effective.

They have invited a depression by refusing to curb inflation.

And now they are attacking the farm support program.

The Wall Street Republicans are not worrying about whether you like it or not. Their political wiseacres have assured them that the farmer has fallen back into his old habit of voting Republican, whatever happens. The Republicans are saying, "Don't worry about the farm vote. It's in the bag."

So long as you had a good year once in a while, you would be satisfied. So they thought. And so they think today.

You and I know they're making a big mistake. From what I have seen, the farmers of this country have their eyes open. You're not going to be fooled again by the slick propaganda of Wall Street.

In only 2 years, with only the Congress under their control, the Republicans were able to weaken your position gravely.

Well, imagine what would happen if they were to get both the Congress and the Presidency for 4 years. What they have taken away from you thus far would be only an appetizer for the economic tapeworm of big business.

Your best protection is to elect a Democratic Congress and a President that will play fair with the farmer—an administration that will reinforce soil conservation, provide adequate storage facilities for grain, encourage

production, and help the farmer make enough on his crop to meet the cost of living, and have something left over.

I don't need to tell you how long it takes to get a good crop, and how big the dangers are. You can work a year, plowing and cultivating, and then at the last minute, a sudden drought or flood can wipe you out. You all know how terrible these disasters of nature can be.

Now you are faced with the danger of another kind of disaster—a man-made disaster bearing the Republican trademark. For 16 years the Democrats have been working on a crop of prosperity for the farmer. We have been plowing, and seeding, and cultivating the soil of the American economy in order to get a crop of prosperity that you have been enjoying for the past several years.

The question is: Are you going to let another Republican blight wipe out that prosperity?

I have reminded you of the evils wrought by the Republican administrations in recent times. But my purpose has not been merely to bring up the past. I am trying to point the way to a healthy future. The Democratic Party is looking forward, not back. We are planning to aid the farmers of America meet their pressing problems and avoid catastrophe.

Today farmers are faced with the threat that markets will fail to keep up with their production. The reactionary Republican answer is to let prices crash to the bottom. But the Democratic Party has a constructive way of preventing such a collapse.

We are reaching out to develop world markets that will absorb production above America's own needs. Scientific research is discovering more and newer uses for farm products. We know that the world can absorb the farmers' output, if the right conditions are created, and we are working to insure continued prosperity for American agriculture.

The Democratic Party is fighting the farmer's battle. We believe that farmers are entitled to share equally with other people in our national income. We believe that a prosperous and productive agriculture is essential to our national welfare.

But the Democratic Party does not stand in defense of the farmer alone. It stands for the people of the United States—the farmer, the industrial worker, and the white-collar worker.

Our intentions are made clear by our deeds. In this 20th century, every great step forward has come during Democratic administrations of the National Government. Every movement backward has come under Republican auspices, and it is the people who have paid dearly for these reactionary moves.

Too much is now at stake—here and throughout the world—to take the wrong path now.

There is one way to stop the forces of reaction.

Get every vote out on election day, and make it count. You can't afford to waste your votes this year.

I'm not asking you just to vote for me. Vote for yourselves! Vote for your farms! Vote for the standard of living that you have won under a Democratic administration!

Get out there on election day, and vote for your future!

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. before an audience of over 80,000 persons. His opening words "Mr. President" referred to Herb Plambeck, Director of the National Plowing Contest. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

For the President's later informal remarks at the scene of the plowing match, see Item 194 [8].

196 Letter to the Chairman, Humanitarian Award Dinner of the Variety Clubs International. *September* 18, 1948

[Released September 18, 1948. Dated September 15, 1948]

Dear Mr. Barron:

I deeply regret that absence from the city will keep me from attending the Annual Humanitarian Award Dinner of Variety Clubs International on Saturday evening, September eighteenth.

It is a personal satisfaction to me that the Honorable George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, will receive on this happy occasion the tribute of your annual award. I can think of no one more richly deserving of this recognition.

With all of you, I join in warm congratulations to General Marshall. To Variety, I extend hearty greetings. I know that it will never weary of the well-doing that has earned it such an abundance of gratitude and good wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

[Carter T. Barron, Esq., Chairman, Variety Clubs International Humanitarian Award Dinner, Hotel Statler, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The President's letter was read at the Humanitarian Award Dinner at the Statler Hotel in Washington by R. J. O'Donnell, International Chief Barker of the Variety Clubs International.

197 Rear Platform Remarks in Kansas. *September* 19, 1948

[1.] JUNCTION CITY, KANSAS (11:05 p.m.)

I have made a rule not to make political speeches on Sunday—never did from the time I was in politics 30 years ago. But I have been a steady visitor here for years and years and years. I came here to Fort Riley to train as a field artilleryman. Sometimes they tried to make a cavalryman out of me, but they didn't succeed.

I have been over this reservation from one end to the other. You know, it is a peculiar thing about this reservation. The geographical center of the United States is on this reservation, and the monument for it was moved by the authorities so the people could see it. So you have the distinction of having moved the center of the United States a quarter of a mile so people could look at it. No community in the country has been able to move the center of the United States, or any other center, for that matter. But you did.

I hope that the time will come when I can come back here and go over some of the pleasant things I have done here in times past.

It has been a pleasure to me to be associated with your good Kansas candidates this evening. I have had some very pleasant talks with them. They are all fine men. I know them personally, and I know that they will do you a good job, if you decide to give them the job to do.

Thank you very much.

198 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Colorado. *September* 20, 1948

[1.] DENVER, COLORADO (Inter-American Conference on Conservation of Renewable Resources, State Capitol, 11:17 a.m.)

Mr. Secretary, Mr. Chairman, and members of this historic conference:

It certainly is a very great pleasure to me to have this opportunity to address the first hemispheric conference on conservation. That is a step which will make history. That is a step that I hope will thoroughly cement the friendship between the 21 Western Hemisphere Republics.

As you know, I have been exceedingly interested in the friendship and the good neighbor policy of the United States of America. It was my privilege to officially visit Mexico and Brazil and Canada, and officially to receive the President of Chile, the President of Colombia, and several other Western Hemisphere Presidents, including the President of Mexico. He paid an official return visit to Washington to me for the one I gave him.

If we can just continue that sort of feeling, there isn't any question of doubt in my mind that our natural resources will meet the population's demands, no matter what that may be. There are resources in this Western Hemisphere that have never been touched. If those resources can be properly conserved, if we can go through with a program such as you are working with here, there isn't any question in my mind but what eventually we will have peace in the world and there will be enough of the good things in life for every citizen of the world to enjoy a good living, plenty to eat, and plenty to wear, and a pleasant place to stay and call it his own.

That, my friends, is what we are working for in other nations, that is what we are working for in the Pan American conference, and that is what we are working for right here in this hemispheric conservation conference.

I want to thank you most sincerely for your kindness in asking me to come and meet with you this morning. I wish I could stay longer, and I wish I could hear some of the speeches and the lectures that will be given here. I am vitally interested, but I am here for another purpose, and if you are interested in American politics, I will tell you all about it right here on the lawn.

Thank you.

[2.] DENVER, COLORADO (Address, 12 noon, see Item 199)

[3.] DENVER, COLORADO (Luncheon given by the Colorado Truman-Barkley Club, Shirley-Savoy Hotel, 1:55 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, Senator Johnson:

I can't tell you how very much my family and I are in your debt for the wonderful welcome you have given us here today. We had not anticipated the turnout that you gave us. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate it. It goes to show that the people can't very well be fooled. They want to know facts, and when the people know the facts, the Government of the United States is in safe hands.

You know, in 1946 the people were tired. They had been through a long war. They had to be regimented, their sons and daughters had been in the fighting forces and they felt that they would like to have some relief.

A great many of them, in fact, two-thirds of them, did not exercise that great privilege for which our forefathers fought from 1776 to 1781, and for which they fought an internecine war from 1861 to 1865 to keep the free ballot. They did not exercise that privilege, and look what they got—just look what they got!

They got a change all right. Remember the signs all over the country "Had Enough?" Well, they apparently thought they had had enough and now they have had too much.

It is your civic duty, no matter how you feel, to go to the polls on election day, after you have been properly registered on the registration date, and vote your sentiments, because you are the Government of the United States, the only Republic in the history of the world where the people are the Government. You elect local officials, nonpartisan mayors and councils, nonpartisan judges; and partisan congressmen and senators, and partisan Presidents and Vice Presidents. In that way, you are the Government.

Now, I want you to tell all your friends and everybody you know, whether a Republican, a Mugwump, or a Democrat, to come out and do his duty civically on the 2d day of November.

Now this is a wonderful club, and they are springing up all over the United States. You know, back in April of this year, they had your President out in the Atlantic Ocean, so far as politics were concerned. And in May we heard people deciding that it would be best for the country if certain other persons, many of whom you have in mind, could be named to head the Democratic ticket. And then, along in July, after the Republicans had had a convention and had written a platform—which, in my opinion, is the most hypocritical document that has been put into writing—people began to understand that for 3 long years the President of the United States had succeeded to an almost impossible situation.

There were 12,800,000 men and women under arms on September 2, 1945. Two wars had suddenly come to an end, one of them 6 months ahead of the estimated time, and the other one a year and six months ahead of the estimated time; and people began to talk it down, they did not understand that the period succeeding a world conflagration like that would, in all probability, be much more difficult to handle than the carrying on of a war when everybody was behind the Government putting everything he had into it to make it work.

And so dissension. We had dissension in the Democratic Party and had dissension in the Republican Party. Look at the votes, and on the Congress of the United States in 1945 after war ceased, and in 1946; and then look at what they did in the elections of 1946. It is hard to understand how we could continue to make the Government run.

But it did run. We had no riots—we had no bloodshed—we had no Ku Klux Klan. But we did make an effort to keep the country running, and we have succeeded in putting 61,000,000 people to work. We have succeeded in creating the greatest national income in the history of the world, and that income has not been just in the hands of a few people. It has been distributed to the farmers, to the man who works with his hands, and to the white-collar man; and since the Republican 80th Congress came in, the special interests have been getting a lot of it, too.

Now I want you to weigh all these things in this Truman-Barkley Club, and I want you to go out and tell the citizens exactly what the situation is, and I don't believe there is a man in the country, if he thinks, that would want to turn the clock back. That is what you are being asked to do.

Weigh all these things, read all the

speeches of the opposition, read all the statements of your President—not one of these statements but what are based on absolute fact. I know! And then, on November 2d, I am not going to ask you to vote just for me. Vote for yourselves. Vote for yourselves, and tell everybody else to vote for themselves, and you won't have to worry who will live in the White House for the next 4 years.

[4.] Colorado Springs, Colorado (Rear platform, 4:26 p.m.)

I am very happy to be in Colorado Springs again. I have been here on numerous occasions. It's a lovely place, beautifully situated, and you don't dare talk about the climate of Colorado Springs in California—or Florida either, for that matter.

One of the reasons you are prosperous and happy is because you've learned how to use your resources to the very best advantage, especially your water resources.

You know, the Reclamation Act has been on the books for more than 30 years, but nothing much was done about it or the development of this part of the world until 1932, when you elected Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Most of you in 1932 had given up hope and were thinking of going somewhere else, along with the Okies and the other people who were moving around the country; but much to your satisfaction you didn't do that.

At that time the income of the great State of Colorado was about $350 million. Do you know what it was last year? It was a billion, five hundred million dollars. And that wasn't due to any accident. That was due to the development of the resources of this great State.

It's a wonderful thing that has happened to this part of the world in the last decade, and I am wondering whether you are going to let the present propaganda machine fool you into turning the clock back to 1932 again. I am very sure you won't do that. If you'll just study the facts and the figures, you can't do anything else but keep an administration in power that has been trying to do things for this part of the world.

I made a speech in Denver at noon, in which I made the statement that due to the example of that terrible 80th Republican Congress elected in 1946, I could say definitely that the Republicans are trying to sabotage the West.

In 1946, you know, two-thirds of you stayed at home and didn't vote. You wanted a change. Well, you got it. You got the change. You got just exactly what you deserved.

If you stay at home on November the 2d and let this same gang get control of the Government, I won't have any sympathy with you. But if you go out to the polls on that day and do your duty as you should I won't have to worry about moving out of the White House; and you won't have to worry about what happens to the welfare of the West. Those two things go together.

I have been most happy today to travel around over Colorado with your Democratic candidate for Congress and your Democratic candidate for the Senate, Ed Johnson, and with your wonderful and able Democratic Governor who introduced me up in Denver today. It's been a pleasure to be with those gentlemen, and I want to see Colorado come out of the kinks entirely and send us a Democratic delegation in toto to the Congress.

[5.] Pueblo, Colorado (Rear platform, 6:07 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, Governor Knous, Senator Johnson:

I am most happy to be in this great city of

Pueblo. I have been here many a time. One of the times I was here was a very, very sad one. I was here at the funeral of Alva Adams, one of the great Senators from Colorado. He was my personal friend. I was very fond of him, and he made history while he was in the Senate.

I hope that Pueblo will always stay in the Democratic column.

I understand that you've almost doubled your population in the last 10 years; and that wasn't by accident. It was because the Democrats in power in Washington were able to help you improve your conditions here.

You know, Pueblo is the site of one of the greatest controversies that ever took place in the history of the country; and as a result of that controversy and the pullman strike in Chicago, and the Homestead Steel strike in Pittsburgh, labor began to come into its own. And, when Franklin Roosevelt was elected President of the United States, we got a bill of rights for labor. That bill of rights became effective, known as the Wagner Act, 13 years ago.

Well, in 1946 labor stayed at home and didn't vote, and a lot of other people stayed at home and didn't vote because only one-third of the people entitled to vote in 1946 did vote; and we got the 80th Congress.

The first thing that 80th Congress did—and I vetoed it 3 times; it took 3 times to get it; I vetoed it 3 times—they passed a rich man's tax bill. They began to line their own pockets.

And the next thing they did was to take some of the freedom away from labor, that famous Taft-Hartley Act.

Well, now, you're faced with this situation; as I told you a while ago, you thought you wanted a change in 1946. You got it. You got that rich man's tax bill and you got the Taft-Hartley Act. I wonder if you want to go any further with that sort of change? All right; if you don't, on November the 2d you better get out and vote. You better get out and vote, and you better elect a Democratic Senator and a Democratic Congressman from this district. And, well, if you do that, you can't help but elect the President because he's on the ticket ahead of them.

There are a lot of other things besides those two things which I shall just call to your attention. One of them is reclamation and irrigation.

The Reclamation Act was passed about 30 years ago. Not much was done about it until you elected a Democratic administration in 1932, and then things began to happen. Since that time, more than 5,000,000 acres have been put to work, that otherwise would be desert, by the Democratic policies, and more than 90,000 farms have been put under cultivation as a result of that policy.

Now, you've got a great project here in this neighborhood, known as the Gunnison-Arkansas project. If that project is carried out—and it won't be carried out if the Republicans have their way, and if you let them have their way that will be your fault—if that project is carried out, that one project will create more power by 10 or 15 times—22, I think—22 times as much power as is used right here in Pueblo. That will mean more industries for this part of the world. It will mean more desert land under cultivation. It will mean prosperity for this part of the West.

And that's what the Democratic administrations have stood for: the welfare of the common people. And the big interests don't like that. They are interested in their own special privileges. And if you stand around on election day and let them get away with it, you'll get just exactly what you deserve, as you did in 1946.

You'll get a Republican administration that's interested in the real estate lobby,

that's interested in the power lobby, that's interested in the grain speculators' lobby, and a dozen others that some day I'm going to name to you and tell you just how much money they spent in Washington on this "do-nothing" 80th Congress. It's most interesting.

The public interest was not looked after one little bit after that Congress went into effect. I can stand here and talk to you for an hour and tell you what they didn't do that they ought to have done, and tell you what they did do that they should not have done. But you all know it. I don't have to tell you.

Now, use your judgment. Keep the people in control of the Government who work for your interests, the interests of the common people and who are not working for the special interests.

Why, the campaign funds subscribed by the big interests for the Republican campaign—well, I'd say a very small part of it would make the Democrats the happiest people in the world. You know, we never do have any money. I've been told that when a man gets as much as a thousand dollars in his pocket, he votes the Republican ticket. Some of these thousand dollar fellows and some of these farmers are finding out that their best interest is with the Democratic Party whether they have a thousand dollars or a hundred thousand dollars. And they better keep that in mind.

I do appreciate most highly your courtesy to me and the courtesy of your Governor and the public officials who have been so kind to me all day today.

I've had a grand time in Denver and we had a crowd about half this big in Colorado Springs, and if Colorado Springs was as big as Pueblo, I guess the crowd would have been bigger.

And I can't tell you, as I say, how much I appreciate all these courtesies. It makes me feel good that I've taken the effort to come out here and tell you just exactly what the facts are.

I hope you'll study the speech I made in Des Moines, Iowa, yesterday—or Saturday—and the one I made in Denver this morning. You'll find that the interests of the common people are at stake, that I'm trying to look after the fellow who has to work for a living, either on the farm or as a laboringman, or as a white-collar worker. I don't think you'll find anybody in the Republican Party that's very much interested in the welfare of these people.

[6.] CANON CITY, COLORADO (Rear platform, 7:32 p.m.)

Well! I guess this is all the rest of Colorado. I can't tell you how very much I have appreciated the cordiality of the welcome I have received in Colorado today. In Denver I never saw such crowds. And Colorado Springs and Pueblo. I think this crowd here in Canon City is bigger than either one of the crowds in Colorado Springs or Pueblo. I believe that Colorado is interested in Democrats. Particularly in your Democratic President.

As we came down from Denver to Pueblo today, we passed by Pike's Peak, and I understand tonight we are going to pass by Mount Elbert, which next to Mount Whitney is the highest mountain in the country. And I was thinking about those high mountains and these high prices under which we live. Prices are higher than Mount Elbert or Pike's Peak or Mount Whitney, either one; and that was brought about because we have special interests who want to profit by those prices, and they have prevented a control of those prices to make things fair for the fellow that has to work for a living. I don't know whether they want to do it. I think 7 or 8

or 9 times I asked for legislation that would improve that price situation, but I didn't get anywhere with it at all.

This 80th Republican "do-nothing" Congress was not interested in your welfare and mine. They were interested in certain special interests in the country who want to control the country as they did in times past. In fact, they would like to put the West back where it was in 1860 as a sort of colony of the East.

You remember when we were trying to build the Pacific Railroad across the United States, Daniel Webster made a speech in the Senate of the United States. Daniel Webster was one of the original Republicans, and he made a speech in the Senate of the U.S., and he said he did not want to open up the West, he never did think this part of the country was any good, he didn't think it ever would be any good.

And you remember when he sat down with Lord Ashburton to write a treaty about 54–40, he and Lord Ashburton took a ruler and drew a line across the map and said this will do, the country is no good anyway.

I think the Republicans have always thought that. At least this Republican 80th Congress seems to think it, because they are trying to keep you from trying to get your projects built out here.

I have asked for funds for reclamation projects, for power projects, and for those projects in this part of the country that mean so much to you people; and they have turned me down every time.

I don't think they want you to prosper. They are afraid of you.

I want you to help me keep the Government in the hands of the people. The people west of the Mississippi River can do that if they want to do it, because there are enough people east of the Mississippi River who are in sympathy with what you believe in—conservation, public power, and the implementation of our national resources for the benefit of all the country, not just for a few people who speculate on the stock exchange in Wall Street.

In Des Moines on Saturday I told the farmers what was good for them. In Detroit on Labor Day I told the men who work what was good for them. Today in Denver, Colo., I told you people out here what would be best for your interests and for the interests of the country as a whole.

The Democratic Party doesn't stand for any special interests. The Democratic Party wants every man, woman, and child to have his fair share of the national income.

I am not so sure that is what the Republicans want. At least they did not show it when they had control of the country. They gave us a phony boom and a bust. They ruined the farmer, the worker, and the ordinary citizen.

And who pulled you out of that boom and bust?

In 1932 you elected Franklin Roosevelt. In 1934 you sent me to the Senate. In 1944 you elected me to be Vice President of the United States, and I succeeded the greatest President this country has ever had—Mr. Roosevelt.

I have been trying my best to carry on for the welfare of the country. Of course, I had a different situation than we had in wartime. You know, people will get together and cooperate when the country's existence is in danger. But, you know, it has been most difficult to operate things since hostilities ceased, because special interests and various other people were not very anxious to see a Democratic administration come out very successfully.

Now I have had to come out here and tell you what the facts are and to urge you to use your judgment, for your own interests.

And your own interest is a Democratic administration in Washington, in the Congress, and in the White House for the next 4 years.

We had a shining example of what the Republicans intend to do to you by this 80th Congress. They have done immense damage to the farmer, to labor, and to the white-collar worker in the 2 years they have been in control of that Congress. I don't know what they would have done if they had a President in sympathy with them.

Now, you had better look out for your own interests on November the 2d, and vote for the welfare of the United States as a whole by sending the Democrats back there, on November the 2d.

Your Governor and all your public officials have been kind to us today, and I can't tell you how very much I appreciate it. If you elect the whole Democratic ticket in Colorado—if you do that, I won't have any trouble staying in the White House.

[7.] SALIDA, COLORADO (Rear platform, 9:47 p.m.)

Well, you know it certainly is a pleasure. Mrs. Thompson and the Doctor have been worrying ever since we left Colorado Springs as to whether there would be more than 50 people out here tonight. It looks to me like you've got 10 times 50 and maybe more, and I appreciate it.

We've had a grand day in Colorado today, my family and myself. Denver—well, Denver turned out with I think everybody in town and about a hundred thousand on the outside. And then at Colorado Springs I think everybody in the city was there. In Pueblo we had about twice as many, but Pueblo is twice as big as Colorado Springs. And then when we got to Canon City they said that was the center of all the Republicans in Colorado and there wouldn't be anybody out unless they opened up the penitentiary and let all the prisoners out. But they were very much mistaken. There were at least 5,000 or 6,000 people out there in Canon City, and I didn't see anybody with stripes at all.

And then look here at Salida. This is a wonderful city. You know, my family used to take their vacations up here at Buena Vista and they would come down to Salida for various reasons; my boss, Mrs. Truman, used to come down here to see the doctor, Dr. Thompson, years ago.

This is a wonderful country, in my opinion, and I think in the opinion of a lot of people; and I want to see it continue its growth. I want to see it improve and become greater and greater as the years go by. I'm not so sure that my Republican opponents want that to happen.

They have a very peculiar idea that special interest and special privilege is the reason for government. I have exactly the opposite idea.

I think the Government belongs to you and me as private citizens. That's one thing in this country that makes it great. Every single man and woman in this country can have his say and have an interest in the Government of the U.S. and his State and his county and his city, if he wants to, but he has to exercise that privilege on election day. And if he doesn't do that then he throws away his privilege.

That's what two-thirds of the population did in 1946. They were disgruntled. They said they wanted a change. They got the change, in the form of the 80th Republican "do-nothing" Congress.

That Congress did not do very much for the common people. It took some of the privileges away from labor; it passed a rich man's tax bill; it refused to do what was necessary for the farmers; it refused to do anything about prices. In fact, the things

that it did not do will fill a whole page, and the things that that Congress did add up to what they did to the people and not for them.

Now, you've got another chance to redeem yourselves. On November 2d you are going to elect a Senator from Colorado and you're going to elect all the Congressmen from Colorado, and if you do what you ought to do you'll elect Ed Johnson to the Senate, you'll elect a Democrat from this district for Congress and every other district in Colorado, if you're looking after your own interests.

I not only want you to vote for me but I want you to vote for yourselves, and if you vote for yourselves, you'll vote the Democratic ticket; and if you don't vote the Democratic ticket you'll have a continuation of just what you have had in the last 2 years, and if you do that—if you want that sort of government—I'm not going to worry about your welfare. You can take what you get, just like you had to take this 80th "do-nothing" Republican Congress.

Now, real patriotism, if you have it, will show in your turnout on November 2d. I hope there won't be a single person who is entitled to vote in the State of Colorado, who does not go out and vote.

The income of the State of Colorado has trebled since 1932. It was about 350 million at that time, and do you know what it was in 1947? It was a billion, five hundred million dollars.

There are 61 million people at work in the United States today, and I've heard people say that that could not happen in this country. It was not a fact in 1932. There were about 12 or 15 million people who didn't have jobs in 1932, and jobs are going begging now.

The income is the greatest in the history of the world in this country, and it's being distributed so that the farmer, the laboring-man, the white-collar worker, and everybody who is entitled to it is getting his share of that tremendous income.

I don't think you want to vote against your own interest. So, if you'll do what I'm asking you to do on election day I won't have to be hunting around in this housing shortage for a house after January the 20th.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on September 20 the President referred to Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan; and to Mayor Quigg Newton of Denver, Senator Edwin C. Johnson, Governor William Lee Knous, Democratic National Committeewoman Marguerite Peyton Thompson, and her husband, Dr. L. E. Thompson, all of Colorado.

199 Address at the State Capitol in Denver. *September* 20, 1948

Governor, Senator, distinguished politicians, and members of the Democratic Party of Colorado, ladies and gentlemen:

Every time I come out this way I feel again the tremendous vitality of the West. That feeling comes not only from magnificent scenery and bracing air. It comes from talking to the vigorous, confident people who live out here.

This is a straight-from-the-shoulder country, and it has produced a great breed of fighting men. I am going to call upon your fighting qualities now. For you and I have a fight on our hands—a fight for the future of this country and for the welfare of the people of the United States.

The other day, a cartoonist for a Republican newspaper drew a cartoon of me that I enjoyed. He showed me dressed up as Paul Revere, riding through a colonial town yelling to the townspeople: "Look out! The Republicans are coming!"

It was a good cartoon. There's a lot of truth in it. But it's not quite accurate. What I am really telling you is not that the Republicans are coming, but they are here. They have been in Washington for the last 2 years in the form of the notorious Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress.

Today I want to talk to you about what that Republican Congress has been doing *to* you, and to your families, and to your country.

Understand me, when I speak of what the Republicans have been doing, I'm not talking about the average Republican voter. Nobody knows better than I that man for man, individually, most Republicans are fine people. But there's a big distinction between the individual Republican voter and the policies of the Republican Party.

Something happens to Republican leaders when they get control of the Government or even of a part of the Government—something that shocks and dismays many of their own loyal supporters.

Republicans in Washington have a habit of becoming curiously deaf to the voice of the people. They have a hard time hearing what the ordinary people of the country are saying. But they have no trouble at all hearing what Wall Street is saying. They are able to catch the slightest whisper from big business and the special interests.

When I talk to you here today about Republicans, I am talking about the party that gets most of its campaign funds from the special interests in Wall Street. I am talking to you about the party that gave us the phony boom of the 1920's, and the Hoover depression which followed it. I am talking to you about the party that gave us that Republican 80th Congress.

The Republican Party today is controlled by silent and cunning men who have a dangerous lust for power and privilege. The Republican Party is fundamentally the party of privilege. These men are now reaching out for control of the country and its resources.

It is your votes which will decide whether or not they have their way. That is why I have come out here today.

I want you to know the facts.

I repeat: The most reactionary elements in the country today are backing the Republican Party in its effort to take over your Government on election day.

If they succeed, I predict that they will turn back the clock to the day when the West was an economic colony of Wall Street. That is terrible even to contemplate.

Election day this year, your choice will not be merely between political parties. You will be choosing a way of life for years to come. This is a fateful election. On it will depend your standard of living and the economic independence of your community.

You can choose to be governed by Republican puppets of big business—the same breed that gave you the worst depression in our history.

Or you can choose to be governed by the servants of the people, who are pledged to work for the welfare of all the people, the nominees of the Democratic Party.

Some of you may feel that I am attacking the leaders of the Republican Party rather sharply. I am. And I have good reasons for doing it—reasons like the obstacles placed in the way of conservation of our natural resources; reasons like the housing conditions in this country; reasons like the high cost of living; reasons close to your hearts, and to mine.

You people out here have been thinking about these problems. You have a right to know what your Government is going to do about them.

Let's go into them a little bit. Let's see

where the Republicans stand on these vital issues, and where the Democratic Party stands.

We all know that the housing situation in this country is a national disgrace. It is almost unbelievable that we should have made so little progress in providing decent housing conditions for millions of American families.

From the first day of that Republican 80th Congress, there was a housing bill before it, which would meet the problem. That bill was a full-scale program to provide housing for all our people and not just for those who can pay high prices. But the Republicans refused to act.

The situation became more and more desperate. Veterans' groups, labor groups, mayors of cities, Governors of States, pleaded with the Republicans to pass the housing bill. Even that hypocritical Philadelphia convention made a plea for it. Can you beat that? They still did nothing.

The Republican stand on housing was clearly exposed last July, when I called the Congress into special session and demanded again that they enact housing legislation. The bill was ready. It had been studied and discussed, times without number. It was supposed to be nonpartisan.

But what happened? There was a certain real estate lobby which had its high-priced agents operating in Washington. These men, representing big real estate interests, were in close touch with the Republican leaders. The Republican leadership in the House of Representatives cracked the whip. And the Republican Senate killed the nonpartisan housing bill.

This was no accident. It was Republican policy. In 1947, Senator Taft joined with two Democratic Senators—Senator Wagner and Senator Ellender—in introducing the housing bill. But in 1948 he voted against the bill with his own name on it. What a whip they must have cracked over Taft.

Why did the Republicans kill the bill? The answer is plain. They wanted to leave housing under the control of the profiteers. There is a lot of money to be made out of providing houses for the people—if private interests are allowed to exact exorbitant profits from the people.

Have you felt the pinch of the housing shortage? Put the blame where it belongs.

And remember, if the Republicans were to come into power for the next 4 years, the future of American housing would be in the hands of the same men who killed that housing bill—the men who obey the lobbyists of selfish interests, the powerful real estate lobby, and half a dozen others which I am going to talk to you about later on in this campaign.

Now, about high prices. I know you are troubled by high prices. Well, put the blame where it belongs—on the leaders of the Republican Party. The Republican record in dealing with inflation is typical.

When I called the Republican Congress into special session this year and asked them for price control measures, they said that my request was made for political purposes. They used that as an excuse and did nothing about prices. They very conveniently forgot that I had called a special session of the same Congress in 1947, and asked for the same price control. And 1947 was not an election year.

If they had put into effect the controls I asked for, the prices on such things as meat, milk, steel, and automobiles would have been stabilized or reduced.

The Republicans could easily have taken this issue out of politics merely by doing something about it. But they chose to do nothing about it.

I have been talking about the conservation of our economic well-being. Now I come to a particular phase of that conservation that

has special interest for you of the West. You live in a region whose whole future depends on its wise use of the rich resources that Nature has provided.

Early in this century, a unique Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt, fought for conservation, only to be repudiated by his party.

All through the Republican administrations from 1921 to 1933, the big business pressure groups prevented adequate conservation measures from being put into effect. They wanted quick profits, the easy way. And so western forests were logged off and left barren. Range lands were grazed off and ruined. Farmland was worked to the point where its fertility was gone. Precious water ran unused past barren land. There was no soil conservation program, no range conservation program.

The Nation lost tremendous quantities of its most valuable resources. The West continued to bow to Wall Street—furnishing raw materials at low prices and buying back finished goods at high prices.

Then, in 1933, came the Democratic administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Under his leadership, conservation was made a living reality. You know better than anyone how much it has meant to the West.

The Democratic administration won its fight for conservation and for western development against the bitter opposition of Wall Street and the special interests. You of the West see the results of our victory every day. You see those results in bigger and better crops; in new industries; in the growing national parks and forests and the tourists who visit them; in the rising standards of living of the people of the West; and in the stronger economy of the whole Nation.

But we still have a long way to go. We are still using our timber faster than we grow it. Thousands of acres of land are still being washed away every year. Disastrous floods are still frequent. Conservation in the West is of first importance to the whole country.

In the face of all this, what did the "do-nothing" Republican Congress do?

Remember, the record of that Congress is the actual test of the attitude of the Republican leadership toward the people.

The Republicans in Congress consistently tried to cut the ground from under our conservation program. Last year, the Republican-dominated House of Representatives voted to cut the agricultural conservation program in half in 1947, and to end it entirely by 1948.

The Democrats in the Senate led, and finally won, a fight to save the life of that program. They saved it, but they could not completely restore it. The program was seriously damaged by the Republican 80th Congress.

Here is a significant fact. Nineteen forty-seven was the first year in a decade and a half that the Republicans had control of Congress. And that was the first year in which the Congress took a step backward in the field of soil conservation since that program was begun.

The first time the Republicans had a chance they began to undermine conservation.

Now, let's look at another subject that is closely bound up with your future—the industrial development of the West.

I know that all of you recognize the importance of creating new industries in this region, using the resources of the West, so as to reduce your industrial dependence upon the East.

For my part, I am convinced that rapid and sound industrial development in the West will make a vital contribution to the

living standards and the well-being, not only of the people of the West, but of the whole Nation.

The heart of the western industrial development program is hydroelectric power. Coupled with the irrigation projects and flood control, electric power is of fundamental importance to your future.

The Democratic Party, for the past 15 years, has been energetically developing the great dams, irrigation projects, and power systems which have contributed so much to the prosperity of the West.

But as soon as the Republican Party gained control of the Congress, it began to tear down the whole western development program. The Republicans slashed funds right and left. They cut back projects to bring water to the land and electric power to industry.

Right here in this State, the Colorado-Big Thompson project is under way. It is an inspiring project, involving the transfer of water from one side of the Continental Divide to the other. The Republican Congress sharply reduced the funds for that project. When I pointed out the danger of that action and requested them to restore those funds, they refused to do it.

Wherever you turn, no matter what field of activity, you find the same story. In the light of the evidence, I say flatly that the Republican leaders have been working against the interests of the people. I say they have been eager agents of the big business lobbies and the most reactionary elements in American economic life. They jump for these lobbyists, but they won't do anything for the people.

In the last 16 years, Democratic administrations have built a firm foundation for a new and greater West.

We restored grazing lands for the sustained production of livestock. Millions of cattle and sheep feed today where only prairie dogs and rattlesnakes existed before.

We restored forests for a sustained yield of timber. Trees stand for the future where exploiters would have wiped them out.

We established a sound conservation policy to prevent land erosion and restore the fertility of the soil.

We built the Federal system of hydroelectric and irrigation projects which are now providing water for more than 5 million irrigated acres in the West and for better living for millions of people.

We have been leading the fight for decent housing, effective reduction of the cost of living, and a rise in living standards—all for a better Nation of happier people.

That is the Democratic record—a record of which I am exceedingly proud.

There is more to do, much more. What we have done so far is only the beginning. This is no time to permit progress to be checked, when you can foresee great new developments of your agriculture, your industry, and your commerce, if you have the aid and support of the Federal Government.

Your need is to insure the election of an administration pledged to give you that aid and support—in other words, you need a Democratic administration.

There is a hard fight ahead. We shall have to fight the slick political propaganda of the special interests and the Republican leadership.

We shall have to fight the millions of dollars that Wall Street is pouring into the treasury of the Republican Party.

We shall have to fight the Republican undercover sabotage of the West.

But we of the Democratic Party are eager for that fight. In fact, I am taking it to them right now. We believe that we owe to

future generations the bequest of a strong America, mighty in its resources and wise in its use of them.

We are firmly determined to leave after us a land that is better than we found it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12 noon on the grounds of the State Capitol. In his opening words he referred to Governor William Lee Knous and Senator Edwin C. Johnson, both of Colorado. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

200 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Colorado and Utah. *September* 21, 1948

[1.] GRAND JUNCTION, COLORADO (Rear platform, 9:19 a.m.)

Senator Walker, I appreciate most highly that introduction. I was hoping that I would have an opportunity to see you. I didn't know I'd have the honor of being presented by you to this great crowd.

I have had a most pleasant stay in Colorado, from the moment I hit Hugo early yesterday morning until today, this morning, when we are leaving the State.

Colorado is a great State. Colorado, you know, is about half made up of Missourians. Every place I go, when people came in to see me, they very carefully inform me that either they themselves were born in Missouri, or that their parents came from Missouri to Colorado.

My grandfather used to run a wagon train from Westport, now part of Kansas City, Mo., to Salt Lake City and Denver and San Francisco, from 1846 to about 1860, and I have heard a great many stories from him on how the opening of this country came about.

It was a long time, you know, before the people east of the Mississippi River could understand that the people out here didn't wear horns and a tail. Some of them still think that.

There are a great many people east of the Appalachian Mountains who are not yet sure that it's safe to come out West, because they're afraid Wild Bill Hickok or some Indian chief will scalp them.

I was at one time hopeful that at some time or other we could establish a summer capital between Denver and Colorado Springs and bring all those eastern fellows out here to let them see just exactly what kind of a country they have on this side of the Mississippi River. I haven't been successful in getting that done.

You are vitally interested, however, from your own economic welfare, in the policies pursued by the Federal Government. The Federal Government if it does what it should, can cause the development of the West to proceed from now on at a much greater rate than it has up to date.

There are a great many projects in which the Federal Government is vitally interested: reclamation, irrigation, and power. They are the lifeblood of the West.

And I want to say to you that in 1946 a great many of you stayed at home on election day—about two-thirds of you. One-third of the people elected a Congress which I call the Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress, and the policies pursued by that Congress are an index as to what will happen to you if the Republicans get control of the Government. Now, if you stay at home this time on election day and let them get control of the Government you'll deserve just what you get.

The Reclamation Act has been on the

books for 30 years and not much was done about it until the country, in 1932, elected Franklin D. Roosevelt to be President of the United States. From that time on developments of the West assumed a rolling advancement. More projects, more land was opened up than ever before in the history of the whole reclamation law during that administration and during the 3½ years that I have been in the White House.

If you'll just study history you can't possibly afford to go along with those people who want to turn the clock back. The Republicans haven't any program, they haven't any program. They're still crying the same thing that they cried in 1946—that there ought to be a change. Well, you got a change in 1946 and look what you got. You got your reclamation projects cut down. You got your power projects, in most instances, wiped out. Every appropriation that affects the West was slashed, and it was slashed with malice aforethought, because the people who were in charge of those Appropriations Committees in the Senate and the House—one of them comes from upper New York, the Chairman does, and the other comes from New Hampshire. What do they know about the West? I don't think either one of them set foot west of the Appalachian Mountains. The Chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the Senate may, some time or other on some Senate jaunt, have been out here, but he didn't know what he was looking at when he saw it.

You want to be careful, now, when you go to the polls next November the 2d. Don't two-thirds of you stay at home. All of you get out there, and if you want to do yourself a real favor, you'll send Ed Johnson back to the Senate, and you'll send Mr. Aspinall here to the Congress.

I've had a most pleasant time in Colorado. Your Governor has been most hospitable to me. He's a good Democratic Governor, and I hope you continue to have Democratic Governors in Colorado.

I've met most of your candidates for Congress. They all impress me as being fine gentlemen.

I want you to bear this in mind: not only do I want you to vote for me, as I said time and again in Iowa and Colorado and everywhere I've been, I want you to vote for yourselves, vote for your own interests. You can't possibly reestablish another 80th "do-nothing" Republican Congress and a Republican President in the White House. You can't afford to do that.

And if you'll just go to the polls and vote, I won't be troubled by the housing shortage—I can stay in the White House.

[2.] PRICE, UTAH (Rear platform, 1:05 p.m.)

Governor, Mr. Mayor, Congressman Granger:

This is not the first time that Congressman Granger has introduced me. You see, the Congressman and I have been friends for many, many years. He very ably represents you in Washington, and I hope you will keep him there. I like your Governor, too.

This certainly is a wonderful welcome to the great State of Utah. I appreciate these flags, and these Legionnaires, and the 48'ers who have come out here to give me the welcome I appreciate. I happened to be a veteran of the first war. I tried to be a veteran in the second war but General Marshall wouldn't let me.

I was in the United States Senate and the General was Chief of Staff, and after we passed the first Draft Act in 1940, I went down to see the General and asked him if he did not need somebody to train artillery

men in the ability to shoot, as I had been doing that ever since the first World War was over, and that I thought I had the ability to do it. I was a colonel in the Reserve Corps.

The General pulled down his specs on the end of his nose, like that, and said, "How old are you?" I said, "Well, I am 56." "Well," he said, "you are just too old for this one. This is a young man's war. You had better go on back and do your duty in the Senate."

And I went back and did the best I could in the Senate, and you see where I got myself by doing it.

Then General Marshall afterwards, as Chief of Staff, was sitting out in my office one day to see me, and my Secretary, Mr. Connelly, asked him what his reply would be under the circumstance he then labored under, when I was President and he was Chief of Staff.

"Well," the General said, without batting an eye, "I would make the same answer, but I would be a little more diplomatic about it."

Congressman Granger paid me a very high compliment when I was out here as a Senator. He introduced me up at Bingham, and he told me that he had become so fond of me that when the Mormons moved back to Independence, he was going to let me stay. I thought that was the greatest compliment that could be paid to anybody.

I have been very appreciative of this wonderful valley through which we have been passing, I have been looking at it ever since we entered the great State of Utah; and I never saw any garden spot that is any better than this one.

I can't make odious comparisons because they will bring them home to me. I said something about the weather once in California, and I got charged with saying that California weather was better than Florida weather, and they have been fighting about it ever since. So I say that this valley is as beautiful as any I have seen.

I have been reading something about the history of your town, and it has a wonderful background.

I came into this State to talk to you about reclamation and conservation, and I shall make a speech on the subject tonight at Salt Lake City which will cover my views on that subject. And after I have set out the views and the principles of the Democratic Party, and the principles under which the Democratic Party works—which are those of being for the people and not special interests—I want you then to weigh the welfare of this country in your mind, and then on election day do what is best for you and the country—and if you do that I won't have to move out of the White House.

[3.] HELPER, UTAH (Rear platform, 1:37 p.m.)

Congressman Granger, Mr. Mayor, Governor Maw, and a lot of other distinguished Democrats who are on board this train at this time, and ladies and gentlemen of Helper:

It's a pleasure for me to be able to stop here today because I have been interested in this place for some time. I have been told that in real prosperous times you produce as many as 5 million tons of bituminous coal here in a year. That's a wonderful production; and that you furnish the coal for the steel plant down at Provo. You know, that's been one of my ambitious enterprises since I have been in the Congress of the U.S. and in the Presidency of the United States—to see that the industrial development of the West goes forward.

That great steel plant was built at Provo while I was chairman of an investigating committee in the U.S. Senate and I watched

that plant grow from the start to the finish, and the location of that plant there was so that this great coalbed here could be used. They tell me that it's inexhaustible, and I hope that's true, because the time is going to come some time or other when we are going to have to make a lot of oil from coal. We have experimental plants now in the East, trying to develop, to make oil out of coal; and we have a shale plant going over in Colorado which is endeavoring to make oil out of shale, and if you have inexhaustible coalbeds here—and I understand you also have inexhaustible shale beds—that means that the fuel for our machine age economy will be absolutely dependent at some time or other upon this great West.

Tonight at Salt Lake City I'm going to go into the things that the Democratic Party stands for with regard to this great West. And I hope all of you will be able to hear me, and I hope you'll give heed to what I have to say.

I understand that there are a great many people who labor in this community, and if those men weigh their interests as the farmer should weigh his interests and as the small businessman should weigh his interests I don't think there's any doubt about my not having to be troubled by the housing problem next year—I'll still stay in the White House.

I wish it were possible for me to see some of these great mines in this neighborhood. They tell me they're wonderful. But, of course, there are 3,000 counties or more in this United States, and while I can't visit all the counties and all the towns, I'm going to do the best I can, and I'm trying to tell you what I stand for, and I'm trying to convince you that you ought to go along and go forward with the Democratic Party and not turn the clock back with the Republicans, as they tried to do with this terrible 80th Congress. That Congress gave you the rich man's tax bill and tried to take the freedom away from labor.

You know, labor never had a bill of rights until the Democrats got in power, when the famous Wagner Act was passed in 1935, and I was there and helped to pass it because I was in the U.S. Senate at that time.

Well, the very first time the Republicans had a chance they began to take those rights away from labor. And that's only a start.

They're doing the same things with the farmer and the small businessman because they believe in special privilege and we don't.

Now, if you want a special privilege Government, stay at home on election day. If you want the right sort of a Government, go to the polls on election day and vote Democratic.

[4.] SPRINGVILLE, UTAH (Rear platform, 3:50 p.m.)

Thank you, Governor. It is a pleasure indeed, and an unexpected pleasure. This was not a scheduled stop, but I am very happy that we were able to stop and say hello to you.

I have been very much intrigued by the beauty of this valley as we came across it. They tell me that it is one of the most productive in the country, and for that reason you are interested in the policies of the Federal Government towards such projects as makes the fertility of this valley possible. They are your vital interests, and you must survey them and then use your best judgment to get a job done. If you do that, then you will continue to be prosperous.

It has been the policy of the Democratic Party to be for the people.

It has been the policy of the Republican Party to be for the special interests.

Now, bear that in mind when you go to the polls on the second day of November, and be sure that you get that ticket in the box and mark the Democratic column, and then the country will be safe for another 4 years.

[*At this point the President was presented with three large bunches of celery*]

This is a present from the Utah Cooperatives. If the Republicans have their way, they will tax them out of business.

[5.] PROVO, UTAH (Rear platform, 4:13 p.m.)

These picture men use up enough films and bulbs to make a man rich. I wish I was in the film and bulb business.

Mrs. Bosone, thank you very much for that wonderful introduction, and I hope that after January 3 you will be in Washington along with me so that we can make this Government run like it should.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce just gave me that basket of peaches from Provo. That is a wonderful present. I'll eat peaches from now until I get to Washington. I have heard it said that some girls are as pretty as a peach, but you hardly ever see peaches that are that pretty.

It's a pleasure for me to be in Utah today. I have had a most cordial reception from all of your public officials, from the Governor, from the Democratic Chairman, and from the candidates for Congress, and I'm sincerely hoping that all of those people will be successful in their efforts for office. It'll be for the welfare of the country if that's the case.

I have been here at Provo on several different occasions. I came here as Chairman of the Special Committee to investigate the National Defense Program when this steel plant was partly completed, and I was here after the steel plant was completed and made a complete and thorough inspection and a report on it.

I was very much pleased when that plant was located here in Utah. As I said back in the coal country at Helper, industry in the West is absolutely essential for the economic welfare of the West. There have been a lot of people in times past who didn't believe that, and a great many times they've controlled the Government.

That has not been the policy of the Democratic administrations since Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President in 1932.

I know all of you here not only are interested in the industrial and the agricultural welfare of the great State of Utah but you're deeply interested in the educational welfare of these young people I see here before me today.

And, you are blessed in this town with a great university which has turned out some wonderful scholars. I'm interested in education. We are faced with a situation in education, the same sort of a situation that we are faced with in housing and prices and everything of that sort.

There are more pupils than there are rooms to hold them. There are more pupils than there are teachers to teach them. We have teachers in some of our crowded industrial centers who are teaching two and three times as many pupils—making an effort to teach two or three times as many pupils as they can do successfully.

I have been trying to interest the Nation as a whole in our educational crisis. I succeeded in getting an educational bill through the Senate of the United States, but it died in the House along with a lot of other good legislation which should have been passed by this 80th Congress but wasn't passed.

Now, I know you are interested in education. From the looks of these bright

young men and young women and these boys and girls that I see down here before me, they are perfectly able to take an education. And you know the best defense against the totalitarian system in our Government is education. No man who knows his ABC's and who has an honest heart can even consider being a Communist if he's educated. It's only suffering, misery, and ignorance that breeds communism.

That's the reason I am fighting for the education of the people of this country. When you have the proper education, you can't help but believe that our system of Government is the best that's ever been conceived in the history of the world. It's a Government of the people. In fact, you are the Government. You are the Government, and you are the Government because you have a right of free franchise, and when you don't exercise that right of free franchise, you are not doing the right thing by your country. You are a shirker, and when things don't go right in your Government and you don't vote, you're to blame for it.

That's what you did 2 years ago. Two-thirds of you stayed at home 2 years ago, and look what you got. You elected the 80th Congress, and you got just what you deserved; and I don't feel sorry for you about it either. If you do the same thing next time you won't have anybody but yourselves to blame for the conditions as you find them, and you've had a sample of what you're going to get if you continue such people who constituted the majority in the 80th Congress in power in this Government.

I'm asking you and urging you with everything I have to exercise that God-given right, which in this country is sacred, to go to the polls on the 2d of November and cast your ballot for the Democratic ticket—and then I can stay in the White House another 4 years.

[6.] AMERICAN FORK, UTAH (Rear platform, 4:45 p.m.)

Well! I am certainly happy to be in the hometown of the next Congresswoman from this district. I would rather not do it here, but when I get a chance to have a private conversation with her, I am going to tell her about another town that I think is the greatest town in the world. Naturally, if we don't think our hometown is the greatest in the world, we are not very loyal citizens. We all should feel that way.

You have every reason to be proud of this wonderful garden spot here. You don't know how beautiful it looks when you drive through, or when you fly over it, or when you go through it on a train such as we are doing now.

My interest is to keep this part of the world prosperous, and on a parity with the rest of United States. I think that has been the policy of the Democratic Party ever since it was organized—a fair deal for everybody—give everybody a chance.

You know, this country now has the largest income it has ever had in its history. We cannot appreciate just how much it is. It amounts to $217 billion for 1947, and it is going to be bigger for 1948.

That income is so distributed that the farmer, the working man, the white-collar man—all sectors of the population, get a fair share of that income.

That was not the case when we had a different sort of approach to this thing—when the special interests ruled the country. We had a phony boom, and a bust came very shortly after that. We can't afford to have that happen again. We can't afford to take a chance on having that hap-

pen again, and I am advising you for your own interest that you had better go to the polls on the second day of November and elect a Democratic Congressman from this district, and reelect the whole Democratic ticket.

Then you will know that the country is in safe hands, that the interests of the common people are being looked after as they should be.

I want to thank you very much for this privilege of getting to see you.

[7.] SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH (Empire Room, Hotel Utah, 7:15 p.m.)

Governor Maw, President Smith:

I noticed very carefully that when the Governor addressed you, he said "Fellow Democrats." That included President Smith. [*Laughter*] That made me very happy.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the cordial welcome which has been extended to me in the great State of Utah. At Price and at Provo and all the cities in between, it looked as if everybody in the neighborhood had come out to greet the President of the U.S. and his family. That really does warm your heart. When we came on the streets here in Salt Lake City this afternoon, it looked to me as if everybody in Utah was there; and I rather think maybe half of them were.

A little later on in the evening, I am going to talk to you on one of the fundamental political issues of the day and try to explain to you the fundamental differences between the two parties on this subject.

You know, one of the great things in our country is the fact that we have a two-party system of government. We have party responsibility in Government, and the reason for our successful republic is because that is the case in this country.

We have one set of principles which one party adheres to, and we have another set which the other party adheres to, and you have a chance to carefully study the issues and then decide what you think is best for the country, because in the long run every citizen in this country is a part of the Government.

I think our own ancestors back in 1787, when they assembled to write the Constitution of the U.S. were not only among the wisest men in all the history of the world, but they were also practical men, who understood human emotions and human desires. And I always have been, and I always shall be, in my political career, a supporter of the Constitution of the U.S., because it is the greatest article of government that has ever been written in the history of the world, and as long as I adhere to that, and so long as we have our two-party system, with principles of one kind on one side and principles of another kind on the other side, you need not be uneasy about this old republic. It will continue to exist because I think Almighty God intended this republic to assume the leadership in the world. We refused it in 1920. We did not refuse it after this last conflagration, and we must continue to push forward as the leader for the moral well-being of the world as a whole. And then, some time, I don't know when, but we will have peace in the world, and we will have a situation where nations can live together just as these great States of our Union live together now.

[8.] SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH (Address at the Mormon Tabernacle, 8:03 p.m., see Item 201)

[9.] OGDEN, UTAH (11:15 p.m.)

Well! I certainly appreciate that reception by your able and distinguished Congressman. If anybody stayed at home in Ogden tonight, I doubt it very much. This morning, when I started out about 6:45 in Glenwood Springs, Colo., I thought everybody in western Colorado and eastern Utah were there. I was grossly mistaken. We finally got into Price and Springville and Provo and Salt Lake City, and now in Ogden; and I think I must have seen at least half the population of the great State of Utah. And I am glad I did get to see them.

I have just been made a member of the Sheriff's Mounted Posse of Weaver County, Utah. That mounted posse is the same situation as the plowing contest at Dexter, Iowa. I asked those people to bring me four mules so I could run a plow in the old-fashioned way. They told me they did not have a mule in the county, that everything was done by tractor.

Now I wonder if the mounted posse rides in jeeps? If it does, why I might have some chance. If it's a bucking bronco, I'll be out of luck.

I am happy to be in Ogden, Utah, this evening, because it is getting late in the evening and I am doubly pleased that this tremendous crowd has turned out.

You know, those eastern newspapers just won't believe it when they are told that past 11 o'clock there are 10,000 or 12,000 people out to listen to me in Ogden. They just think it is not possible. But here you are! Somebody I hope will take a picture of it and send it to all the eastern newspapers.

The prosperity which I have seen in Colorado and through Utah today is a prosperity which I am finding throughout the whole country, and I am finding it especially in the West. I spent yesterday in Colorado, and I thought everybody in Colorado came out to see me, and I think they did. We had a good time, and I told them some things that I thought they ought to know. And I said the same things today in telling you people here in Utah some of the things I think you ought to know.

I want to keep the West prosperous. I made that very plain tonight at the Tabernacle in Salt Lake City.

And I want to say to some of you young men over there, that if you want to come up here and make a speech, I will abdicate and let you do it.

The Democrats have a program for continued improvement and growth of the West, and for continued prosperity of the country, but there are serious obstacles in the way. They are the refusal of the Republican leadership to do anything about high prices, and the outright sabotage of the Western States.

You know, this last Congress—this Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress—tried its best to take all your prosperity away from you. I wish you would read the record of that Congress. Then if you send another one back there like it, you will deserve what you get.

Let us look at what the Democratic administrations have done for the Western States—Utah, for example. In 1934 the Ogden River project was begun. That one project alone began making water available for 25,000 acres of farmland. On a project like this the cash income of Utah farmers has risen so fast that it is now six times what it was in 1932—six times what it was in 1932! That cash income of all Utah people rose from less than $150 million in 1932 to more than $700 million in 1947.

And that is why I wonder, that is why

I wonder—back in 1946 you said you wanted a change; and only a third of you—two-thirds of you stayed at home—only a third of you went to the polls, and you elected that awful 80th Congress. And you got just what you deserved. I don't feel sorry for you about it at all.

I am trying to tell you what you are about to get, if you go to the polls again, and a half of you, or a third of you go to the polls again, and the rest of you don't vote. You will have something that will make the Western States sorrowful, because the sympathies of the Republican leadership don't come very far west of the Mississippi River. In fact, I think it stopped at the Mississippi River, and most of it stopped at the Appalachian Mountains.

This great increase in this income was not accidental. It was due to the plans and policies of the Democratic administrations to develop the western resources for the benefit of the western people themselves, not for the benefit of the few bloodsuckers who have offices in Wall Street.

The Republicans have fought bitterly against the Democratic program for soil conservation, reclamation, and irrigation. Tonight in Salt Lake City, I told them how the Republicans have been selling out the best interests of this country by slashing appropriations, attacking reclamation laws, trying to stop the Government from building public power transmission lines, and things of that sort.

And that has not been by accident. That has been by intention.

And if you want that continued, you can do it very easily. You can either vote a Republican ticket, or you can stay at home and not vote at all. But I don't think that is what you are going to do. I think you are going to vote in your own interest. I think you are not only going to vote for me, but you are going to vote for yourselves.

And when you do that, that will keep me from suffering from a housing shortage on January 20, 1949, and I won't have to move out of the White House.

It has been a very great privilege for me to be with you tonight. I am glad to have had the chance to stop here. I had no idea that so many people would stay up to listen to the facts of life.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on September 21 the President referred to former Senator Walter Walker, Senator Edwin C. Johnson, and Democratic candidate for Representative Wayne N. Aspinall, all of Colorado; to Governor Herbert B. Maw, Mayor A. D. Keller of Price, Representative Walter K. Granger, Mayor D. K. Downey of Helper, and Democratic candidate for Representative Reva Beck Bosone, all of Utah; and to George A. Smith, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

201 Address at the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City. *September* 21, 1948

Governor Maw, President Smith, distinguished guests, citizens of Utah:

It is a pleasure to me to be here this evening. You don't know what a great pleasure it is to see this magnificent auditorium, one of the historic ones in the world, and all these thousands and thousands of people who have taken the trouble to come out to listen to me and to weigh what I have to say.

My train trip coming out here across the country has been a tremendous experience.

I have always had a special admiration for this region of America. It has a quality all its own. In a few generations the people here built a civilization out of the desert.

There is no story in our history more typical of the free American spirit than that of the Mormon settlers who founded this great city. I have a close personal interest in the history of this great city. My grandfather, who lived in Jackson County, Mo., was a freighter across the plains, in the early days, and on occasion he brought an ox trainload of goods and merchandise here to Salt Lake City. My grandfather, whose name was Young, went to see Brigham Young, and told him his troubles, and Brigham Young gave him advice and told him to rent space down on the main street here in Salt Lake City, place his goods on display, and he would guarantee that my grandfather would lose no money. And he didn't.

Today, I am most cordially received by the President of the Mormon Church, the successor of Brigham Young. I wish my old grandfather could see me now!

Those pioneers had faith, and they had energy. They took the resources that Nature offered them, and used them wisely. Their courage and fighting spirit made them secure against enemies.

They have left you a great heritage. You now have the responsibility for the wise use of the resources of this region. You now have the duty to protect your rights and your welfare against enemies who threaten them.

And these enemies do exist. Whether you know it or not, you are in battle against powerful forces that threaten your resources, and your families, and your hopes of the future. Tonight I am going to name these forces, so that you will all know whom we are fighting.

First, let us see how this battle began.

You here in the West know a great deal about conserving natural resources, so that they will be useful to our children as well as to ourselves. You have learned by experience, and learned well.

What is the magic word in the prosperity of the farmers and the livestock men of this region? That word is water. The first thing the Mormon settlers did, when they came here, after giving thanks to God for a safe arrival, was to dig irrigation ditches. They knew what they were doing. So long as you have water enough for farming and grazing, the basis of your welfare is assured.

I think it is no exaggeration to say that as the water goes, so goes this part of the country.

Irrigation has given to the West a prosperous agriculture; it has brought thriving industries and enabled you to make use of your natural resources. With the aid of the Government, you have built the great dams that provide you with water and hydroelectric power.

Water for irrigation and electric power for homes and farms and industries have gone hand in hand.

It is fair to say that those who have helped you obtain the water and the power you need are your friends. And, by the same token, those who have hampered you in obtaining irrigation and electric power are your enemies, they are not your friends.

This is not a new battle. Selfish men have always tried to skim the cream from our natural resources to satisfy their own greed. And they have always sought to control the Government in order to accomplish this. Their instrument in this effort has always been the Republican Party.

The Republican administrations of our time have done their best to make the West

an economic colony of Wall Street. In the 1920's, under Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, quick and greedy exploitation was the order of the day. Many parts of the West were withering—withering from the failure to develop its power and irrigation, withering actually from Republican sabotage.

Selfish men had control, and the great resources of the West were wasted with sinful disregard of the people.

Never before in history had so much been wasted by so few.

In some of the Western States the population had actually begun to decline, reversing the historic progress of western expansion. Hope began to disappear.

That was the situation in 1932 after 12 years of Republican rule. At that time there were only 28 reclamation projects in operation. Only 3½ million acres of land were under irrigation, and much of the irrigation was pitifully inadequate. Powerplant capacity was very small. There was no comprehensive program to give the West access to its water resources. That was the Republican way with the West.

The people of the West cried out for a change—and finally, at long last, there came a change. The birthright of the West was finally restored to the people. It was restored by the Democratic Party under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The long, costly job of rebuilding after the ruinous Republican years was begun with hope and vigor. Conservation of the forests and grazing land, control of soil erosion, propagation of fish and wildlife, and other sound measures were put into effect.

Development of the river basins was begun, with full attention to hydroelectric power and flood control.

Today, after 4 Democratic administrations, there are some 60 reclamation projects completed or under way in the West. When these projects are finished they will provide water for over 10 million acres, and will produce over 5 million kilowatts of power.

That's the record the Democratic Party has made.

This record on western reclamation, the record of pledges made and kept, is one that Franklin Roosevelt was proud of—and I'm proud of that record, too.

As President, I shall never cease to fight for the public power and reclamation policies of the Democratic Party.

This is the time of year, every 4 years, when there are a lot of guessing games going on—guessing where some people stand. You have to guess, because some people won't come out in the open and tell you where they really stand.

Well, you don't have to do any guessing to know where the Democratic Party has stood for 16 years on public power and reclamation—and where it stands today. And you don't have to translate any double talk to know where I have always stood—and where I stand today.

I stand, and the Democratic Party stands, for rapid and uninterrupted development of the land and the forest and the water and the mineral resources of the West, in the interest of the people. I stand, and the Democratic Party stands, for building a strong western economy, based on full use of our natural resources and healthy development of industry. I stand for the rights of the people.

But where does the Republican Party stand? Where do its candidates stand?

The record is clear enough for all of you to see.

In the first place, we all know that low-cost electric power is of tremendous importance to the West. Bonneville and Grand Coulee Dams brought about the establishment of a great aluminum industry in the Pacific Northwest.

A continuing increase in hydroelectric

power could bring other great industries to the West.

One of these is phosphate production. The West has enormous deposits of phosphate. Yet western farmers have to buy their phosphate fertilizer from processing plants 2,000 miles away—and they have to pay the heavy cost of the long haul to the West. This comes to as much as $60 a ton more than the farmers in the East have to pay. You have that prospect planned under any one of these great projects we are trying to build in the West.

It takes no great vision to see that phosphate fertilizer production is a natural industrial development for the West. All that is needed is a constant supply of low-cost electric power.

Then what stands in the way of more hydroelectric power for the West? The answer is: Republican policy.

For the last 2 years, that Republican 80th Congress, listening obediently to the voice of its masters, has sabotaged industrial development of the West.

And I want you to get this!

In 1947, at the first session of the 80th Congress, I requested an appropriation of $160,000,000 as the minimum necessary for the work of reclamation to continue on an economical basis. Here was the first test of the attitude of the Republican leadership toward the West in 14 years. The Republican-dominated House Appropriations Committee sliced nearly $90,000,000 off my request.

When that happened a great storm of protest arose over all the West. You made yourselves heard so loudly in Washington that you startled the Republican Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee.

"The West," he cried, "is squealing like a stuck pig."

There you have the Republican attitude toward the West summed up in a single phrase. "The West is squealing like a stuck pig." He squeals every time he has to make an appropriation in the public interest. The Republicans are ready to lead you to the slaughter, and they resent it if you protest.

This public pressure from the West eventually forced the reluctant 80th Congress to appropriate $104,000,000. But this sum was still more than $50,000,000 short of the amount needed to keep the work of reclamation going forward continuously.

Before the year ended, work on power and reclamation projects in the Columbia Basin and the Central Valley of California, on David Dam on the Lower Colorado, and on the Colorado-Big Thompson project had to be sharply curtailed. On some big jobs work had to stop.

At last, continued public pressure from the West—and constant pounding from me—compelled the Republican Congress to appropriate a supplemental amount in order to continue operations on these projects. They did it very reluctantly.

That is the Republican way, the way by which the West would soon be "economized" once again into stagnation.

This year, to step up the construction program to meet the expanding needs of all the West—I requested an appropriation of almost $285,000,000 for the reclamation program. That was the largest reclamation request in our history. I want you to understand that these are self-liquidating projects, they aren't giving you anything, they are merely advancing the money so that you can develop the country and pay it back.

The Republican 80th Congress realized that in this election year, it had better pay some attention to the West. It finally approved an appropriation $40,000,000 less than was needed to do the work. Even this appropriation was not aimed to benefit the people so much as to benefit the power interests.

While the Republican 80th Congress was considering this appropriation bill, highly paid lobbyists of the power interests poured into Washington. The influence of these agents of big business was plainly marked in the bill that passed the Congress.

The Republican 80th Congress wrote into that bill some clauses that strike a dangerous blow at people in the West.

Some of these clauses prohibit or slow down construction of new transmission lines and the extension of existing lines. You had better think that one over.

Ask yourselves a question: Who benefits from the building of dams if the Government does not also build transmission lines to carry the power from the dams to the people? Who benefits? The private power interests benefit, of course—at your expense! These interests, for years, have sought to force the Government to sell them low-cost Federal power in bulk at the dam—power which they could then sell to the people on their own terms.

The measures passed by the Republican 80th Congress will result in bigger profits for the private power companies, and higher living costs for the people. Unless different action is taken in the next year, these measures will deprive consumers of cheaper power.

They will deprive the Government of power revenues from transmission and distribution—revenues which should be used to repay the costs of these power and reclamation projects.

This is a heavy and damaging blow to the development of the West.

You have been crudely and wickedly cheated by the power lobby in Washington, operating through the Republican 80th Congress. The facts are plain. The private power monopoly, in the last 2 years of Republican congressional reaction, has fought the people. It has won a battle that threatens to cost the people of the West hundreds of millions of dollars for years ahead.

The record is clear. Under the Democrats, you will get imagination, initiative, and progress. Under the Republicans you get strangulation.

You have a clear-cut choice in the election on November the 2d.

The Republican Party has shown in the Congress of the past 2 years that the leopard does not change his spots. It is still the party of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. It is still the party that gave you the phony Coolidge boom and the Hoover depression.

It is still the party whose money at election time comes from Wall Street. It is still the party which passes bills at the dictation of lobbies, and sacrifices the interests of the people for the profits of big business.

The Democratic Party is the party of the people. We are fighting with all our strength to prevent the gluttons of privilege from swallowing up the country. We are fighting the battle of the West, because it is the battle of all the country. We are fighting the battle of the farmer and the worker and the small businessman, because that is the battle of all the people.

Your Government is now planning the most ambitious irrigation development in all our history. The goal of our program is to bring every possible western acre under irrigation and to develop to the fullest extent the hydroelectric resources of this great region.

Now, I'm going to fight for this program with all I've got. Now, can I count on you?

You have the decision to make.

A vote for the Republicans stops the program.

A vote for the Democrats is a vote for a glorious West with wealth and security for our people.

On election day, the plain people of the country need to roll up a wide tide of votes that will sweep the forces of fear and reaction out of the Government, and open the gates again for hope and progress. We must go forward together, toward the fulfillment of our American destiny—the use of all our resources for all our people.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:03 p.m. in the Mormon Tabernacle. In his opening words he referred to Herbert B. Maw, Governor of Utah, and George A. Smith, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

202 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Nevada and California. *September* 22, 1948

[1.] SPARKS, NEVADA (In the public park, 9:15 a.m.)

Senator McCarran, Vail Pittman, Mr. Mayor:

It certainly is a pleasure to be here with you today. I don't know when I've seen a happier, more smiling crowd—and I'll tell you I have seen a lot of them on this trip and on others.

I think that Nevada, from the looks of this turnout, must be vitally interested in the issues of the day. I'm sure they are, because those vital issues affect you as much as any other one of the Western States.

I'm interested in reclamation, conservation, and power, the fundamental principles which will make the western country come into its own.

Last night in Salt Lake City, I spent a half hour explaining just exactly where I stand on those subjects as President of the United States, and as the head of the Democratic Party.

Now, it's an interesting thing that the line drawn between the principles of the Democratic Party and that one drawn—that line that separates the principles of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party—and it's just as plain for you to see as is possible, as if it were drawn right down here on this bench.

The Democrats stand for the people. The Democratic Party has always been the party that's interested in the welfare of the people as a whole. It's been the policy of the Republican Party to take care of the special interests. They are the special interest party. They believe that there ought to be a ruling class that gets the benefit of nearly everything in the country, and that a little of it will trickle down to the farmer and the small merchants and the workingman. That's not the principle of the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party believes in the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the United States, which says that the people are the Government. And you are the Government when you exercise your franchise on election day—that is, the right to vote—when you go to the polls and pick the candidates who are going to represent you in your local offices and who are going to represent you in the Congress of the United States and the man who is going to be President for the next 4 years. You at that time are exercising a privilege that is the greatest privilege of your life. And, when you don't exercise that privilege, you usually get into trouble.

Look what happened to you in 1946 when most of you stayed at home. One-third of the voters in this United States in 1946 elected this Republican 80th Congress. Look

what you got. Look what they did to you.

A little later on in the day I'm going to elaborate on that and tell you just exactly how they did it and why they did it. And then, and then when you know the facts, if you go to the polls and don't send Mr. Baring to the Congress, don't elect Democratic officials all along the line, then you'll get just exactly what you deserve, as you did in 1946.

I don't think you're going to do that. I think you are going to go to the polls on election day and I think you are going to exercise your franchise privilege and that you are going to have a Government. When you've done that, it'll be your Government, a Government that represents the people and works for the people. And that's all I stand for.

I stand for Democratic principles, and everybody knows where I stand. You don't get any double talk from me. I'm either for something or against it, and you know it. You know what I stand for. I hope you can find out what the other people stand for when the time comes. I very much feel that it will be a long time before you know exactly what they believe.

I want to thank you very much for this early morning appearance. I appreciate highly the cordiality and the hospitality of the great State of Nevada. Thank you very much.

[2.] Reno, Nevada (10:50 a.m.)

Senator McCarran, Governor Pittman, Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a very great pleasure indeed to face this wonderful audience here in this great Nevada city of Reno. I have been here before, and I have had some good times here, but I never got to stay long enough, the train did not stop long enough. I hope, some time or other, that I can come back and spend some time in this lovely town of yours—a grand place to be, so they tell me. The Governor and Pat McCarran have been selling me the State ever since I came into it this morning. I didn't need much selling.

You are interested, of course, in the welfare of the West. Your interests are wrapped up with the proper development of this great western country. And if you are going to carry through on these developments, you have got to make up your mind who is your friend and who is not your friend. You have got to decide whether you want to continue with a bunch of people in control of the Government who want to turn the clock back, or whether you want to go forward with people who have your interest at heart.

You have that choice on November the 2d. If you want to send another 80th Republican "do-nothing" Congress back to Washington, that will be your affair. It will cost you. I am asking you not to do that.

I have been talking about that Republican 80th Congress and the Republican Party all over this country, and I want to explain to you just how the Republican Party, through that 80th Congress, failed to act in the public interest.

The Congress elected in 1946—and elected by only a third of the voters—had 245 Republicans and 188 Democrats in the House, and 51 Republicans and 45 Democrats in the Senate. Now bear these figures in mind. That meant a lot of changes in the operation of the Congress. It put the Republicans in as presiding officers of the House of Representatives and of the Senate. It put Republicans in as chairmen of every committee in the Congress—both House and Senate. That is of vital importance. That is control of the Congress. Committees in Congress do the basic work of the Congress. Practically nothing can be voted on by the House or the Senate unless it is first approved by a committee.

About the only thing you can vote on in the Senate—and I was there for 10 years—without a committee's approval is a motion to adjourn. The chairmen control all the committees and have the whip hand as to what subjects the committees can take up.

In the 80th Congress the chairmen were the Republicans who have been in Congress for the longest period of time. They are a bunch of old mossbacks. They are living back in 1890, and they tried to make that Congress act like 1890—and I think they succeeded pretty well.

These chairmen, together with the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate, decide what Congress shall do.

Now, I can't tell Congress what to do. I can only point out to the Congress what needs to be done.

For example, I asked the Congress to do something about inflation. I set out specific plans to control high prices. Democratic Congressmen introduced specific bills to accomplish what I had in mind, but in the House of Representatives, the chairman of the committee that handles such things would not even let the committee vote on the bill which I urged.

The same sort of thing happened on housing. The committee chairmen and the Speaker of the House of Representatives acted together to prevent the whole House of Representatives from voting on the housing bill which I wanted, and which they admitted most of the Representatives would have voted for.

There is a funny thing in connection with that housing bill. That bill was introduced way back about 4½ years ago in the Senate, and it was called the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. That bill passed the Senate, but it died in the House. Then the bill was reintroduced in 1947 in the Senate, and it was introduced as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill—a little change in the way the names were set up, you see.

Mr. Taft was the leading man on that bill. That bill passed the Senate, and I sent a special message to the House of Representatives, to the Speaker of the House himself, requesting that the House be allowed to vote on that Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill.

The chairman of that committee roosted on that bill and would not let it come out of committee—would not even let the committee vote on it. The committee did finally vote on it—two forward-looking Republicans voted with the Democrats and the bill was reported out; but it couldn't pass the House for the simple reason that the Rules Committee of the House kept that bill from coming out. When it finally came to the conclusion, Mr. Taft ran out on his own Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. He joined with the reactionaries and kept that bill from being acted upon. I think he is going to rue the day he did that, too.

Now, this is what I mean when I talk about the Republican Party and Congress. I mean men who control the Republican Party and Congress. I am here to tell you that there are a lot of good individual Republicans who are willing to look forward and vote with the Democrats on fundamental issues. But the leaders of the Republican Party are living back in 1890. I want you to bear that in mind when you go to the polls.

If the people in this country elect a Republican President and Vice President as well as a Republican Congress, they will have the same committee chairmen back in the same jobs in Congress and doing the same things that they are doing now. There won't be any change in the complexion of that Congress, if you send Republicans back as a majority in Congress.

A vote for the Republican ticket this year will not give you any change in that respect. You will still have that sort of a "do-nothing," backward-looking Congress. It will

give you the same kind of Congress as the 80th Congress was. It will give you more of the Wolcotts and Tabers, Allens and Martins—those men who roost on progressive legislation that should have been passed by the Congress.

If any body in this campaign wants a change, I am the one who wants that change. I want a change from a Republican to a Democratic Congress. I want a Congress to vote along with me—to vote for the people. I want you to send to Congress Congressmen that I can work with. I want you to vote for Congressman Baring from this district. He knows his way around Washington. He was in Washington—he was with one of your great Senators, a brother of your Governor, Senator Key Pittman; and he knows what to do when he gets there.

Don't send a bunch of reactionaries back there!

Your industrial and economic progress will be furthered if you have a progressive, forward-looking Democratic administration in the White House and in the Congress.

I think that is what you are going to do. I think the people out here with the farmers and the workingmen are beginning to wake up and find out just exactly where their interests are. Their interests are not with the reactionaries and the special interests. The interests of the people are with the Democratic Party, and I am urging you to exercise your God-given franchise on the 2d day of November, and give me a Congress that I can work with. I know that is exactly what you are going to do.

[3.] TRUCKEE, CALIFORNIA (Rear platform, 12:14 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

I am certainly happy to be back in California again, and I am going to spend all day today and most of tomorrow—and all of tomorrow—in the State and discuss with you very frankly the issues with which you are now faced.

When I get to work, you will know all about what the controversy between the Republicans and the Democrats really means.

I am glad that so many people at this place deemed it advisable to come out and take a look at the next President of the United States.

[4.] ROSEVILLE, CALIFORNIA (Rear platform, 3:35 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, and citizens of this great city in California:

It is a pleasure to see you, and I am glad to be able to say a word or two to you this afternoon. I had not expected to do that. They told me that the train would not stop here, in the beginning, but it seems that you had enough influence with the Southern Pacific Railroad to get it stopped.

I want to say to you that I think very highly of your Mayor, and I think you ought to elect him to the State Senate, if that is what he wants to do—although I don't know what you are going to do for a Mayor.

I am very much interested in this valley. Last night from Salt Lake City I outlined some principles on public power and public power transmission lines, and those policies are the policies of the Democratic Party, and have been ever since the Democratic Party took control of the Government back in 1932.

It has been our policy to develop these great valleys in the country, and to develop these valleys in the interest of the people. These investments—they are not loans, they are not gifts—these investments in the control of the water resources of this part of the world are for the benefit of the people in

this part of the territory; and when these water resources are used for power purposes, the people ought to be able to obtain that power at the same cost that it comes from the dams.

I don't think anybody ought to share in your investment, for that is what it amounts to. This Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress tried to choke you to death in this valley by cutting off appropriations that would have provided for public power lines so that power could be brought to these municipalities who want to buy direct from the Government. They did that with malice aforethought.

You see, the 80th Congress is a special interest Congress, and it represents the Republican Party; and the Republican Party always has been a special interest party.

If you have your own best interests at heart, on election day, November the 2d, you will make it a point to turn out and vote. In 1946 a third of you did not vote and you got this special interest controlled Congress, and you got just what you deserved because you did not go and exercise your franchise. And you will get it again if you don't do it this time—and I won't feel a bit sorry for you.

I sincerely hope that all of you will bear that in mind. The most important thing in this country is the free ballot. You are the Government. The people of the United States are the Government, but when you don't exercise the privilege you have as a citizen, and if you get bad government, then you haven't anybody else to blame for it.

So don't forget that on November the 2d, if you believe that the paramount issue in this campaign is the special interests against the people, you will go and vote the straight Democratic ticket, and save the country.

That is what I hope you will do. I hope you will join me in this crusade to keep the country from going to the dogs.

[5.] SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA (Rear platform, 4:17 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, I am astonished. This crowd's bigger than the crowd was when I was here on my nonpolitical trip. You're very cordial and I appreciate immensely the hospitality which has been shown to me in California today, and this, this makes me feel—well, it's right here. I can't express it to you as it should be done.

I'm happy to be here because there are a few things I would like to tell you. You remember I talked here in June and I didn't want to talk politics at that time because I was out to let you know something about your Government and how it ran, and let you see the President and what he looked like. I'm making a political trip now.

I'm going to talk to you about some practical politics. Practical politics is government. Government starts from the grass roots. Government starts when you vote, and whenever a man is a politician and he honestly carries that designation, it means that he is interested in government. Usually, after he dies, they call him a statesman.

As I traveled across the country I have become more and more convinced that it is the simple democratic principles of our forefathers which constitute the secret of growth and prosperity in this great country. But it's a strange thing that some of these simple, old principles which are the secret of our growth and prosperity are under attack today.

Let me explain what I mean by discussing issues which are of vital importance to you people here in the Central Valley of California.

Take the basic principle of small business and the public distribution of publicly produced power. These principles are being attacked by monopolies, monopolistic public utilities, and by special interests, just as they

always have been the special interests.

You know, there are a class of people who believe that there ought to be a strata of people at the top who milk all the cream, and whatever drops through to the bottom of the separator ought to go to the little man.

The Democratic Party doesn't believe that. The Democratic Party believes that there ought to be a fair distribution of all the wealth so that the farmer, the laboringman, and the small businessman—so that the everyday citizen such as you and me can have a fair share in the proper way. That's what I'm fighting for right now.

I'm calling this trip a crusade. It's a crusade of the people against the special interests, and if you back me up we're going to win that crusade.

Sacramento was the scene of one of the greatest struggles by the people against monopoly which the country has ever seen. It was the struggle of the people of California to remove the stranglehold grasp of a railroad monopoly. That was the fight which Frank Norris dramatized in his famous book, "The Octopus." You all remember that. I suppose there are a lot of citizens here who indulged in that fight, and it was a good one.

We are in the same kind of a fight today. The effort of your Federal Government to keep the resources and the development of America free from the grasp of monopoly are being attacked now as radical and un-American. It is the same false charge which was leveled against your fathers when they fought the railroad monopoly.

These attacks have increased and have become far more dangerous since the Republicans gained control of the Congress by default in 1946, and it did get in by default because two-thirds of you didn't vote. The special interests and the monopolies know that they have a friend in the leadership of the Republican Party. The Republican Party always was for special interests, and it hasn't changed a bit. They know that the leaders of the Republican Party in Washington will listen to them and do their chores.

The big business interests will stop at nothing—no personal slander, no distortion of the truth—to accomplish their aims.

I believe this is the real issue in this campaign: whether the country is going to continue to have a Government in the interest of the people, under Democratic leadership or whether it is going to succumb to Government for the few, under the Republican special privilege leadership.

An outstanding example of the fight between special interests and those who are defending the welfare of the people concerns the distribution of public power produced by public funds. This issue is a real one right now right here in the Central Valley of California. Here the Federal Government is investing—investing, not spending or lending—it's making an investment, which will be returned to the taxpayers, of about $20 million a year in reclamation and power projects. We're making this investment for the benefit of the people of the Central Valley, and not for the benefit of the speculators and monopolists.

The Republican 80th Congress slashed at this Federal investment. It tried to cut the 1948 appropriations for reclamation projects more than half. The Republican leadership in the Congress didn't believe in rapid progress and growth by the Central Valley of California.

However, as soon as some of the construction work was stopped by this cut in appropriations, the Republican Congress got frightened by your protests and finally appropriated what I had asked for.

The Congress did not, however, provide the money to build the transmission lines so that the electric power generated at these reclamation projects could be distributed at the lowest possible cost to the people.

Time and again I asked the Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress for money to build public transmission lines. But the power monopoly wanted to get its hands on the distribution of this Government power. They are always out to do that if they get a chance.

The power monopoly wants to own the transmission lines which carry the power from Government dams to the users—rural cooperatives, industries, and towns. The monopoly wants the transmission lines so that it can charge what it likes for the power. The power companies want to take their cut out of the investment made by the Government for the benefit of the people.

The Republican Congress obeyed the orders of the power monopoly and refused to provide the money for public transmission lines. That not only affects the Central Valley of California; it affects the great Northwest, the Bonneville Dam, and the Grand Coulee Dam. It affects the Southwest and affects the dam in Dennison and the dam in northeast Oklahoma. It affects the Tennessee Valley Authority. It's a nationwide pressure. They did it with malice aforethought.

I know that the farmers and the businessmen and all the residents of the Central Valley feel the power shortage. You can blame the so-called leaders of the Republican Party who are obedient servants of big business.

The policy of my administration is to see that power developed on great reclamation projects is delivered to the people at the lowest possible cost, regardless of what the power monopolies want. All I ask of you is to look at what the real leaders of the Republican Party have done in an attempt to frustrate your growth. Then sit down and think what these same interests will do if they get complete control of the Government.

Suppose you hadn't had anybody in the White House fighting for your interests. What do you reckon these birds would have done with the public power and the public interests of this Government?

I know what they would have done. They would have taken it all and it would have sent us back to 1890 or further. They want to turn the clock back. I want it to go forward. I believe this is the fundamental principle of American Government, and a fundamental reason for prosperity in America.

I intend to fight on this line no matter what the monopolists and their congressional henchmen may do about it.

You know where I stand. I would like you to try to find out where the opposition stands. You'll get a lot of double talk if they ever tell you anything. I don't think the people of California will be fooled when big business goes around saying the effort to look out for the welfare of the plain people is radical and un-American.

Well, the decision is up to you as to what you want. You can make that decision on the 2d of November. If you stay at home like you did before, I won't feel a bit sorry for you if you get another 80th Congress which will do you double dirt.

The thing for you to do now is to be sure you are registered and on the books, and on the 2d of November, walk into that polling place and vote the Democratic ticket straight, and you won't have any trouble along the lines I am talking to you about.

Thank you very much.

[6.] San Francisco, California (City Hall, 7:50 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, distinguished guests:

I appreciate most highly the hearty welcome which you have extended to me tonight. I have been here on several occasions and you always have been cordial and good

to me; and I appreciate it. I was here when the United Nations Charter was finally signed and delivered. I talked to the citizens of San Francisco at that time on that subject. I am proud of the opportunity which was afforded me as President of the United States on that occasion to take part in the birth of the organization which, I am confident, will one day bring a just and lasting peace to the world.

I have heard from time to time comments by well-meaning but misinformed Americans that the United Nations is not working. I think I can understand their concern. All of us have been disappointed in the slowness with which the world is settling down after World War II. However, I am firmly convinced that our progress toward peace is much faster than it would have been without the United Nations.

Let me recall for you briefly just what it was we had in mind when we set up the United Nations. The United Nations was established for three basic purposes. The first was to prevent future wars by creating a kind of economic condition throughout the world which is necessary for peace. The second purpose was to provide the kind of organization which would help countries settle their differences peacefully without shooting each other. The third purpose was to provide an organization by which the peace-loving countries could act collectively against threats to peace by an aggressive country.

Now that you have in mind the reasons why the United Nations was set up, let us look at the record of what it has accomplished. I am sure you will agree that the United Nations has proved its worth. It has been meeting all three purposes. I think we can hope for peace in the future.

When the United Nations was less than a year old, the Security Council was faced with the problem of Soviet troops invading the small and weak country of Iran located south of the Soviet Union in the Middle East. Action by the Security Council helped to persuade the Soviet Government to pull its troops out of Iran. Iran remained an independent country.

The Security Council of the United Nations protected the independence of two other small countries in the Middle East when it persuaded the British and French Governments to withdraw their troops from Syria and Lebanon.

Greece is still another small nation whose independence has been maintained with the aid of the United Nations. The United Nations has taken action against Greece's northern neighbors. Among other things it has sent a commission to Greece whose job it is to patrol and to make sure that Greece's neighbors do not invade that country again.

The Security Council of the United Nations secured a truce in the conflict between the Dutch and the Indonesians. A United Nations committee brought about an agreement between the Dutch and the Indonesians on a set of principles which are being used as a guide for the creation of a United States of Indonesia. This act alone involved the peace and security of almost 60 million people. The two new countries of India and Pakistan brought their dispute over Kashmir to the United Nations. The United Nations has not yet ended the dispute, but it has succeeded in keeping violence from breaking out into open war.

I have described only a few of the actions which the United Nations has taken since it was founded, but I am sure that those I have mentioned are evidence of the way in which the Security Council and the General Assembly are helping maintain peace in the world.

There are many other activities of the United Nations besides the General Assembly and the Security Council. There is the

International Refugee Organization which is taking care of refugees in displaced persons camps in Europe. There is the International Trade Organization, which is working to increase the flow of trade among all countries. And there are still other organizations, like these two, connected with the United Nations which are successfully working to improve the welfare of all the peoples of the world.

Of course, looking back over the first 3 years of the United Nations, to ignore the problems which the Soviet tactics have caused would be foolish. I have never, for one moment, since I became President underestimated the multitude of the problems which the Soviet Union could cause if that country were unwilling to join with other nations in working for peace.

At the same time I am so firmly convinced that all the plain people in the world want peace, that I have never regarded the Soviet Union's present policies as insuperable obstacles to peace.

Twice in one generation the United States has had the opportunity to lead the countries of the world to peace. After World War I we shirked our responsibilities. World War II taught us a lesson.

All of our efforts for peace—the European recovery program, aid to China, and Greece, and Turkey, support for the western European Union, the Inter-American Defense Pacts—all these are in accord with the principles of the United Nations, and are in support of its aims.

We shall do everything in our power to strengthen the United Nations, for I believe that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country have confidence in the United Nations that eventually it will be a grand success and will continue to work.

The Security Council now, and the General Assembly are meeting in Paris. They have some grave questions before them. General Marshall and his staff and our delegate to the United Nations are in Paris now representing this great country in its sincere effort to bring peace to the world.

It has been the policy of the United States under this administration to keep foreign policy out of politics; that is, politics within the United States. It is necessary for us as a nation to go to the water's edge with a solid front. We must go there as the United States of America. It has been the policy of the Government ever since I have been President to see to it that that policy is pursued, and I shall continue to do just that.

It is necessary for us, under the Constitution of the United States, to get out and have a scramble for the Presidency. We are having that right now. I am going around all over the country, facing such wonderful people as you, to tell you exactly what the domestic issues are in this campaign, and try to convince you that the Democratic Party is the party of the common people, and that the Republican Party is the party of special interests as it always has been. It can be conclusively proven, if you study the various instances which I have cited since this campaign started.

It was my privilege to start out in Detroit, Mich., on Labor Day and I discussed there the tactics of this Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress towards labor. I told the laboringmen exactly where they stood, and where they would stand if by any mischance the Republicans got complete control of the Government.

And I went to Des Moines and I discussed the farm problems with the citizens of Des Moines, and I told the farmers just exactly what this 80th Congress had done to them, and what they intended to do to them if they had the opportunity to control the whole Government.

Just yesterday, at Salt Lake City, Utah, I set out to this part of the world just exactly

what that Republican Congress had tried to do to the people of the West. You ought to study that situation. It is your interest that is at stake. It is the interests of the whole country that are at stake. It means that if you get Republican control of this Government, you might just as well turn it over to the special interests, and we will start on a boom and bust cycle, just like we did in 1920. We will end up with a crash which in the long run will do nobody any good but the Communists.

The situation is a grave one, and I am asking you to face it and face it realistically. Think of your own interests when you go to the polls on the 2d of November. You will not only vote for me but you should vote for yourselves. Vote for your own interests. Vote for the interests of the laboringman—vote for the interests of the farmer—vote for the interests of the white-collar worker—vote for the interests of the little businessman—vote for the interests of California—vote for the interests of the Nation as a whole, and you can't help but elect a Democratic Congress with a Democratic President.

I could stand here all evening and go over all the fundamental issues of this campaign and point out to you just where your interests lie, but I will tell you what you will do. If you will listen to me and read each time you get a chance—if you will read my speeches in toto, not some times as they are reported—but in toto as they are said, I don't think you can do anything else but on November the 2d vote the Democratic ticket straight.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on September 22 the President referred to Pat McCarran, Senator from Nevada, Vail Pittman, Governor of Nevada, Vern Hursh, Mayor of Sparks, Walter S. Baring, Democratic candidate for Representative at Large from Nevada, Francis R. Smith, Mayor of Reno, Harold T. Johnson, Mayor of Roseville, and Dewey Mead, Acting Mayor of San Francisco.

203 Address at Lakeside Park, Oakland, California. *September* 22, 1948

Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentleman and fellow Democrats:

I have looked forward for a long time to this visit. I've always wanted to stop in this beautiful city of Oakland and I never had the opportunity before.

I should like to stay here longer, and I think what I have seen here was enough to make me want to do that, but I'm here on business and not on pleasure.

I am here on business that concerns the welfare of every resident in this great State of California.

I am here on a serious mission; and because it is so serious, I propose to speak to you as plainly as I can.

An election will be held in this Nation on November 2d, and the result of that election can mean everything to the people of California, and all the country.

Stated bluntly: It will mean victory for the people, or it will mean a victory for the special interests.

You people here have already been hurt by the failure of the Republican 80th Congress to do anything to control high prices. You have already been hurt by the failure of this same Republican Congress to take suitable action to meet the housing shortage and the crisis in education. You have been hurt by many other failures of the Republican leadership.

Here in the Oakland area, you have a serious housing shortage. You need more hous-

ing at lower prices—prices which families of moderate means, particularly veterans, can afford to pay.

You also desperately need low-cost rental housing so that the thousands of families living here in temporary dwellings can be taken care of. If the Republicans have their way, you'll live in those temporary dwellings for the next 20 years.

In July 1948 I called the Congress into session and asked it to pass the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, which would have given us more housing at lower prices and at lower rents.

The bill was bitterly opposed by the housing lobby. They've got one of the most powerful lobbies in Washington that's ever been there in the history of the country. The Republican leadership had a choice to make between the interests of the housing lobby and the interests of the people.

They chose to go along with the housing lobby. Even Senator Taft ran out on his own bill—and voted against it. One of the most remarkable things that ever happened in the history of the Congress.

The same thing happened to my plea to the Congress to pass the Federal aid to education bill. Our schools are badly overcrowded and our teachers are underpaid.

There isn't a city or county in the country that isn't short of schoolhouse room and short of teachers. Most of the teachers in the big cities are teaching two and three times as many children as they can possibly do successfully. This same thing happened to that plea. The Republican Congress didn't do anything about it.

The Republican Congress refused to come to the aid of the people.

The most significant thing about the failures of this Republican Congress is that they show so clearly the attitude of the special interests who dominate the national Republican Party. Their actions set a definite, clear pattern. And that means a lot to your future.

Above and beyond the problems that affect all our people, you folks here have a vital interest in this election, because it involves the question of what happens to the water supply of California. That is a matter of life and death to Californians, and particularly to all those who are affected by the welfare of the Central Valley—and I think all of California is affected by the welfare of that valley.

With the Sacramento River flowing down from the north, and the San Joaquin flowing up from the south, this great valley stretches 500 miles from above Redding to below Bakersfield. It is a vast inland empire, richly blessed by Nature with millions of acres of fertile soil.

Already the Central Valley has become one of the richest agricultural regions in the world. It has the richest county in the world, the Central Valley has. And it has millions of acres still lying idle with vast possibilities for further development.

But the life of this valley depends on bringing water to the land. That is the limiting factor in the fabulous things that can be done in the Central Valley—water. Water—all the West is interested in water.

The water resources in the valley are limited. Unless they are used boldly, millions of California's fertile acres will continue to lie barren. As a matter of fact, unless your water is conserved wisely, the farms and towns you have already built here are in danger of withering away.

What does this have to do with politics in a national election? Well, I think most of you already know.

If all the great riches of the Central Valley are to be put to use, there must be unified development of its resources—the water and the land—and the wisest use of water for irrigation and power. This calls for great

engineering structures—dams, canals, and transmission lines. The job is so big that only the Federal Government can handle it.

I'm glad the Federal Government can handle it. I rejoice, when I consider how the people of our country have joined their strength together to build our great reclamation projects—projects so big they stir our imagination.

These reclamation projects are good for all the Nation, not merely just one section. The money they cost is invested—not spent. A lot of these fellows would lead you to believe that they're making a donation to you, when they're making a reclamation appropriation. It isn't doing any such thing. It's an investment, because that money goes back to the Treasury, eventually. The Government gets its money back and our national strength and resources are increased at the same time.

If we can keep to the present schedule, the Central Valley project now being constructed will, by 1951, bring under irrigation more than half a million acres of land now dry, and will bring more water to another half million acres now being irrigated. The project is already pouring 300,000 kilowatts of power into the lines in California, and within a year will add another 150,000 kilowatts.

These are big figures, and they stand for big increases in the economic strength of California and the Nation. But can we do it?

But big as this project is, and big as the Folsom Dam is going to be, they are only a good start toward what's needed in the Central Valley.

California—and the whole country—need the additional agricultural production we can get from more irrigated land. California—and the Nation—need more electric power.

And we can get it.

The severe drought and the "brownout" of the past winter in California have shown how urgently we need to go ahead to build more dams, more irrigation canals, more power capacity, and more transmission lines.

I have had the experts preparing plans along these lines. They have come up with plans which look ahead to the time when all the water in the Central Valley that can possibly be controlled will be put to use. These plans will permit us eventually to double the present irrigated area of the Central Valley, and much more than double the power output in the valley.

To my mind, these plans have the vision, the foresight, and the imagination to match the dramatic growth and promise of this great State.

But it isn't enough just to have good plans. There must be will and determination to put the plans into operation.

You know the Democratic Party has that will and determination. The record proves it. It was the Democratic Party that saw the possibilities in the Central Valley project. It was the Democratic Party that put the resources of the Federal Government behind it. It was the Democratic Party that started big reclamation projects all over the West—in the Columbia Basin, the Missouri, and the Colorado.

You can count on the Democratic Party to support the Central Valley project, and to see it through to its conclusion. But you can't count on the Republican leaders to go ahead with the full development of any of these projects in Central Valley, or anywhere else.

You know how the Republican 80th Congress has delayed construction work already started on this great project. Apparently they don't even want to finish the work that's already begun. Obviously you can't count on them to go ahead on the bigger job that isn't yet started!

The reason for the opposition of the Republican leaders is plain.

The big business interests in the East who control the Republican Party don't believe in reclamation projects in the West. They don't see how it does them any good to spend Federal money for that purpose, so they're against it. They are willing for the projects to be constructed—provided they can get a rakeoff in distributing the power produced at the dams. They don't want power from which they themselves don't get profit.

That's what you can expect from the special interest Republicans—fewer and smaller reclamation projects for irrigation and power, with the power that is produced being turned over to private monopolies. That is their record—that is their record!

The 80th Congress showed the attitude of the real rulers of the Republican Party on this question, as it did on so many others. They hurt you and they hurt this great Central Valley. They gave you a sample of what you could expect if both the administration and the Congress were controlled by the Republicans. You would be in some fix, if you hadn't had somebody at the door to fight these battles.

And they brought up these reclamation and power projects by way of the back door. They didn't do it openly and aboveboard. That Republican 80th Congress cut the 1948 appropriation for the Central Valley in half. Only when construction actually had to be halted on several phases of the project, could those Republican leaders be persuaded to restore the funds to prevent further loss of time and money.

It was all I could do to wring from the reluctant reactionaries the consent to carry on this great project. What hope would there be of getting the Republicans to approve the vast new works that are still needed to be undertaken?

In the Central Valley the people have also felt first-hand the results of the influence that private power lobby wielded so successfully with this Republican Congress. Time and again the Congress refused to appropriate money to build public transmission lines to distribute the power now available at Shasta Dam. Why was that? Because the private power crowd wants to buy the power at the dam at a low price and sell it to the consumers at a high price, and you would pay the bill.

This private power crowd is the same shortsighted group whose restrictive practices were responsible for the "brownout" that caused you so much trouble last winter.

You can't get the benefit of low-cost power by dealing with outfits like that. The private power lobby is holding you up and the Republican controlled Congress is helping to do it.

I see no reason why you should let a monopoly, which is run only for private profit, obstruct the progress and the economic advancement of this whole great State of California.

I see no reason why you should suffer a "brownout" to gratify the greed of corporate monopoly. Nor do I see any reason why you should have to keep on getting up an hour earlier every day, when all the rest of the United States is going off daylight saving time this fall. It wouldn't happen if it weren't for these greedy fellows.

But the Republicans who control the Appropriations Committee and other committees of Congress think otherwise.

Cheap and plentiful public power is of so little importance to them, as compared with increasing the profits of their corporate friends, that they will let you have the "brownout" and the early daylight, and everything else.

The Republicans who control the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate, on which the future of this great project depends, are not Californians.

They are not Westerners.

They are Eastern Republicans.

They belong to the dominant element of the Republican Party.

They are so dominated by the private power lobby that they are willing to cut off the hopes of the West for progress and industrial growth. That is typical of their limited vision.

The election of a Republican administration in November would not change this situation one little bit. The same men with the same backward ideas would continue their stranglehold on the appropriations for the Central Valley projects—and all the other great projects throughout the West.

The only way to get them out of this position is to elect a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress.

You've got a good man right here in Buell Gallagher. And if you prefer to keep that backward fellow in there, instead of electing a good man like this, you ought to get what you deserve. If you elect a Congress that is working in the public interest, we'll get these projects through.

With a majority of Democrats in Congress, these Eastern Republican mossbacks will be removed from their chairmanships on the first day of the new Congress.

You know what happened in 1946. Two-thirds of you stayed at home. You didn't think it was worthwhile to go out and vote. The facts of the case are that all of you had jobs, all of you had good incomes. You didn't think it made any difference who ran the Government. So you elected that Republican 80th Congress. And the people who got the chairmanships in the House and the Senate were the old mossbacks who are living in 1898, and they're trying to run the Government on the 1898 basis. If you want that, you ought to send them back.

Now, if you do the right thing, these fellows will be replaced by representatives of the Democratic Party, whose record is on the right side of the ledger, and whose plans for the future stand for speedy, vigorous development of the economy of the West.

These are simple facts of American political life.

In this election the future development of California—indeed, of our whole country—is at stake.

If you want a Government dedicated to the development of the resources of this great State and this Nation, in keeping with their rapid growth and glorious future, it is in your power to get it.

I am going to continue to fight to achieve this goal with everything I have.

And if you honestly believe in the welfare of the people, and will do your duty on the 2d of November, I'll accomplish that purpose. But if you're going to stay at home, because the national income of this country is the biggest it's ever been in history, and because 61,000,000 of you have jobs, and because the farmers have the greatest income they've ever had in history—if you're going to stay at home and let nature take its course, you'll get just exactly what you deserve. I don't believe you're going to do that. I think you're going to turn out on election day, and you're going to turn out these backward-looking fellows and put in some people who know where they are going—and they will be people who are going to work in the public interest—and that means you're going to vote a straight Democratic ticket on the 2d of November.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:53 p.m. at Lakeside Park. His opening words "Mr. Chairman" referred to State Senator Oliver J. Carter, Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee of California. Later he referred to Buell Gallagher, Democratic candidate for Representative from the Fifth District of California. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

204 Rear Platform Remarks in California. *September* 23, 1948

[1.] MERCED, CALIFORNIA (6:55 a.m.)

Well, it certainly is a pleasure to see you this morning. I didn't get up quite so early this morning as I usually do. I missed a great crowd back at Tracy, but I just have to have a little sleep, I can't go all night and all day, too.

They tell me that this is the richest Valley in the United States, and I am glad to have a chance to look it over. Your interest, of course, is agricultural, and the party that has been interested in agriculture and that has made it possible for the farmers to have the greatest income they ever had in their history is the Democratic Party. I don't think the Republicans ever did anything specific for the farmer. If they did, it was by accident and not intention.

You remember the old Farm Board. Well, as soon as the Democrats took over, after everybody was broke and all the farmers in the country were being foreclosed, it was necessary for the Democrats to do something to save the farms for the farmers.

In 1932 there were 123,000 farms foreclosed. Do you know how many were foreclosed last year? Just about 800.

The farm debt has been reduced 50 percent. The farm income is the greatest ever in the history of this country; and the farmers have $18 billion on deposit in the banks.

Now that was not an accident. That happened because the policy of the Democratic Party is to see that the national income is equitably distributed, to see that the workingman, the farmer, the small businessman and the white-collar man gets his fair share of the national income.

The Republican policy is to let the big fellows get the big incomes, and let a little of it trickle down off the table like the crumbs fell to Lazarus.

That is not the policy of the Democratic Party at all. And if you will study your history, you will find that that has been the policy of the two parties ever since they were organized.

There is only one thing you can do to protect yourselves, and that is on the 2d of November to go to the polls and vote for a Democratic Congressman. Mr. White, I think, is the candidate from this district, and they tell me that he is a fine man. You ought to elect Mr. White to the Congress; and if you do that, of course, you will elect a Democratic President, and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage.

I am sorry to report that my family are not the early risers that I am, and I can't introduce my wife and daughter to you at this early hour in the day. I am sorry about that, because I know you would like to see them.

Thank you very much.

[2.] FRESNO, CALIFORNIA (8:12 a.m.)

Mr. Chairman, Congressman White, and citizens of the great Central Valley of California:

It has been a very great pleasure to me to receive the welcome which I have received in this part of the world. I believe you are interested in the welfare of the country as a whole, as well as in the welfare of California, when you turn out like this to see the President.

I was supposed to get up at 4 o'clock this morning for a bunch of people up here in Tracy at 5 o'clock, but I didn't make it! I was sorry about that, but then you know, a

workhorse can do only so many hours in a day, and I skipped that one.

I was up at the next stop, though, to see them at 6 o'clock and 6:45 and now at 8; and I think everybody that was at those other stops is here, too—or else this great city of Fresno is much bigger than I thought it was.

You are interested in the agricultural welfare of this Nation more than any other one thing. Your interests are diversified, and a diversified farming community can only be prosperous when the Government of the United States is interested in the welfare of the farmer.

I can remember very well, I ran a farm for the best 10 years of my life in Jackson County, Mo. It had 600 acres on it, and I went there when I was 22 years old and left it when I was 33 to go to war. I didn't claim any exemption on account of that farm, nor did I claim any exemption for being 33 years old. I went over and joined a battery of field artillery. There are a few fellows on this train that have been with me in that division. I am not bragging about that because that is just what I ought to have done, but I wanted to impress upon you that I know something about the farm situation.

In that day and age we had no Federal Government interested in the farmer. Along in the 1920's they became less interested in the farmer, and if I remember correctly, in 1932 there were 123,000 farmers kicked off their farms. Do you know how many were kicked off their farms last year who couldn't pay their debts? Just 800! That's some difference—that's some difference!

Do you know what caused that difference? Because the Government of the United States became interested in the farmer and the workingman, and the white-collar man, and the little businessman.

Well, along in 1946 the farmers were all fat and rich, and had money in the bank, and they turned almost economic royalists and they didn't go and vote. That let the country become entangled under this Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress. The first thing that happened to them—that Congress began immediately to cut the ground from under the farmer, and they have almost succeeded in doing it. They have made it impossible for the Commodity Credit Corporation to furnish storage for those crops under the support price, and that was done with malice aforethought, because that Republican Congress does not believe in price support.

I wonder where you raisin fellows would be out here in the valley if it weren't for the farm policy of the Democratic Party? I wonder where you cotton fellows would be if it weren't for the price support policy of the United States Government? Here's a cotton man right here, he can tell you something about that.

Now, you want to analyze this situation carefully and thoroughly. I am not asking you to vote for me alone. I want you to vote for yourselves. Vote for your own interests. Vote for the interests of the whole country.

Of course if you are not interested in the interests of the whole country, then vote for these economic royalists and let them take you over. That is what they hope to do. This Republican 80th Congress is only the first step. It doesn't make any difference what they say they believe. Actions speak louder than words. What you need to do is understand what this 80th Congress did to the farmer and the laboringman and the white-collar worker, and you can't help but make your mind up in the right direction.

Now, on November the 2d I want you to get up and work just as hard to win this election for the party that is for the people as you have worked this morning to get here to look at the President of the United States.

While you are doing that, elect Mr. White to the Congress. You have got a terrible

Congressman here in this district. He is one of the worst. He is one of the worst obstructionists in the Congress. He has done everything he possibly could to cut the throats of the farmer and the laboringman. If you send him back, that will be your fault if you get your own throat cut.

I am speaking plainly these days. I am telling you facts. Nobody else will tell 'em to you.

If you will just sit down and analyze this situation, you can't do but one thing, and that is send the Democrats into power in Washington for the next 4 years.

It is a great pleasure and a privilege for me to come out here and talk to you people and tell you just what I believe in. I have made it perfectly plain in Des Moines what my program is with regard to the farmer. I made it perfectly plain in Detroit what my program is in regard to the workingman. And they don't clash. The prosperity of the farmer and the workingman march side by side. When one is prosperous, the other is. When one is not prosperous, the other is not prosperous, and he is out of a job. I told them at Salt Lake City just where I stand on conservation and public power, and I also reiterated that last night at Oakland, Calif.

You don't have to worry about where I stand. You know! I want you to see whether you can find out where the opposition stands. I'll bet you can't.

[3.] Tulare, California (9:26 a.m.)

Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen:

My, what a wonderful turnout! I certainly do appreciate your courtesy and I'm glad of the privilege of having a chance to meet you face to face and talk to you a little bit about some of the things in which you are interested.

You not only raise wonderfully diversified crops in this part of the world, but you also raise some mighty fine people. Bob Mathias was in to see me the other day and I had a grand visit with him. That young man is, in my mind, typical of what future generations of Americans are going to be, and you know, the reason for that is because they have a wholesome home life. It's because they have plenty to eat and plenty to wear, and they're not raised under a fear complex.

This coming generation, I think—and I wish I was a part of it—will see the greatest age in history. I think you are going to see atomic energy developed for the peaceful welfare of the world. I think you are going to see more gadgets and more things to make life worth living in the coming hundred years than we had over the last hundred.

You know, while I was on the Appropriations Committee of the United States Senate, I ran across a document, a report by the Commissioner of Patents in 1843 in which he recommended to the Appropriations Committee of the Senate that no more money be appropriated to support the Patent Bureau, and that it ought to be abolished—that everything worthwhile had been invented and there was not any use of the Government to go to the expense of maintaining the Patent Bureau.

That was in 1843. That was before we had the telephone and the electric light and all these things which we take as everyday things and are used to them.

I think the next age is going to be greater than the one we have just been through and all these young people are going to see something that will make life not only happier but better. And we are going to have that situation, I'm sure, throughout the whole world.

Now, in order to do that, we have got to be in a position to raise plenty to eat, plenty of things that make the clothes that we wear.

This valley, I am told, is one of the most diversified in the world—that you raise everything in this valley that goes to make life worthwhile in the world. Keep that up.

In order to keep that up, you have got to have a Government that is in sympathy with what you are trying to do. You have got to have a Government that understands what it means to the everyday man to put the sweat of his brow into a piece of land.

Now, in times past, you haven't always had that sympathy from the Federal Government. I think this 80th Congress has done more to turn the clock back than any Congress we have had since 1926—and that's going a long way back. You can't afford to have that sort of thing.

We don't want to turn the clock back. We want the clock to go forward, and if you want to go forward—if you want to go with the forward-looking people—go forward with the Democratic Party, and I claim that the Democratic Party is the forward-looking party in this United States, and that the Democratic Party has the interests of the farmer and the laborer and the white-collar man and the little businessman at heart. The Republican Party has always represented special interests, and I think they still represent special interests.

You can't afford to have that. The way to overcome that is to do your duty on election day. In 1946 you didn't do your duty on election day. Two-thirds of you stayed at home. Two-thirds of you didn't vote, and one-third of the people in this United States voted in that awful "do-nothing" 80th Congress—and look what you got.

If you do that again you won't deserve any sympathy—not at all.

But, if you do what you ought to do for the welfare of the country, all of you will get out there on election day and you'll vote for yourselves—and when you vote for yourselves, you are going to leave me in the White House and you're going to have a Democratic Congress.

[4.] BAKERSFIELD, CALIFORNIA (10:50 a.m.)

I wonder if the officers couldn't let the crowd move right down close to the train here. Now then, since I've let you come down close, let's be orderly so you can hear what I have to say.

I have a very important message to bring you this morning, one in which I think you will be highly interested—a message in which the welfare of California, and particularly the welfare of this Central Valley, is at stake.

You are situated in one of the greatest valleys in the United States—the Central Valley. I am vitally interested in the welfare of the Central Valley of California because if the affairs of the Central Valley of California are settled in the public interest, it not only helps the great State of California, but it helps the whole United States. Not only does it help the whole United States, but it helps the world.

The situation is such that if you don't watch your p's and q's, your valley is liable to be ruined. For years and years we have been endeavoring to implement a policy of water and power in this valley that would save it, due to the water table in this end of the valley going down. In order to do that, we have got to have people in the Congress and in the Government who are interested in the welfare of the people.

You have had a sample of how the Republicans act when they get control of the Government.

Two-thirds of you stayed at home in 1946 and didn't vote, and you got a Congress that began to work for the special interests. That Congress did its level best to cut out the reclamation projects of the West. I made a terrific fight and got some of them re-

stored—not all of them.

I am particularly anxious to see that the proper development is made here in this valley. It can be done.

The Democrats have created a plan for this Valley which not only will give more water to the acreage now under cultivation, but it will create a situation where we can put more acreage under cultivation in this valley and that's what you want.

The Democratic Party, as soon as it got into power in 1933, inaugurated a farm program which was in the interests of the farmers. The first thing the Republicans did when they got into power was to make an attempt to sabotage that farm program of the Government. Their first effort to do that was when they cut off the reclamation appropriations for this part of the world.

Now, that's a shining example of what's likely to happen to you if you put these people in complete control of the Government.

One of the things that has saved the farmer has been the price support program. That price support program was inaugurated by a Democratic administration, it's been administered by a Democratic administration, and if you continue the Democrats in power, it will continue to exist.

I have an idea that the Republicans are not interested in the price support program except from a selfish motive.

Mr. Stassen made a statement in Albany in New York in which he made the statement that the farm price support program should be revised. Now, this is an editorial from the Wall Street Journal, a Republican paper, and this is what this Wall Street Journal has to say about the price support program—and the Wall Street Journal is a wholehearted supporter, both financially and editorially, of the Republican campaign. This is the editorial, and it comes from a column called "Progress of the Week."

Now, I'm going to quote from the editorial now: "Nevertheless, the whole import of Mr. Stassen's press conference at Albany was just what Secretary Brannan said it was."

Now, this is what Secretary Brannan said: "In essence an attack on the price support system. Mr. Stassen is, in fact, proposing a far-reaching reform of the farm price support policy or he doesn't make sense." That's the end of the quotation.

Now, that goes to show you exactly how the Republicans feel on price support and the farm program.

On election day, to protect yourselves, you'd better get out to the polls and vote to put a Democratic administration in control in Washington. If you do that, I feel like the country will be safe. If you don't do that, no telling what will happen to the farmer and the laborer.

The Democrats have given labor a bill of rights. The Democrats have given the farmers a bill of rights. The Democrats have helped the white-collar man and the small businessman. And that's what we stand for, and I have made it perfectly plain on this trip across the country, and I hope my opposition will make plain exactly where they stand on all these issues. I haven't heard them say anything yet but double talk.

My suggestion to you, if you want to be safe, is to get yourselves registered. I understand this is the last day of registration in California. Get yourselves on the books and, after you have done that, go down to the polls on the 2d of November and vote the straight Democratic ticket, and you can't make a mistake.

[5.] Tehachapi, California (To schoolchildren, 12:45 p.m.)

It is a pleasure to greet you. I am most happy to see all of you young people, and I appreciate your coming out to see the President.

I wonder if you would like to see my wife and daughter? Here is the First Lady—she is the boss. And I will introduce her boss to you, Margaret.

I want to compliment you young people; you are the most orderly bunch of young people I have seen on the whole trip.

[6.] MOJAVE, CALIFORNIA (1:30 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, it's a pleasure to me to have a chance to face all these good people of Mojave and the southern part of California.

They tell me that in 1883—that was the year before I was born—that a gentleman by the name of Webb built 10 grand, big wagons here in this town, bought himself a hundred head of mules, and began to haul borax out of the Mojave Desert—and that was the origin of Twenty-Mule Team Borax which we always kept in the house when I was a kid.

I never thought I would be here as President at the place where it originated and talking to you people about your interests in the welfare of the country. I am glad to be here to do that. You are interested. Your interests are just the same as all the rest of the country's interests. Your interests are the interests of the everyday person, just the same as mine are.

There are two theories of government in this country. One theory believes that the special interests—that is, the people who have control of everything—should get all the profits and all the welfare of the country, and what little trickles down the other people can get by chance if they are there to get it.

The theory of the Democratic Party is that there should be an equal distribution of the wealth. That is, the farmer should get his share, the laboringman should get his share, the white-collar man should get his, and the small businessman should get his.

They don't like that, and this last 80th Republican Congress conclusively proved that when they get control of any part of the Government they work only for special interests.

Now, it's in your interest to see that that party which has the interest of the people at heart is in control of the Government. In order to get that done, on November 2d you should go to the polls and vote a straight Democratic ticket, and then you won't have any trouble.

If you'll do that I won't have any trouble with the housing shortage, which I am going to talk about in Los Angeles tonight.

[7.] BURBANK, CALIFORNIA (4:25 p.m.)

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, I appreciate that introduction.

What a crowd! Somebody tells me you are all Democrats!

I have had a wonderful trip across California. I had a grand meeting in San Francisco and Oakland last night, and at nearly every intermediate stop there have been crowds just like this, not quite so large, but everybody in town was out as well as everybody in the surrounding country. I think they are interested and anxious to know what the issues in this campaign are, and I am taking the trouble to tell you. Then you are going to have to use your own judgment. You are going to have to use your own judgment on election day, and I am sure you are not going to vote against yourselves, because if you vote a Republican ticket, you will vote against yourselves.

The issues are clearly drawn in this campaign. It is the special interests against the people. The Republican 80th Congress proved conclusively that Republican policy has not changed one bit. They are just as they were in 1920, 1924, 1928, and 1932. They haven't changed a bit.

This Congress tried its level best to turn the clock back, and if I had not been there standing in the way to protect you, they would have been a success in turning the clock way back.

They took a fall out of the farmer. They took a fall out of the laboringman. They took a fall out of business generally for the benefit of just a few.

Now, I want you to study these issues. I want you to study them carefully, and not do like you did in 1946. Two-thirds of you stayed at home and did not vote in 1946, and a third of you voted to elect this terrible 80th Congress; and see what you got.

Now, if you stay at home this time you will get just what you deserve. I don't think you are going to do it—I don't think you are going to do it!

I am urging you with everything I have to go to the polls on election day, November 2d—I hope you all get registered today—and vote the Democratic ticket straight, and then the country will be safe for another 4 years.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on September 23 the President referred to Cecil F. White, Democratic candidate for Representative from the Ninth District of California, Robert Mathias, winner of the Decathlon in the 1948 Olympic Games, Harold E. Stassen, former Governor of Minnesota, and Charles F. Brannan, Secretary of Agriculture.

205 Address at the Gilmore Stadium in Los Angeles. *September* 23, 1948

Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen:

I have come here tonight to tell you where I stand on the big issues before the country in this campaign.

This is a championship fight. And I am convinced of one thing: the American people are sold on the idea that nobody deserves to win a championship fight by running away. I do not believe that anybody is going to win this fight by running away from the record or ducking the issues.

In our system, the people have a right to know exactly what our two major parties stand for on specific issues. They have a right to know who is for them and who is against them.

The decisive battle has arrived. The people are going to have to choose one side or the other. The Democratic Party and I have nothing to conceal. We are proud of our record. The underlying struggle in this campaign is a struggle between two sets of ideals.

The Democratic ideal of America is summed up in the Four Freedoms: Freedom from Want; Freedom from Fear; Freedom of Worship; and Freedom of Speech.

The Republican ideal, as I have seen it in action, is summed up in one phrase, "Big business first."

Today, I regret to say certain great business interests are trying to corrupt the American idealism. With the Republican Party as their instrument, they are waging a war against the aspirations of our people.

These shrewd men aim to take advantage of the prosperity which you have attained in the last few years with Democratic government. They know that in the throes of prosperity, voters are not easily excited. They hope that this year a large number of voters will not bother to go to the polls. That is their only chance of winning. Some of their franker spokesmen have said in so many words that they are counting on a light vote on election day.

With that in mind, they are trying their best to avoid any suggestion that there is something to fight about in this campaign. They are trying to lull you to sleep with "high-level" platitudes. They are saying in effect: "Everything is all right, everything will go on being all right, if you will just forget about politics and leave things to us."

I wish from the bottom of my heart that that were true. I wish from the heart that it were possible to say to the American people, with sincerity, that it does not make any difference which party they elect this year, that everything will be all right, no matter what happens.

But that is not true. As President of the United States, I know that everything will not be all right, unless the American people exercise care and vigilance to keep the gains which they have won. These past 2 years have shown us evidence—frightening evidence—that if the country falls into the hands of the leaders of the Republican Party, everything is likely to be all wrong within a very short time.

We in this country know how abruptly conditions can change. Just 20 years ago the Republicans were assuring us that everything was going to be all right. But a few months later everything was all wrong. And everything stayed all wrong, until the American public elected Franklin D. Roosevelt.

No one can deny that this country has benefited from Democratic administrations. It is the Democratic Party that has been working for the people for the past 16 years, and getting results for them. It is the Democratic Party that ended discouragement and fear under the Republicans, and opened the gate to a new era of prosperity in this country.

Farmers, workers, homeowners, small businessmen—every American has reason to remember the constructive work of the Democratic administrations since 1933: social security; the farm program; collective bargaining; the minimum wage law; slum clearance; low-rent housing; TVA; soil conservation; reclamation and irrigation projects; full employment; world leadership; the highest standards of living in the history of the world.

You can sum up in these few words an era of progress with Democratic administrations which believed in the people and worked for the people.

But these are things that happened in the past. And you and I, and all of us, are concerned with what is happening now and what will happen in the days immediately ahead.

I don't expect the American people to vote my way just because the Democratic Party served them well after the Republican Party had let them down. But I do expect the American people to wake up and realize right now, this very instant, their standard of living and their hopes for the future are at stake.

I'm not going to use high-sounding words. I speak plainly and directly. I am going to use hard facts. The people of California and of the entire Nation are entitled to the facts.

We'll start with some hard facts about housing.

This is a great and growing city.

People are pouring into it every day. But the supply of houses is pitifully inadequate. Why? The real estate lobby and the Republican Party in Congress have seen to that.

Eight years ago, only 5 percent of the houses sold in Los Angeles cost under $3,500. Today only 1 out of 30 sells for so little—if you can find it.

Eight years ago, only 5 percent of the houses sold in Los Angeles cost over $10,000. Today, 50 percent cost over $10,000—again, if you have one—if you have the $10,000, and can find the house.

Many people can't find a house at any price. Many are doubling up with other families. Thousands of citizens in this city are forced to live in trailers and unsanitary shacks.

The Democratic administration knows that not all families can afford to buy their own homes at a price that yields a profit to the bankers and builders. We know that many families, particularly young veterans, need low-rent housing, which requires Federal support.

Almost 3 years ago, after long and exhaustive study, the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill was introduced in the Congress. This represented a long-range program to provide the 15 million new homes we shall need. Among other things, it provided for slum clearance, rural housing, and low-rent housing projects.

Time and again I urged the passage of that bill. But it was opposed by a million-dollar real-estate lobby in Washington. It passed the Senate, only to be killed in the House of Representatives.

Last year the same bill was introduced again. Again it passed the Senate. It was murdered by the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives, by some of the ugliest trickery in the history of the Congress.

Last July, because the need for housing was so desperate, I called a special session of the 80th Congress. Since the Republican National Convention had specifically endorsed slum-clearance and low-rental housing in its platform, I hoped that we could finally get some action.

But the real-estate lobby was still at work, And again the Republican Congress obeyed the voice of its masters. The House Republicans blocked the bill. The Republican head of a powerful committee in the House used his power to refuse to let the House of Representatives vote on public housing.

The fight went into the Senate. What happened there? Senator Taft of Ohio, who had helped to sponsor the original measure, actually took the lead in fighting his own bill, and voted against it.

By their votes ye shall know them!

These are hard facts. These facts tell you as plain as day what Republican leaders are doing to you right now, and what they will do to you ten times over if they get full control of your Government.

These facts tell you, too, how little faith you can have in Republican platform promises and campaign promises.

Let's look at some more hard facts. Facts about social security, for example. In 1944 the Republican Party spoke out boldly for extending social security. That was a fine platform promise. But what happened?

The Republican 80th Congress actually passed a law, not to extend social security, but to take social security away from hundreds of thousands of American workers. That's the way they kept their promises. I vetoed this measure. Ninety-eight percent of the Republicans in Congress voted to override my veto.

Let's look at the facts about health legislation. You know how hard it is to find a room in a hospital. You know how hard it is to pay the bills, when sickness hits your family.

We worked out a painstaking plan for national medical care. It was designed to meet the medical needs of the American people. It provided for new hospitals, clinics, health centers, research, and a system of national health insurance.

Who opposed it? The well-organized medical lobby. Who killed it? The Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress.

After the Republicans had killed the bill as a whole, we still tried to pass parts of it. The Republican Party in Congress had become a little uneasy by that time. They were not quite sure how the people would

like what they were doing. So they tried to make their record on health legislation look a little better.

They passed a dental research bill. But having done that, they failed to provide any money to carry it out.

Then these Republican so-called "representatives of the people" passed a bill to conduct research in heart disease. That's an important thing for this country, for as you know, heart disease is on the increase. On the basis of the best advice, I recommended nearly $7 million as the minimum requirement. But the Republican Congress cut the appropriation to a mere half-million dollars, only 1/14 of what was needed.

Everywhere you look, it's the same story.

I asked for aid to education for the benefit of the children of this country. No action by the Republican 80th Congress.

I asked for a curb on inflation. No action by the Republican Congress.

The story of the fight on inflation is especially revealing. When I called the Congress into special session this summer, I urged it to deal with the high cost of living. The Republican leadership replied that this was a political maneuver on my part in an election year.

Let's nail that one right now. The Republicans know perfectly well that I had previously called a special session of the Republican 80th Congress in November 1947 to deal with inflation and the high cost of living. And 1947 was not an election year.

When I called the special session for the same purpose in 1948, it was because the Congress had failed to act for the preceding year and a half.

The dangers of inflation are continuing to grow. The cost of living is continuing to rise. The Republicans cannot conceal their responsibility by hurling charges of "politics" at me.

There is no great mystery about how to stop the cost of living from going higher and higher. The best way to stop it is with price control. Everybody knows that when we had price control the average family was not gouged by inflated prices.

Everybody knows that rents under price control have not skyrocketed. But meat, and other foods, and automobiles and building materials, without price control have gone up and up and up.

These are the facts. I have been urging price control, because it is a realistic way, a tested way, of holding down the cost of living. A program that does not include price control will not, and cannot, hold down the cost of living. We have learned that from hard experience.

Instead of dealing vigorously with inflation, the Republican leadership preferred to try to make a political issue of it.

They blame Government expenditures for the rising cost of living. The fact is, that the Government expenditures were vastly greater during the war than they are now, and yet we stabilized the cost of living.

They blame the foreign aid program for the rising cost of living. During the war we shipped far more goods and supplies overseas than we are shipping now, and yet we stabilized the cost of living.

These are the hard facts that you voters will want to bear in mind, when you go to the polls on election day. These are the facts that make this election a decisive battle in the life of our country. These are the facts which show that this is a critical struggle between the forward forces of liberalism and the backward forces of reaction.

While I am talking about the forces of progressive liberalism, I want to add a word to all the people of California who believe in liberal ideas.

You, like Americans everywhere today, are disturbed about the threat to peace and the failures of the 80th Congress to deal

with basic economic problems here at home.

Most of the people realize that the Democratic administration is doing everything that can be done to preserve the peace. And they realize that the Democratic administration is eager to put an end to the reactionary policies of the 80th Congress.

There are, however, some people with true liberal convictions, whose worry over the state of the world has caused them to lean toward a third party.

To these liberals I would say in all sincerity: Think again.

The fact that the Communists are guiding and using the third party shows that this party does not represent American ideals.

But there is another and very practical reason why it is folly for any liberal to put his hope in this third party.

The third party has no power in the Government and no chance of achieving power. The simple fact is that the third party cannot achieve peace, because it is powerless. It cannot achieve better conditions here at home, because it is powerless.

The Democratic Party is the party which truly expresses the hopes of American liberals, and which has power to fulfill those hopes. We have worked for peace in a difficult international situation, and we shall continue with all our strength to work for peace.

We have worked for the improvement of the conditions here at home—to curb inflation, to provide low-rent housing, give aid to education, extend civil rights, and scores of other ways.

I shall continue to work for these goals with all my strength.

A vote for the third party can only weaken the efforts of the Democratic Party to build a healthy nation and a peaceful world.

A vote for the third party plays into the hands of the Republican forces of reaction, whose aims are directly opposed to the aims of American liberalism.

A vote for the third party will not promote the cause of American liberalism; it will injure it.

I say to those disturbed liberals who have been sitting uncertainly on the outskirts of the third party: Think again. Don't waste your vote.

This is the hour for the liberal forces of America to unite. We have hopes to fulfill and goals to attain. Together we can rout the forces of reaction once again.

We are strong in faith and strong in energy. We must entrust our destiny to those who will safeguard our rights, our freedom, and our national honor.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 p.m. at the Gilmore Stadium in Los Angeles. His opening words "Mr. Chairman" referred to State Senator George Luckey, Vice Chairman of the California State Democratic Committee.

206 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in California and Arizona. *September* 24, 1948

[1.] SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA (Lane Field, 9:15 a.m.)

Mr. Chairman, Mr. McKinnon:

I sincerely hope that you'll send this good Democrat to the Congress from this district. This great section of Southern California needs the right sort of representation in the Congress, and I hope you'll send me a Democrat, so I'll have somebody to work with.

You know, when I got off the train this morning, I was told by your Mayor and

several of your good citizens that the principal thing you needed here—two things: One was water. Well, it began to rain just as soon as I got off the train. And the other was a couple of pitchers for the Padres. Well, I hope you'll get the rain. Of course, the manager of the ball team can send you that pitcher business if he wants to.

I think I'm familiar with your problems and the situation in this part of California.

I was here on several occasions during the war. I made investigations of the airplane plant, of your housing shortage, and several things that were bothering you. I was in Washington when President Roosevelt ordered the aqueduct to bring you water with Federal help. And that aqueduct would have been stopped if this 80th Congress had had its way. They're not interested in your welfare.

I called an extra session of the 80th Congress in 1947 and asked them to take action on the housing shortage. They didn't do it. They didn't do it at the regular session.

Then I called another special session of the 80th Congress, after they had given us a platform in Philadelphia. In that platform, they stated that they were for certain things. When I called them back into session in July, what did they do? Nothing. Nothing. That Congress never did anything the whole time it was in session, but they tried to sabotage the West. And if you people stay at home this time like you did in 1946, you'll get just what you deserve.

The Democrats have always been your friends. The Democrats are for the people. The Republicans are for the special interests. They've always been for the special interests.

The water problem of California must be solved in the next year or two because your population is increasing at such a rapid rate you are going to come to the saturation point unless you can get some water to support that population.

I think I know your problems. I think I'm familiar with what you need. And, if you elect a Congress along with the President who is looking to the future and not trying to turn the clock back, it'll be much better for your interests and for the interests of this great State.

Now, election day is on November 2d, and if all of you vote, then we'll know what you want. And, if you want reaction, then you ought to vote for it. If you don't want reaction, if you vote for an organization that's always been working in the people's interest, you'll go to the polls on the 2d and you'll vote the Democratic ticket straight.

[2.] OCEANSIDE, CALIFORNIA (Rear platform, 10:45 a.m.)

I appreciate very much that most cordial introduction of Mr. McKinnon, who I understand is going to be your next Congressman. I am very happy that you are going to send a Democrat to Washington. In your own selfish, special interest you ought to send a Democrat to Washington.

The Democratic Party stands for those things in which you are most interested. The Democratic Party has been responsible for the development of water power, and the other things in which the West is vitally interested. If you read the record, you will find that all these great projects originated under Democratic administrations, and you will find that this Republican 80th Congress has done everything it possibly can to sabotage the West. And they are still at it. You can't afford to allow that to happen.

Now, your great need in this part of the world is water, and we are trying to develop a plan for the whole of the State of Cali-

fornia which will to some extent, and I hope completely solve the water problem which you are up against, and which the whole State is up against, because of the shortage of water. When you go through this beautiful country, it almost makes you weep to think of what could be done if you just had the water to put on this land.

Now, if you will remember, when President Roosevelt was down here, he ordered this aqueduct to be built because it was necessary to furnish water not only to this part of California, but to keep the naval works and airplane factories going that were in San Diego. The first thing the Republicans did, as soon as they got into office, was to try to sabotage that great project, but we succeeded in getting it restored; and we—the Democrats—are now working on a plan which we hope will increase the water supply to this part of the country.

You are interested in housing. The Republican Congress sabotaged the housing bill. That bill passed the Senate and went over to the House, and the Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee and the Chairman of the Rules Committee prevented the House from voting on that measure. I am sure that the House, if it had been allowed to vote by the Republican leadership, would have passed that housing bill.

That bill was introduced nearly 3 years ago and it was called the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. It passed the Senate at that time and was defeated in the House. In the 80th Congress it was introduced again in 1947, and it was called the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. It passed the Senate, went over to the House, and Senator Taft himself helped to kill that bill—his own bill with his name on it.

That is customary with the present Congress and its leadership, and you want to bear in mind that if you send another Congress back there with a Republican tinge and a Republican majority, you will have the same old bunch of mossbacks in charge that are in charge now, and you won't get a thing.

You ought to bear all these things in mind. In Los Angeles last night, I went into detail as to what the Democratic Party stands for, and you know how I stand on these things.

Try to find out where the rest of the people stand who are in opposition to me. See whether they will tell you or not. I don't think they will, because they are trying to make you believe one thing when they are really going to do another. It's a case of double talk.

You don't have to find out what I mean when I say it. I say it so you can understand it. The record speaks for itself. All you have to do is study the record.

Now, it is up to you to decide whether you want to turn the clock back and leave the saboteurs in the Congress or whether you want to go forward with the Democratic Party and accomplish what is necessary to make this country great.

To do that, you must exercise your God-given privilege to vote. That is the greatest privilege that you have in this great Nation, the freedom of the ballot. That means that you are the Government. When you don't vote, and you get something like the 80th Congress, you are to blame for it. If you don't go out and vote the 2d of November, and you have this backward-looking outfit in complete control of the Government, then you won't have anybody to blame but yourselves.

If you do go out and vote, as I am sure you are going to, I am not going to worry about the result, because the people know what is right. The people are usually right if they

can get the facts—and I am trying to give them to you. That is the reason I came out here.

[3.] COLTON, CALIFORNIA (Rear platform, 1:56 p.m.)

Congressman Sheppard and fellow Democrats:

I certainly do appreciate this most cordial welcome to Colton. It's wonderful. I don't see where all the people came from.

In San Diego this morning at 8:30 by standard time, 9:30 California time, there were 25,000 people out in the ball park and there must have been 50,000 on the street besides that. I never saw anything like that crowd that early in the morning. That's been the sort of reception we have been receiving all over the State, so I know you're interested. I know you're interested in how the President stands and what he stands for, and in words of one syllable, I've been telling the people of California just where I stand, and I think they understand that.

The basic issue in this campaign is as simple as can be: it's the special interests against the people; the special interests against the people. And that was conclusively proved by the 80th Republican "do-nothing" Congress which we just finished with—thank God.

A long time ago, I am told, this town had a fight between the special interests and the people, and they organized a freight train of their own and ran mule teams in competition with the railroad until the freight trains came down to a workable rate.

Now, we're up against this same thing all across the board in this campaign. I explained to the farmers in Iowa and to the whole Nation that their interests are being jeopardized by the policies of the Republican Congress, and that's only a sample of what they can expect to get if the Republicans get complete control of the Congress.

You know what they did to your irrigation and reclamation and water projects in this great State. They would have sabotaged every single one of them if it hadn't been for such fellows as this and for the President of the United States. I can say that conclusively, and he'll back up every word I say.

Republicans are just simply tools of big business. They believe that there is a top strata in the country that ought to run the Government and that ought to profit from the Government.

That's not the Democratic belief at all. We believe that there ought to be a fair distribution of the wealth so that the farmer gets a part of the income, the laboringman gets his part, the small businessman gets his part, and then the distribution is as it should be.

Now, we had an income last year of $217 billion, the greatest in the history of the world for any country, and that income has been equitably distributed.

The farmers got the greatest income they ever had. Labor got the greatest income they ever had, and business has done better than it's ever done in the history of the country.

Now, why do you want to throw that out the window? You have a good chance to do it, if you don't go to the polls and vote and let these birds know where you stand.

They'll tear you apart. I can prove that they have it in mind to sabotage the farm program.

Mr. Stassen gave out an interview in Albany, the capital of New York, and in that interview he made it perfectly plain that they expect to do away with the farm support price, and the Wall Street Journal commented on that interview after our Secretary

of Agriculture explained to the people just what Mr. Stassen meant. And here is what the Wall Street Journal said, now—the Wall Street Journal is not a Democratic paper and it's not for any Democrat—in a little column called "Progress of the Week—An Editorial Appraisal." Here is what it said: "Nevertheless the whole import of Mr. Stassen's press conference at Albany was just what Secretary Brannan said it was"—that's the Democratic Secretary of Agriculture—"in essence an attack on the price support system. Mr. Stassen is in fact proposing a far-reaching reform of the farm price support policy or he doesn't make sense."

Now, it's one or the other: either he's double talking and doesn't make sense or he wants the whole thing revised—and if he does that, where will the farmer be?

They compromised the Commodity Credit Corporation so that they can hardly meet the support program when it comes around. They fixed it so that the Commodity Credit Corporation cannot rent storage space and cannot provide storage space. As a joker they slipped it in an appropriation bill. They tried to legislate altogether through appropriation bills.

They cut the throat of the whole reclamation project and they sent a Republican to look over the situation, and the folks out here gave him so much hell he went back and put my program in.

Now, I want you to use good judgment. I want you to use good judgment, and I'm sure you will. You go to the polls on November 2d and take no chances. Just vote the Democratic ticket straight, and then you won't have anything to worry about—we'll have a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President. And I won't be troubled by this terrible housing shortage, for I can stay in the White House for another 4 years.

[4.] YUMA, ARIZONA (Rear platform, 6:30 p.m.)

Governor Garvey, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—fellow Democrats of Arizona:

It certainly is a pleasure to be here, and I am happy indeed to see so many of you out here this afternoon. I feel like that is a wonderful tribute to the President of the United States, and I accept it as such and I appreciate it.

I am acquainted with the history of this region and know something about it. I spent a lot of time talking to your two Senators about it, and they have told me a great deal about it; and I learned something from the books, too.

Arizona was settled by men of courage and imagination and vision. I know that you have the same vision and courage that your forefathers had. I know it because of what you have accomplished in recent years in developing and using the resources of this great State.

The issue in this campaign is whether men of your caliber will be allowed to move forward in natural resource development, or whether you will be blocked by powerful interests who want to use the resources of this country for their own profit. This election will decide whether we have a Federal Government that will work for the full development of the West, or whether the Government will be controlled by men who obey the big business interests in the East. The Democratic Party has always stood for the full development of the Nation's resources. Under Democratic administrations in the past 16 years, this country has moved further ahead in natural resource development than in all the Republican administrations for the last century. And those developments have been for the benefit of the people and not for

a few special interests.

The Yuma Reclamation project is the type of project which the Democratic administrations are building all through the West. The Yuma project, the Gila project, and the All-American Canal project are being directed from your city of Yuma. In all, nearly $140 million will be spent on these projects. As a result of these projects, 600,000 acres will receive irrigation and water.

The Republican Party has consistently obeyed the will of the special interests in blocking the development of the West. They want to keep it an economic colony of the East. They want to have these developments in the hands of special interests and big corporations so that they can skim the cream off your own labor. The Democratic Party does not believe in that sort of stuff. This is proved by the efforts of Republican leaders to cut the reclamation program by more than half. That program was saved from destruction by the Democrats in the Congress, and by the protests of you people in the West.

You know, they took a meat axe to my recommendation for reclamation in the West, and the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee sent one of his Republican friends out here to see how much more he could take off; and he met some of his Republican friends out here and they raised so much fuss he was afraid to cut it any more and I succeeded in getting most of it restored.

You have got three choices before you in November. You can vote for the vested interests who have poured millions of dollars into this campaign to capture Congress for their selfish profits and if you do, it will be at your own expense—you will be voting against yourselves.

I am not only asking you to vote for me, I am asking you to vote for yourselves in your own selfish interests. You can stay away from the polls and allow a minority to elect the same group of men that controlled that 80th "do-nothing" Congress. You see, one-third of you went to the polls the last time, two-thirds of you stayed home. The farmers are fat and rich, they have the biggest income they ever had in their lives—in the history of the country, for that matter; everybody was at work, 61 million people had jobs in this country at good pay and they were just too lazy to go and exercise their rights of franchise, and they got a bunch of birds in the Congress that tried to cut you to pieces.

If that is what you want, then stay away from the polls, or vote the Republican ticket. I don't think that is what you want. I think you will go to the polls and elect a good Democratic Congress just as you have done in the past; and I think you will vote the straight Democratic ticket and keep the country in safe hands. If you do that, the Government will be in the hands of those who have the interests of the people at heart and not the interests of the special interests. Keep that in mind.

Also, you will make it a lot easier on me—I won't have to face this housing shortage, I will have a place in the White House as a place to live.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on September 24 the President referred to Clinton D. McKinnon, Democratic candidate for Representative from California's 23d District, Harley E. Knox, Mayor of San Diego, Harry R. Sheppard, Representative from California, Harold E. Stassen, former Governor of Minnesota, Charles F. Brannan, Secretary of Agriculture, and Dan E. Garvey, Governor of Arizona.

207 Address at Phoenix, Arizona. *September* 24, 1948

Governor, Senator McFarland, Congressman Murdock:

I can't tell you how very highly pleased I am to be your guest here tonight, and I am sincerely sorry that I couldn't have gotten here sooner. But I am under the impression if I had gotten here sooner, there wouldn't have been room for anybody else.

I have been here before. I remember coming here one night, and making a speech in behalf of Carl Hayden, when he was running for reelection. We had a lot of fun on that, and you sent Carl back to the Senate.

I want to say to the great State of Arizona, that when you have men like Carl Hayden and Ernest McFarland, and John Murdock, and this young man Patten, who is going back there now, the country is well-helped by that sort of treatment from this great State.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate your coming out here at this time of night. That shows you are interested in your Government and interested in what is going to happen to your country.

You should be interested. The results of this election will make a lot of difference to each one of you personally.

One of the finest things about our form of government is that it gives people a chance to shape their own destiny. They don't always take advantage of that chance as they should.

Look at what happened in 1946, when two-thirds of the voters in the United States stayed at home; and the other third elected that Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress. You've heard a lot about that Congress, and I am going to tell you a lot more about it, before I get through with this campaign.

I'm glad to say that Arizona didn't have any part in that. You sent fine Democrats to the Congress just as you had been doing all along. If it hadn't been for the battle put up by your Senators and Representatives, and other Democrats like them, the Republican-controlled 80th Congress would have done a lot more harmful things than it did. The Republicans are still saving up a lot of special interest measures, hoping that in the next Congress there won't be so many Democrats to protect the people. God help the country, if that happens.

We're going to show them that they're wrong. I know where Arizona will stand, and I know the kind of people you'll send to the Congress—just as the men I named awhile ago, that's the sort of people we want in the Congress.

I've been having a wonderful time on this trip. It's given me a chance to tell about the record of the Democratic Party, and that record was made in the last 16 years.

It's a record I'm very proud of, and I get so much pleasure out of telling about it that it reminds me of the old Sunday School hymn, "I love to tell the story."

I say that no political party in the history of the world has ever done so much for a country as the Democratic Party has done for the United States since the election of Franklin Roosevelt.

You remember how we started out from the midst of a terrible depression. You remember how the Nation responded when it found out that we had a Government that was working for the people, and not taking orders from Wall Street.

That's right. You remember! Who was it said, "The capital of the United States has been moved from Wall Street to Washington"? And that is where we want to keep it.

We made progress year after year under

a Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress. Sometimes the progress was rapid—sometimes it was slow. But we always made progress, for we were headed forward.

Now, the Republicans want to turn around and start backward. They want to move the capital from Washington back to Wall Street. They have been working at it in the Congress for the last 2 years and they're now trying to capture the executive branch of the Government, so that they can complete the job.

The things we have done since the people took over the Government in 1933 have paid big dividends to the Nation. And one of the things that has paid the biggest dividends is our aid in developing the resources of the West.

There is a part of the record I've talked about a lot on this trip, because the people of the West know what it means. They know that the Democratic Party has done more for the development of the West in the last 16 years than the Republican Party did in the last hundred. That's on the record and all the campaign oratory in the world can't change it.

This is of great importance to you here in Arizona. You are vitally interested in water for your cities and irrigation projects, and in the development of power from your rivers.

Just now you are very much interested in the completion of the Davis Dam and a network of transmission lines. This will give you the power you have to have to carry on, and you will get it at a much cheaper rate. Our goal for the completion of that project is 1950. We can finish it on schedule—if we can keep the Republicans from throwing more monkey wrenches into the machinery.

You are fortunate here in Arizona that the private power facilities and the public power agencies have shown a fine spirit of cooperation with the Federal Government in the development and transmission of power. This example of the mutual advantage of cooperation between private utilities and the Government agencies should be a matter of interest to people in other areas, where the power trust is trying to bottle up power, until they can get a rakeoff on it.

The harnessing of the Colorado River for beneficial uses is a dramatic thing as well as a matter of good business. It's the kind of empire building I like. I want to see the day when all the waters of that mighty river will be put to their best possible use.

Today, half the water that could be supplied by the Colorado system is still flowing down to the sea without being used. That water ought to be put on the land, and used to turn out power. That's where it is needed for homes and crops and industries.

The big problem, of course, is to settle the division of the waters among the States of the Colorado Basin, since there is not enough to meet all the needs. The Upper Basin States have recently arrived at a basic agreement, which I hope will soon be translated into a working compact.

The question of the water rights of the Lower Basin is a tough one and involves many complex problems.

This is of tremendous importance to Arizona, because your population, and your industry and agriculture have advanced more rapidly than water resources have been made available to sustain them. The lack of water is the limiting factor in your development, right now. And in order to plan intelligently for the future, you need to know how much water you can count on.

The Secretary of the Interior has just sent to the Congress a detailed report on a vast project for bringing water to central Arizona. He has found that investigations made over a period of years show this project to be economically feasible. But it depends on taking

a lot of water from the Colorado River. And the Secretary pointed out that Arizona's right to take this water from the Colorado River is challenged by her sister States. His recommendations for favorable consideration of the project was therefore conditioned upon Arizona's claims to the water being substantiated.

I have talked about water, because I know of your interest in it, and because it's one of the many examples of Republican broken promises.

In their platform for this year—1948—they say they "favor progressive development of the Nation's water resources for navigation, flood control, and power, with immediate action in critical areas." They also said they favored a comprehensive reclamation program. When it comes to making promises, they come right along saying, "Me, too."

But when it comes to making good on those promises—well, that's something else again. I will cite you some examples.

They said they were in favor of immediate action in critical areas. Well, I gave them a chance for immediate action. I called a special session of the Congress, after they wrote that hypocritical platform.

And when I got this Republican Congress back in session, I pointed out to them where the cuts they had made in irrigation and power projects would delay the use of water or the furnishing of power by more than a year. All this power was badly needed and most of it was in critical areas, by anybody's definition.

One of the projects I listed was Davis Dam—and you folks here know how badly you need the power from Davis Dam right now, and how serious it is that Republican cuts in appropriations will delay your getting this power.

So, I told the Republican Congress they ought to restore the cuts they made in the Davis Dam project, and others like it in other parts of the West, and let the work go ahead.

Here was the Republican's chance for immediate action of the kind they promised in their platform. You know, they wiped out the whole appropriation for the Davis Dam, and your Senators and Congressmen made them put part of it back, but they didn't put it all back.

What happened? The Republican leadership in the House of Representatives wouldn't even let the House consider restoring the money for these projects. And when the question was put to a vote in the Senate, the Republicans killed the appropriation there. Thirty-one out of thirty-five Democratic Senators voted for immediate action in these critical areas. But 45 out of 46 Republican Senators voted against it.

Now, I will cite you the chapter and verse, so you can get the record. You read the Congressional Record, the 7th of August, 1948, at page 10256, and you will see just exactly what they did, and they can't lie out of the record.

That's the kind of leadership the Republican Party has nowadays. That's the way you can expect it to carry out campaign promises.

It's safer to stick by the Democratic record of performance.

That, I know, is what you are going to do on election day.

Go to the polls—go to the polls, and vote the Democratic ticket straight, just like you always do.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:45 p.m. from the rear platform of his special train. His opening words referred to Governor Dan E. Garvey, Senator Ernest W. McFarland, and Representative John R. Murdock, all of Arizona. Later he referred to Carl Hayden, Senator from Arizona, Harold A. Patten, Democratic candidate for Representative from Arizona's Second District, and Julius A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior.

208 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in New Mexico and Texas. *September* 25, 1948

[1.] LORDSBURG, NEW MEXICO (Rear platform, 7:35 a.m.)

Governor, Lieutenant Governor, the candidate for the Senate of the United States, and the Secretary of State, and all the other distinguished members of the New Mexico delegations here to meet me—and fellow Democrats:

It certainly is a pleasure to see all these good people out here at this early hour in the morning. Of course, 7:30 is not nearly so early in New Mexico as it is in Washington. Washington people, you know, have a habit of not getting up until along toward mid-day, and they can't understand why the President of the United States gets up at 5:30 every morning.

I am acquainted with your industries in this part of the world, principally mining and stockraising and farming under irrigation; and I am here to inform you that in 1932 the residents of New Mexico had an income of less than $100 million.

Do you know what it was in 1947? It was $500 million, which is 5 times what it was under the Republicans.

Thirteen times as many farms in New Mexico have electricity now as had electricity in 1932. And the farmers are earning about 8 times as much money as they did in 1932.

Now, if there is any farmer or miner or workingman who is foolish enough to want to turn the clock back, he ought to vote the Republican ticket. Otherwise, he had better vote for himself when he votes for me.

The business firms of New Mexico have prospered under Democratic administrations. New Mexico has been benefited, because Democrats believe in developing the West, and because we work to bring prosperity to all the people, not just a few at the top; and that is the difference between the Democratic policy and the Republican policy. Republicans believe in special interests. They believe in taking care of special interests. I have talked to Congressman after Congressman, and Senator after Senator on this trip, who have been in the "do-nothing" 80th Congress, and every one of them says that on every committee he finds that the Republicans are always working to take care of big business, and they don't care what happens to the fellow down below.

Now you have got a chance here in New Mexico to keep the policy of the Democrats going. You know, my former Secretary of Agriculture came down here to run for the Senate, and he is one of the best Secretaries of Agriculture this country has ever had; and I have got a good one now, too. But I want you to be sure that you send a Democratic delegation to the Congress. I want to see Clinton Anderson in the Senate, and I want you to send Democrats to the House. Then you will be doing your duty for the public, and by yourselves.

I have been preaching this doctrine all the way across the country. We are in a crusade out here. We are either going to go backwards, or we are going forward in this atomic energy age, and we are going to have the greatest age in history, if you people decide what is best for the country. I hope you will do that. I know you will do that, because you understand the situation.

Now, on election day, don't stay at home, don't do like you did in 1946, when you elected that good for nothing "do-nothing" 80th Congress. When you study the record of that Congress, it is staggering the things they did to you, and the things they did not

do that they should have done. They tried to cut the throat of the West, and I had to come out here and tell you about it.

I can cite you chapter and verse in the Congressional Record, whenever you want it, as to how these people performed.

I do thank you most sincerely for turning out this morning. It is a wonderful tribute to your interest in the political situation in the country at this time.

Thank you very much.

[2.] DEMING, NEW MEXICO (Rear platform, 9:02 a.m.)

Governor Mabry and Senator Anderson, should I call him?

It certainly is a very great pleasure to me to be here in New Mexico this morning, this beautiful morning, and to meet all these good people, some of whom have come great distances to get acquainted with the President of the United States.

I have one telegram here which is from the senior Senator from New Mexico that says: "I am extremely sorry that due to my illness and the doctor's instructions, I am unable to welcome you to New Mexico. I wish to assure you of my utmost loyalty and support for you and Senator Barkley personally and for the ideals and principles you both represent. My friends in New Mexico and all over the Nation, stand 100 percent behind the Democratic platform and your laudable advocacy of your platform. God speed and God's blessings to you and yours. Dennis Chavez, United States Senator."

You have a very great chance now to see that New Mexico is properly represented in the Congress of the United States, and I know you're going to elect Clinton Anderson for the United States Senator from New Mexico, and I know you're going to elect these two good Democrats for Congressman from New Mexico—and that will go a long ways towards upsetting the terrible 80th "do-nothing" Congress.

I stopped an hour and a half ago at Lordsburg. I gave them some figures about your great State of New Mexico and how that State had benefited under the Democratic administrations in 16 years. I think you'll be interested in having these figures because these figures apply not only to New Mexico, but they apply to every State of the Union in the same proportion or greater.

In 1932 residents of New Mexico earned less than $100 million. Last year New Mexico earned $500 million. That's just 5 times what it was under the Republicans. Thirteen times as many farms in New Mexico have electricity now as had it in 1932, and the farmers are earning about 8 times as much money as they did in 1932.

You had a great many other benefits too, like the power that comes from Elephant Butte Dam, and at Elephant Butte Dam you have an irrigation project which is due to the Democratic administrations.

All these great projects in the West have been initiated and are being carried to conclusion because the Democratic Party believes in development of the country for the people and not for the interests. Don't let anybody tell you anything different. And this Republican 80th Congress did its best to sabotage the West, and had it not been for the fight put up by the western Congressmen and Senators, principally Democrats, you would have had your throat cut by this Congress. Don't forget that, because that shows the policies of the Democrats and the Republicans. One's for the people, one's for special interests.

Now, when you go to the polls on November the 2d, all you need to do to see that you are safe is not only to vote for me and your Democratic candidates for Senator and Representatives—you must vote for yourselves, and when you do that, you'll vote the Demo-

cratic ticket straight, and the country will be saved.

This is a most wonderful turnout and I appreciate it.

[*At this point a group of Apache Indians were introduced to the President*]

Well, I'm happy to meet them and I know that these real Americans are going to look after their own interests by voting the Democratic ticket.

[*The President was presented with a belt and a leather necktie. He then resumed speaking*]

I appreciate this very highly, this belt and this necktie. I need a pair of leather lungs and that will just exactly fit. Yesterday, in Yuma, Ariz., they gave me some sterling silver spurs engraved with my name on them, just the same as this belt is. Now, when I get this belt and that leather lung necktie and that pair of spurs on, I can certainly take the Congress for a ride!

[3.] El Paso, Texas (Address, 11:20 a.m., see Item 209)

[4.] Sierra Blanca, Texas (Rear platform, 3:40 p.m.)

[*The President was presented with a hat made in Texas.*]

Thank you very much. Sidney, I appreciate that introduction and I want to say to you that if you'd put me on one of these cayuses out here I'd probably be just as nervous as you are. I hope you weren't disappointed in the President when you met him.

I do appreciate the privilege of stopping here and getting a chance just to become acquainted with the people of this part of the great State of Texas.

I wish I could stop off and go to the rodeo. I would much rather see that than do what I have to do, but I've got to go across Texas today and let people see what I look like and what I stand for and what I think.

I am being accompanied across Texas today by some of Texas' greatest citizens. The Governor is with me, Governor Jester, Sam Rayburn is with me, the Attorney General is with me, and your own Congressman are my escort across this part of Texas, and I think I'm safe in their hands.

I do thank you very much for this wonderful turnout. I appreciate highly your stopping the show in order to come down to see the President of the United States. Thank you very much.

As for this hat, it's just exactly what I wear all the time and I need a new one, and I'm glad to have it.

[5.] Valentine, Texas (Rear platform, 5:20 p.m.)

It certainly is a pleasure to have a chance to meet you. I appreciate the privilege of riding across the great State of Texas with your Congressman Ken Regan and your Governor Jester, Sam Rayburn, and the Attorney General of the United States, Tom Clark.

It has been an education indeed to see the bright and shining faces in these towns. Everybody seems to be happy, and everybody seems to be interested in the welfare of the United States, because you have come out to meet your Chief Executive and look him over and see what you think of him.

I hope that when election day comes around, that every single one of you will go to the polls and vote the Democratic ticket straight, and that will keep the country safe for the people; because the issue in this campaign is the difference between the interests of the country as a whole and the special interests who are trying to take over the Government.

I think, if you study the record of the 80th Congress, you will find that their interest is the special interests, that it was run by lobbyists and other special interests that were not the interests of the people.

Your choice on election day will be between the people and the special interests. Now be sure and go out and do your duty on that day, and you will not be sorry for it.

[6.] MARFA, TEXAS (Rear platform, 6:35 p.m.)

Mr. Caufield, Congressman Regan, Governor Jester, and ladies and gentlemen, fellow Democrats of Marfa, Texas:

It's a great pleasure to me to see this wonderful turnout here this evening at this great city of Marfa.

I have heard of Marfa all my life. Highland Herefords—we bred them out in Missouri. They're famous all over the world.

I am informed by Speaker Rayburn that this is one of the entrances to Big Bend National Park, a Democratic project which was put over for the benefit of the people of Texas, and which eventually will bring you one of the greatest tourist trades in the United States. Some day, when I have the time and a chance, I want to come down and visit it myself and see just what it's like.

You know, there is just one issue in this campaign between the Democrats and the Republicans. It's the issue of the people against the special interests. It's the issue of whether the people will rule the country or whether the special interests will rule the country, and that's a decision you'll have to make on election day.

Now, you are vitally interested in this part of the world in the cattle industry. I've named one of your great Highland Hereford projects here in this part of the world. It furnishes cattle all over the world for feeding and breeding purposes.

We have tried to find some way to control the various, terrible diseases which affect the cattle business. In fact, we asked this Republican Congress—this Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress — to appropriate funds for a laboratory to investigate some of these terrible cattle diseases, and they didn't do one thing about it.

Yet in their platform they said they were for just that.

When I called them back into extra session I asked them to do something about it. But did they do it? No. No, they didn't do anything but cause trouble for the country.

Now they're trying to get out of that. They go around telling you just exactly how they feel toward the people and what they'll do for the people. I wish you'd go back over the list of things that they did to the people in this 80th Congress. You wouldn't have one bit of trouble making up your mind. I know the people in Texas are going to make up their minds the right way because they know what's what when it comes to Government of the people, for the people, and by the people.

I'm asking you to turn out on election day and give us the biggest majority we've ever had in the history of the country. We've got them on the run now. We've got them scared, and we want to keep them that way because the welfare of this country is at stake in this campaign.

I want you to remember that. It means everything in the world as to whether the people or the special interests run the country.

I've been all over the West, and I've explained to the farmers in Iowa just exactly what this 80th Congress tried to do to them. I've been in Colorado and California and

Utah and New Mexico and Arizona, and now I'm in Texas, explaining to the people that this Congress did everything possible to take the Government away from the people.

They tried to ruin the reclamation projects. They tried to ruin the farmer by taking the floor from under the price support program. They've done everything that's possible to ruin the country and turn the clock back.

Well, now, you don't want to go along with people who want to turn the clock back. You better go along with people who turn the clock forward, people who look forward, and look out for the welfare of the country.

The income of this country in 1947 was $217 billion, the greatest in the history of the world, and that income was distributed so that most everybody had a fair share of it. The farmers got their share of it, the businessmen got their share of it, labor got a fair share of it—and by the way, there are 61 million people employed in this country right now, more than ever have been employed in the history of the country. And we can go forward and do even better than that, if you want a forward-looking administration to take care of the business of the Government!

Please, on election day go out and show that you believe in a forward-looking administration, and vote the Democratic ticket straight and you won't have any trouble whatever—and it'll make it a lot easier for me too because I won't have to be bothered by the housing shortage because I'll live in the White House another 4 years.

[*At this point the President was presented with a belt and a hatband. He then resumed speaking*]

They presented me with this belt and hatband to go along with my spurs and hat, so I can ride the Democratic Donkey to victory. I certainly appreciate that.

[7.] ALPINE, TEXAS (Rear platform, 7:30 p.m.)

Doctor, Congressman Regan, Governor Jester, and fellow Democrats:

This certainly is a wonderful turnout. You know, I have been to Alpine before. At that time, you didn't pay any attention to me. That was before most of you were born, about 1908 or 9. I came down here and went over a great part of this great State with a bunch of people who were interested in irrigation problems on the Pincus River, and I had a great time going over the Davis Mountains. I didn't catch anything, but I didn't have to run from any bears.

I wish I had time to visit the Big Bend National Park. That is a most wonderful park, and I hope that sometime during my next term I will have a chance to come down here and visit it. I understand that you have nearly 40,000 people a year who visit that great park. The park is a shining example of how State and Federal Governments can cooperate. All the people of this country have reason to be grateful to the great State of Texas for appropriating $1½ million to buy the land for this fine highway that is built into the park. We also have reason to be grateful to the cattlemen who formerly grazed their herds in that area, and who voluntarily withdrew these herds when this great piece of land became a park. Now, that is real patriotism, because those men were making money raising their cattle over there, but they wanted that park to be for the public; and I congratulate them on that attitude. There is still a lot of work to be done in the Big Bend National Park, and I am hoping it will be done soon.

The park will be finished, if—*if* Democrats are reelected, because the Democratic Party believes in a great system of parks for the enjoyment of all the people.

The Republican Party, however, is so in-

terested in what it calls economy—in quotation marks—it isn't real economy, but they call it economy—it's a matter of cut and slash here and there without any system whatever, that it has been hacking away at appropriations for all our national parks. This Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress cut off nearly $4 million from the appropriation for the National Park Service this year. Last year they cut it much more than that.

The Republicans have been cutting funds for reclamation, irrigation, soil conservation, public power, and all the other projects that mean so much to all you people here in the West.

On November the 2d, you are going to have a chance to make up your mind whether you want to go along with people who want to turn the clock back. The Republicans want to turn the clock back to 1898. They have got a lot of mossbacks in Congress who are chairmen of principal committees in the Congress who are living in 1898.

Don't let anybody tell you anything different, that if the Republicans can obtain control of the Congress, the same old mossback gang will be in control, and the people in the West and in Texas won't have a Chinaman's chance. Bear that in mind.

You have got to vote for the principles of the people who are looking forward, not for those who are looking back.

I am very happy to be here tonight. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this wonderful turnout. This is magnificent. I want to say to you that turnouts all over the country have been magnificent, and these turnouts have scared the Republicans to death. They have got to work! They are actually on the run, and we are going to keep them that way.

We are going to win this election, and we are going to win it because the interests of the people are instinctive. They know that if the Government is turned over to the special interests, they will go back to another boom and bust—and the country can't afford that.

Now, on November the 2d, get up early, and go and vote the Democratic ticket straight, and the country will be safe for another 4 years, and I won't be troubled with the housing problem.

[8.] SANDERSON, TEXAS (Rear platform, 10:05 p.m.)

Mr. Sudduth, Congressman Regan, Governor Jester, and fellow Democrats of Sanderson:

I appreciate very much the privilege of having a chance to meet the citizens of Texas.

I started in at El Paso this morning and it looked like half of Texas were present in El Paso. But that was not the case, for at every other stop the other half has been at each one of these other cities—and it looks now as if everybody in this neighborhood is here. I am glad of that because I want to meet you face to face and let you understand what I stand for, and then I want you to use your own good judgment for the welfare of the country.

You are interested in livestock in this part of the world. You're interested in this Big Bend National Park and you're interested in a great many other things that have to do with the welfare of the United States as a whole.

There is a fundamental difference between Republicans and Democrats. Republicans believe in special privilege. They believe that a favored few ought to profit from the Government, and that if anybody else gets anything it will gradually trickle down to them.

The Democrats have a different viewpoint.

They think that the Government is of and for and by the people and that the welfare of the whole people is much more important than the welfare of just a few.

Now, in 1947 we had a national income of $217 billion. That's the greatest income any nation in the world ever had in the history of the world—and that $217 billion income was distributed in a manner that allowed the farmer and the stockman and the sheepraiser and the little merchant and the workingman to get his fair share; and that meant an even distribution of goods so that everybody had a few of the good things of life and nobody had a corner on any of them.

That's the policy of the Democratic Party. That policy was inaugurated when Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President in 1932, and that's been the policy of the Democratic administrations ever since that time. I want to continue that policy.

The Republicans and the 80th Congress showed exactly how they were going to transact business "for the welfare of the people." They want to transact it for the welfare of a few.

There were more lobbies in Washington in this session of the 80th Congress than ever before in the history of the country and there was more money spent there by the lobbyists than ever before in the history of the country. I have had the Attorney General, the Honorable Tom Clark of Texas, making an investigation of that situation, and he's found some very, very sad situations which, in the long run, he'll work out for the benefit of the taxpayers, I hope.

Now, hear: I want you to keep in mind that your welfare and the welfare of the Nation is wrapped up in this campaign. I'm making a crusade in this country for the people, and if you'll support me and go to the polls on November the 2d and vote a straight Democratic ticket I think the country will be safe for another 4 years, and I won't be hurt by the housing shortage—I can still stay in the White House.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on September 25 the President referred to Governor Thomas J. Mabry, Lt. Governor Joseph M. Montoya, Democratic candidate for Senator Clinton P. Anderson, New Mexico Secretary of State Alice Romero, and Senator Dennis Chavez, all of New Mexico; Representative Ken Regan, Governor Beauford H. Jester, and Representative Sam Rayburn, all of Texas; Tom C. Clark, Attorney General of the United States; Stanley W. Caufield, Chairman of the El Paso County Democratic Executive Committee; Dr. J. E. Wright, Chairman of the Brewster County Democratic Committee; and Willis W. Sudduth, Chairman of the Terrell County Democratic Executive Committee.

209 Address at El Paso, Texas. *September* 25, 1948

Mr. Chairman, Governor Jester, Honorable Mayor of El Paso, the Attorney General of the United States, and distinguished guests on this platform, and fellow Democrats of Texas:

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to come back to El Paso once more. I have been here on a number of occasions, and I have spent here some of the pleasantest hours of my life.

I want to talk to you very frankly about some of the vital issues in this campaign, issues in which you are interested. You all know what the Democratic record has been in building up the West. In 1933 the Democrats took the reclamation program out of

moth balls and put it into practice. This was because the American people had elected a President who believed in the West—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Today, reclamation projects irrigate 4½ million acres of land and provide more than 3 million kilowatts of power.

You people in El Paso know how important these things are. Over $20 million has been spent on the Rio Grande project. Right here in your area, it irrigates 160,000 acres.

The Republicans have consistently fought this program for the development of the West. That is why I have been amazed in this campaign to hear spokesmen for the Republican Party claim that the Republican Party is a friend of reclamation. The record proves that that is not so. There is not a word of truth in that claim. The record shows that the Republican leaders in the House of Representatives cut the reclamation program for the West by more than 50 percent in 1948. You people here in the West rose up in anger at this slaughter.

Now, what do you suppose the Republican Chairman of the Appropriations Committee thought about your protests? "Well," he said, "the West is squealing like a stuck pig." That is what the Republican leaders thought about you. That same Republican Chairman squeals himself every time he has to make an appropriation that would be helpful to this part of the world.

The Democrats in the Senate and in the House succeeded in restoring some of the necessary funds. Ninety-five percent of the Republicans in the House voted against providing the money I said was necessary for reclamation. Ninety-two percent of the Democrats voted for the restoration.

By their votes ye shall know them. That is the difference between the Republican and the Democratic attitude toward the West.

These are hard, cold facts. That is why I am amazed when I hear Republican campaign orators trying to take credit for a program that the Democrats had to save from the Republican meat axe.

That is just one example of what the Republicans tried to do to the West last year.

Now, what do you suppose they are planning to do if they gain complete control of the Government next year? Let me give you one example of that. Let me tell you about their plans for electric power, which is so vitally important to the continued growth and prosperity of all the West.

You know how public power from publicly constructed dams has helped bring new industries out here. The Republicans don't like to see cheap public power, because it means that the big power monopolies cannot get their rakeoff at the expense of the public.

The Republican Congressman, who would be Chairman of the Committee on Public Works in the House of Representatives, if we get another Republican Congress, has just written a very revealing article for a magazine. That man's name is George A. Dondero, and he comes from Detroit, Mich. His article is entitled, "Wanted: A New Federal Power Policy." It is printed in the "Public Utilities Fortnightly." I can't give you the chapter and verse, and I am going to give you some quotes from it. If you want to read it in full, you can get it. The date is September 9, 1948, and it is called, "Public Utilities Fortnightly." I am going to read you some of the things that this committee chairman says in that article.

He says, and I quote: "We can stop the trend toward increasing the number of publicly owned power facilities. . . ."

That is vitally important. I am going to read it to you again: "We can stop the trend toward increasing the number of pub-

licly owned power facilities. . . ."

Now, he will be the chairman if the Republicans get control.

Here is another quote: "The Government should follow a policy of selling the power at the bus bar, or at the dam, to all comers, without favoritism or discrimination."

Now you know what that means—that means that these public utilities fellows and the public utilities lobby who will have control of that committee, if you elect a Republican Congress, want to turn this electric power over to the hijackers; so they can stick you with high prices. That is what it means.

Congressman Dondero goes on to say that our present laws, which let the Government build lines to get power from public dams to the users at the lowest possible rates, and I quote him again: "can and should be changed by the next Congress."

This "do-nothing" 80th Congress changed it by cutting off the money to build the powerlines.

Mr. Dondero says that he has every reason to believe that the Republican candidates will go along with this policy.

Listen to this, and I am still quoting from this article in this public utilities magazine: "We Republicans are divided on many issues, but on this one issue, we are of one mind."

Of course, they are of one mind. They want to give the big interests the control of the Government once more. That is only a start. They are trying to turn the clock back.

Why you know, in 1947 this country had an income of $217 billion—the greatest in the history of the country—of any country; and that income was distributed fairly to the farmers and the workingman and to small business, and everybody else got his fair share of that income. That is not what these Republicans want. They don't want a fair distribution. They want the special interests to have control, and let a little of it trickle down to you.

What Congressman Dondero means by this article, which was published only 2 weeks ago, is that Republicans believe that the benefits of low-cost power at the Federal dams should go to private utilities who will get the power cheap from the dam from the Government, and sell it to you at a high profit.

If that is public interest, then I don't belong in the Presidency.

I think that these facts give you people of the West a clear idea of how you ought to vote next November. You can vote for the party that will slow down—or maybe even stop—the construction of Federal reclamation and power projects; you can vote for the party which promises to give the benefits of Federal power to the private utility interests so they can get rich at your expense—the record proves that is what the Republican Party believes, and there isn't any question about it; or you can vote for the party which promises continued development of the West for the benefit of the whole country.

This is the party that believes that all the people, not just a few, should receive the benefits of low-cost public power. The record conclusively proves that this is what the Democrats believe. It is a record of action. You have men on this platform here with me who have contributed to the carrying out of that action for the Democratic Party.

When Speaker Rayburn was Speaker of the House of Representatives, he put his foot down on this special interest business, and he had to do it time and time again. I am hoping Sam will be the Speaker in the next Congress too.

If you stay away from the polls, as you did in 1946, you will get the same crew

of men who tried to wreck, and did cripple the western resource program. I am confident that the citizens of Texas will study the record and vote for the best interests of themselves and the country.

I am hoping that they won't do like a great many people did in 1946. In 1946, in a great many States, people stayed away from the polls, and one-third of the voters elected this good-for-nothing, "do-nothing" 80th Congress.

You know, a Congress is as its leaders direct, and the leaders of this Congress are Republicans—backward looking Republicans. There are a great many good men who want to go forward in that Congress but they haven't a chance so long as the Republicans control it.

Now!—listen to me! On November the 2d, get up early and go to the polls and be sure you are right by voting the straight Democratic ticket—and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:20 a.m. before a flag-draped platform at the railroad station. In his opening words he referred to cochairman Robert L. Holliday of the reception committee, Governor Beauford H. Jester of Texas, Mayor Dan R. Ponder of El Paso, and Attorney General of the United States Tom C. Clark. Later he referred to Representative Sam Rayburn of Texas.

210 Informal Remarks in San Antonio, Texas. *September 26, 1948*

[1.] THE ALAMO (2:35 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, the Governor of Texas, and distinguished guests:

I appreciate the privilege today of spending Sunday in San Antonio.

I had the opportunity this morning to attend the services in the First Baptist Church, and I have this afternoon been taken on a sightseeing tour of the old Governor's Palace and to the Alamo. I have been through the Alamo before, but I never had so able a guide as I had today. There were a great many things that I was not familiar with.

This, of course, stands as one of the historic monuments of the world, a monument to heroism, a monument to the fight for liberty all over the world.

The one ambition that I have is to see a peaceful, happy world. If that can't be accomplished, there is nothing else worthwhile.

I wish I were in a position today to discuss a great many things with you, but I have made it a rule during my whole political life not to make speeches or otherwise on the Sabbath. Therefore, I am merely thanking you for a most pleasant day in San Antonio, and I hope some time or other I may be able to come back here and talk to you freely and frankly from the shoulder.

Thank you very much.

[2.] GUNTER HOTEL (Dinner, 9:10 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, Governor Jester, Your Excellency, Sam, distinguished guests, and ladies and gentlemen—fellow Democrats:

I can't tell you how much I appreciate the hospitality of this great State of Texas, nor can I express to you in words the appreciation which I feel for the magnificent welcome which I have received since coming into this great State at El Paso. In every city and town, it looked as if everybody was there. From hundreds of miles they came out to welcome the President of the United States in the great State of Texas. And at San Antonio it has been the climax. I had

expected that Sunday would be bare of population. I thought those who didn't go to church would probably go out to the golf course, that there would be very few people in the town, but I have seen just as many people as I saw in San Francisco, in Los Angeles, in San Diego, in Salt Lake City, in Denver and Des Moines, Iowa. It gets bigger and better as we go along.

I believe the people are interested in the general welfare of the country, and that is highly appreciated. And, Sam, my mother used to say that the difference between Baptists—you and me—is that you are a hard-shell Baptist and I am a light-foot Baptist. I don't know exactly how to define that. If it weren't Sunday, I think I could do it very handily.

Your great city here has some monuments which are magnificent and which mean much to the human race as a whole. I went into your Governor's Palace after lunch today, and the lady in charge there showed me around and told me the stories about the Governor's Palace, and suggested that I throw a penny into the Wishing Well, and make a wish.

I had a lot of newspapermen along with me, and they thought they could guess that wish.

You are wrong! And so were they!

I wish for only one thing and that is all I ever wish for, and that is peace in the world.

As I stood in the Alamo and read that letter of Colonel Travis, and then read the letter of the boy that got the black bean, it came to me that those men and boys—and a lot of them were only boys—were standing for something for which this great country has fought 3 or 4 wars. It really makes the chills go up and down your spine, makes you wonder why.

Because there are in every country in the world shrines like this. When I was in Mexico City early last year, I was asked if I would place a wreath on the Ninos heroes' monument at Chapultepec.

You know, those were a bunch of students like our West Point cadets. One of those boys took the Mexican flag and wrapped it around him, so it wouldn't be captured and jumped off Chapultepec some 230-odd feet, and of course was instantly killed—and three or four boys were killed with him defending him and the flag.

Now, they were fighting us, but they were fighting for their country and their flag, just as the heroes of the Alamo were fighting for Texas and your freedom.

You go to Greece and you will find Thermopylae, where all was lost save the messenger. The Alamo had no messenger. But they are exactly alike, except that one man got away. You will find shrines in Great Britain, you will find shrines in France, and Belgium and Holland, and nearly every place in the world—shrines just like the Alamo, which mean the same thing: liberty and freedom in the world.

Now, why can't we work together? Why can't we find some common ground on which to settle the difficulties of the world, just as the 13 Colonies found a way to settle their differences in 1787, when they met to work out the Constitution of the United States—which is the greatest document of government in the history of the world?

The reason it is the greatest document in the history of the world is that it was founded on just one thing: the right of the individual to fair treatment under his government.

Our Government is made up of the people. You are the Government. I am only your hired servant. I am the Chief Executive of the greatest nation in the world, the highest honor that can ever come to a man on earth. But I am the servant of the people of the United States. They are not

my servants. I can't order you around, or send you to labor camps, or have your heads cut off if you don't agree with me politically. We don't believe in that.

And what we are trying to do is sell the world on the idea that peace is the best policy.

As old Benjamin Franklin said: honesty is the best policy. If you study that a long time, it has implications. Well, in our day: peace is the best policy for the world.

In 1917–18 we declared war on Germany. We had to declare war on Japan and Germany and their allies in 1941 for exactly the same reason. But in 1917–18 we didn't learn anything. We thought we could come back here and enclose ourselves in a high tariff wall and with two oceans, and still be just as we had been up to that time.

But the world moves forward, it doesn't move back. You can't turn the clock back. Your great Archbishop here tonight made a magnificent petition to the Throne of Almighty God, a petition which I sincerely hope and which I believe He heard. If we would only indulge in that same petition day after day and year after year, whether it is Sunday or Monday or Tuesday, or whatever day! While the Sabbath is the day of rest, and is God's day, every day is God's day.

I believe that if we ourselves try to live as we should, and if we continue to work for peace in this world, and as the old Puritan said, "Keep your bullets bright and your powder dry," eventually we will get peace in this world, because that is the only way we can survive with the modern inventions under which we live.

We have got to harness these inventions for the welfare of man, instead of his destruction.

That is what I am interested in. That is what I am working for.

That is much more important than whether I am President of the United States.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on September 26 the President referred to Mayor Alfred Callaghan of San Antonio, Governor Beauford H. Jester, and Representative Sam Rayburn, all of Texas.

211 Remarks Recorded for Broadcast on Democratic Women's Day. *September* 27, 1948

I WANT to ask you women of America to stop for a minute on this, your Democratic Women's Day, to look back on a truly gallant fight that we now take for granted: the battle for women's right to vote. Remember that it was a great Democrat, a great liberal, and a great President, Woodrow Wilson, whose leadership brought victory in that battle 29 years ago.

Today, women are in the highest councils of government. Some of the very people who had led the uphill battle for suffrage assumed posts of leadership in the Democratic Party, where they and their successors have carried on the battle for human progress.

Democratic Women's Day, which you are meeting to celebrate in thousands of communities throughout the country, was set aside a decade ago at the suggestion of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, to commemorate the admission of women to the Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee. This was a year before the passage of the Suffrage Amendment.

Ever since that time, the Democratic Party has relied heavily on the guidance and support of women. For American women always have understood that human rights come first; that progress today is the best guarantee of our children's security tomorrow.

I say the Democratic Party has relied on you women. And I must turn this sentence around, and say that you women have relied on the Democratic Party. As mothers and homemakers, you must be concerned with the prices you pay in the stores and with the proper schooling of your children. And you have learned through bitter experience that the Republican Party cannot be relied upon to bring your children a better tomorrow. For proof of that, you have only to look at the record of the Republican 80th Congress.

You are the housewives of our country. What is the campaign issue foremost in your minds? We all know the answer. Day after day, when you do your marketing, you must face the soaring prices the 80th Congress has forced upon you.

You know what the big business lobbies, through the Republican leadership in Congress, did to price controls in 1946. I vetoed one of their fake price control bills, but they passed a second and then immediately adjourned, so it was that or nothing. I warned when I signed it that inflation would come, with all its hardships. I called a special session of Congress this year and urged it to rectify this mistake, and do something to keep down the cost of living.

The Republican 80th Congress turned me down, and it turned you down. I do not see how you can expect these same Republicans ever to solve the cost of living problem.

I have said that you are the housewives of our Nation. You are the mothers, too. I am a parent, and I can understand your feeling that your children must have the best education available. Education will bring them the skills and the knowledge which will enable them to lead useful and happy lives. The Democratic Party advocates Federal aid for education administered by the States. We insist upon the right of every child to obtain a good education, no matter what his color, no matter where he lives, or what the economic status of his parents may be. We fought for the appropriation of $300 million as a beginning of Federal aid to education. The Republican 80th Congress ignored my request.

Women hold the balance of power in this election. You women of America have a million and a half more potential votes than men. I am confident that you will use this power to bring about a secure and good future for yourselves and your families. Only through the Democratic Party can you reach this goal. I know that you will put faith in our party, and return it to full power on the first Tuesday in November.

NOTE: The recording was made on the Presidential train on September 23 as the train approached Los Angeles. The President was introduced by Mrs. India Edwards, Executive Director of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee.

The remarks were broadcast at 3:30 p.m. over the American Broadcasting Company network.

212 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Texas. *September 27, 1948*

[1.] SAN MARCOS, TEXAS (Rear platform, 6:40 a.m.)

Mr. Cape, Lyndon:

It certainly is a pleasure to see so many people up so early in San Marcos.

I am reading over there that "World Government Means World Peace." Well, if the United Nations is supported as it should be, that will mean world peace—just as the United States in 1787, when they united, meant peace on the American continent in years to come.

I hope, I sincerely hope, that every one of

you will study the issues in this campaign, and I'm sure that—as my friend down here said—99 percent of you will vote the right way.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this turnout at this time of day. It's a wonderful thing that you want to meet your President bad enough to get up before breakfast.

I'm sorry that my family, my wife and daughter, do not get up so early. They had a terrific day yesterday and the day before, and the day before that, and so I'm sorry to say I can't introduce them to you because they're not up.

But I do thank you most sincerely for the turnout.

[2.] AUSTIN, TEXAS (Rear platform, 7:35 a.m.)

Governor Jester, Mayor Miller, and fellow Democrats:

It certainly is a pleasure to be here this morning and to see this wonderful turnout in the capital city of the great State of Texas. It's an inspiration to be in this city, which is named after a couple of pioneers from the great State of Missouri.

You know, there's been a great deal of controversy in Washington County, Mo., because you want to erect a monument to one of your heroes and bring his remains back here. I have been trying to help you to do that, but some of my people in Missouri don't want it done. I'm sorry about that because Texas and Missouri have always been partners in nearly every great undertaking that this country has been through. There was only one time when they didn't go along shoulder to shoulder, and Missouri tried hard enough because the Government of Missouri was moved to Texas at that time.

Ever since Texas has been an independent republic the people of Texas have been fortunate in having the leadership of men who have been real statesmen. Your Texas leaders have been as competent to handle national and international problems as they have been in handling the affairs of your own great State. And I made that statement in Texas a long time ago at a banquet that was given in honor of the Speaker of the House at that time.

One of the best characteristics of your statesmen is that they have all been good Democrats. They stood by the Democratic Party and have exercised their influence on the United States and the world through the Democratic Party.

It's hardly necessary for me to remind you of some of the Texas statesmen who have worked with me, since I became President, for prosperity in the United States and for peace in the world. One of them's standing right here.

There's Tom Connally, one of the founders of the United Nations, and one of the architects of the foreign policy of the United States of America. And there's Sam Rayburn, Democratic leader in the House of Representatives, who has led the Democratic Party in the House through thick and thin. Sam's been my friend ever since I've been in Washington, and when Sam's your friend, you're in pretty good shape in Washington—I can tell you that. There's Wright Patman, the friend of small business and of farm cooperatives, which this Republican Congress—this Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress—tried to put out of business in this last session. Then there's Tom Clark, the Attorney General of the United States, appointed by me. This Attorney General from Texas I think will go down in history as one of the great of the Attorneys General of the United States. And do you know why? Because he's working all the time for constitutional Govern-

ment and for the support of the Bill of Rights, in spite of the fact that this Republican Congress is trying to tear up the Bill of Rights.

I could stand here all day and not get through calling the role of great Texans who have made contributions to the welfare of the United States of America.

You know, Texas is in a class by itself. Texas entered the Union by treaty, something that no other State did. Texas, you know, is one of the empires within a great Republic.

I have a lot of relatives in Texas. I've got cousins and uncles and aunts, just like the old story in Pinafore—"his sisters and his cousins and his aunts." Well, I have only one sister and she's in Missouri, but I have got cousins and aunts and everything else in Texas.

I know how Texas can fight for democratic ideals, and so I can understand why the Germans and the Japs in this World War II just past thought all the soldiers in the Army came from Texas. I remember that the Texans in the first World War and the Texans under General Hood, if you remember, made a name for themselves as fighters. They have always been fighters and they've always fought on the side of the right. Thank God for that.

The Governor of Texas says that Texans are a race of people. I think that's true—and you got your ancestry and your blood principally from Missouri and Tennessee.

Now, since I've been in the Congress—I went there in 1935—there's been a fight between the special interests and the people, and that's what this fight is. That's the reason I'm out, telling the people just exactly what the issues in this campaign are, for the simple reason that you'll never find out about them if I can't face you and tell you about them, because between 80 and 90 percent of the press is against the Democratic administration because it is for the people. They're for special interests.

Take the Colorado River right here in Austin. The Colorado River, like every other river in the United States, used to cause anywhere from $5 to $10 million damage in floods at least 1 year in 3. What happened to the Colorado River? The Democratic administration harnessed it and controlled it and gave you power at prices which you could pay. No Republican had any hand in that.

This Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress would like to turn the Colorado River and its power projects over to the public utilities so they could cut your throat with prices if they had a chance. They are trying to do that all over the West, in Texas and everywhere else.

Now, you can't afford, you simply can't afford to renew the 80th Congress.

Now, these gentlemen who head the Republican Party are trying their best to direct your attention away from the issues in this campaign. They want to talk about home and mother and what a beautiful country this is. They don't want you to get interested in the campaign for the simple reason that the Democrats are right and they're wrong, and that's the reason we're going to win.

I have only one request to make of you—and I don't think I have to make that request in this district of Texas. I want you, on election day, to get up as early as you did this morning and go to the polls and vote a straight Democratic ticket—Governor and Senator and President and everything else—and then the empire of Texas and the Great Republic of the United States will be in safe hands for another 4 years, and I won't have to be worried by the housing problem—I'll still live in the White House.

[*At this point the President was presented with a set of volumes on the history of Texas. He then resumed speaking.*]

Thank you, Mr. Mayor. You can be very certain, Mr. Mayor, that I shall spend plenty of time reading and studying these volumes on Texas, for I am just as interested in Texas—almost—as I am in Missouri.

[3.] GEORGETOWN, TEXAS (Rear platform, 8:55 a.m.)

I see the people in Texas get up early, just like I do. Back in the capital of Texas, it looked to me as if the whole town was out at a quarter after seven this morning. That's been the case all around the country, and I think that shows the interest of the people in the issues in this campaign.

You here are in the center of one of the greatest agricultural States in the Union. This is the heart of Texas, where you raise everything that grows on the farm in the temperate zone. Your interest is to see that the interest of the farmer is well protected because that's what you depend on for support here. Therefore, all you need to do is to decide whether you want to go back to the conditions in which the farmer was under 12 years of Republican rule—when 123,000 farmers were moved off their farms because they couldn't pay the interest on their mortgages—or whether you want to continue under an administration that has created the greatest wealth the farmers have ever had in the history of the country. The farmers' income last year was more than $30 billion. It was about 5½ billion under Hoover.

That's what these Republicans are asking you to go back to—and they tried their best to destroy this farm program in this good-for-nothing 80th Congress.

A Congress is known by its leadership. There were a large number of good Democrats, a large number of good Democrats from Texas and all the rest of the country, and there are a few forward-looking Republicans, but they're not in control of the Republican Party, so don't you trust them because the same old gang, if you put in a Republican administration, will have control of the Congress—and they'll continue to sabotage the programs which have made this country great during the last 10-year period. You can't afford to take that chance.

I am asking you only to vote for your own interests. I'm asking you not only to vote for me and for the Senators and Congressmen. I'm asking you to vote for yourselves. Vote for your best interests.

You can't afford to turn the clock back. You've got to go along with a forward-looking administration in the Federal Government. I'm sure you're going to do that. Texas is a forward-looking State, and they're not going to go backward with these old mossbacks who have been running this 80th Congress.

The best thing for you to do, now, on election day is to go to the polls and vote the Democratic ticket straight, which I'm sure you are going to do—and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage next year because I'll still live in the White House.

I've had a most pleasant trip across this great State of Texas. Your Governor met me at El Paso and he's been my host ever since. And I'll tell you, he's a grand host and a great Governor, and I know you're going to put him back in the Chair.

Texas is known for its hospitality.

[4.] TEMPLE, TEXAS (Rear platform, 10 a.m.)

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Congressman, ladies and gentlemen and fellow Democrats:

I can't tell you what a great privilege and a pleasure it is for me to have a chance to

meet you this morning, and have a chance to discuss just a few of the issues with you. I have never had such hospitable treatment in my life. The Governor and Mrs. Jester met me at El Paso, and the Congressman from the district rode through his district with me. Then Lyndon Johnson met me, and the Congressman from that district rode with me; and now I have the Congressman from this district. Your Governor is staying with me all the way through Oklahoma and beyond, I hope.

Now, I am told that this great city of Temple has a law on the books, which forces the President's train to stop whether he wants to or not. I want to say to you that I didn't know anything about that ordinance until I read a clipping from a Washington paper dated September 21. I was going to stop, anyway, so you didn't need any ordinance to get me to stop. Your Congressman says I promised him to come here just before I took office way back there in January 1945.

But it is most interesting, and I think I ought to read you this piece in this Washington paper: "It is a good thing that President Truman scheduled a campaign stop in Temple, Tex." This is an Associated Press dispatch in the Washington Star. "The Marshal halted one Presidential train that was scheduled to pass through there without stopping. It's the law."

I have heard for a long time about the excellent hospitals you have in this great city. This would be a fine place to recover from any illness. I have visited McCloskey Hospital during the war; it is one of the biggest Army hospitals in the land, and I hope we can continue to make use of it, because it is a fine plant.

About the only thing these hospitals can't cure is a disease that the whole country is suffering from—and that is high prices.

I wish we could take them out to one of your hospitals and amputate them, and that was all there was to it!

I told the Congress time and again that the American people want relief from high prices. I also called that "do-nothing," good-for-nothing Republican 80th Congress back into session twice, to work on prices, and they didn't do a thing about it.

That Congress! When I get wound up about that Congress, there's no stopping me, because there are so many things that they did to you, and so many things that they didn't do for you that I could stand here and talk all day about it and still not tell it all.

You will have to get that indelibly in your own mind. You know you have got a flood control project out here, the Leon flood control project.[1] The Republicans are against all such things as that. They don't want reclamation, or flood control, or anything else that doesn't put some money in some big fellow's pocket.

Now, if you want to cure that situation, the best way to do it is to be sure that we have a Democratic Congress, with Sam Rayburn as Speaker, and a Democratic Senator in the form of Lyndon Johnson, a Democratic Governor in Texas, and a Democratic Congressman in every district in the great State of Texas, and then we will take them to town sure enough.

[5.] Waco, Texas (Rear platform, 11:15 a.m.)

Governor Neff, the Congressman from this district, Governor Jester, ladies and gentlemen—and fellow Democrats:

You know, it is a great privilege to me to come back here to Waco once again. One of the proudest moments of my life was in March 1947, when your great Baylor University conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws on me. So, if you want to, you have a

[1] Belton Reservoir, Leon River, Texas.

perfect right to address me as Doctor Truman as well as President Truman. It is especially good to see so many of my Texas friends and acquaintances as I go across this great State. Your able and distinguished Governor and Mrs. Jester met us at El Paso, and they have been with us constantly ever since, and we have had some very pleasant times together.

Your State is a wonderful one, and I don't have to tell you that, because you all know it, and you are always talking about it.

But, in every city where we have stopped we have been received just as you have received us this morning. It is almost incredible that this reception could keep up all the way across the country and all the way back; and the enthusiasm be just as great now as it was in the beginning.

Waco is a fine example of the prosperity that comes to an American city when there is full employment in the factories and the shops, and when the farmers in the surrounding countryside are prosperous.

You people here in Waco, and Americans like you in other parts of the country, would be enjoying your prosperity a great deal more if it were not for such high prices.

I suggested back there in Temple a while ago that if we could move these prices into some hospital back there and amputate them, we would be all right; but we can't do it that way.

I have been fighting ever since I took office for a sound and permanent postwar prosperity. That is all in the world my ambition has been—peace in the world, and continued prosperity at home.

The Republicans in Congress have persistently been sabotaging the best interests of the people of this country by refusing to pass laws which benefit all the people. They are a special interest Congress. They have done absolutely nothing for the people of the country since they have been in session, but they have done a lot to them. I have been telling you all about it, and you are beginning to wake up. The farmers and the laboringmen, and the small businessmen are just now beginning to find out what Republican policy really means. It is coming right home to you.

I have called the Republican 80th Congress back into special session twice, and urged them to pass laws to control high prices. Well, they did nothing about it at all. But they are now issuing a lot of false propaganda about the causes of inflation. They tell you all about what causes inflation, but they won't tell you that there would have been no inflation if the Republican 80th Congress had passed the laws I asked them to pass.

You know, all I can do as President of the United States, is to suggest to the Congress certain legislative acts which I think are good for the country and good for the people; and then the Congress goes on and does as it pleases, it either passes these laws and gives me a chance to sign them, or it does nothing, or it sends me a law I cannot sign.

Since I have been President, I have vetoed 61 bills that I thought were not in the public interest.

They are telling the people in the cities that we have high prices because the farmers are getting too much for their crops. They are telling the farmers that we have inflation because the factory workers are getting too much pay.

Well, now, let me tell you something. The farmers under the Democratic administration have had the greatest income they have ever had in the history of the world. They have received better prices for their produce than ever before in the history of the world; and the wage earners have received the best pay they have ever received in the history of this country or any other country. There are 61 million people at

work in this country, something unheard of, something that everybody said was impossible.

What I want to do is to keep that balance. When the farmers are prosperous and getting good prices for their produce, and the wage earners are getting good pay for what they do, that means that everybody is getting a fair share of the national income. In 1947 we had the biggest income that the world has ever seen—$217 billion. Nothing like it ever heard of before in the world.

That income was so distributed that nearly everybody got his fair share of it.

Now that is not what the Republicans want. They don't want the workers to have good pay, they don't want the farmers to have good prices for their goods. They are pulling the floor out from under the farmers right now, and if you give them the chance by sending a Republican Congress back there, you will have this same old gang like the 80th Congress, and the farmers won't have anything left, they will be making slaves out of the workers, and we will be right back where we were in 1932.

Is that what you want?

All right then—all right then! My advice to you—my advice to you is to go to the polls on election day and send Lyndon Johnson to the Senate, elect your able Congressman again, and be sure to keep the good Governor in the same place where he is. I know you are going to do that.

[6.] HILLSBORO, TEXAS (Rear platform, 12:25 p.m.)

Mr. Morrow, Senator Martin, Governor Jester, and a lot of other distinguished Texans I have on this train, and ladies and gentlemen of Hillsboro:

It is a very great pleasure to me to have the privilege of stopping here today. I think I owe that stop to Mr. and Mrs. Morrow. They tell me that they are natives of this town, and they wanted me to be sure and stop and see the good people of Hillsboro. I am very happy to do it.

I wish we had time off here so I could discuss the issues of the campaign with you, but it is impossible to make long stops in every city in the great State of Texas. There are just too many of them, and it takes longer to get through Texas than it does to get through half a dozen States that I have been through on this trip. That is, I guess, because of the size of Texas, and because of the enthusiasm of the population for the President of the United States. I appreciate that.

I had to come out and make these trips, because the only way that I can get the matter that is at issue in this campaign before the people is to come out myself and tell you just what that issue is.

You know, 90 percent of the press in the country are against the President of the United States because he believes in the welfare of the people; and 90 percent of the radio commentators are against the President because they know that he believes that the Government of the United States should be a government for the people and not for special interests.

This 80th Congress I call the second worst Congress in the history of the United States. I think old Thaddeus Stevens' was the worst one. This 80th Congress has done everything it possibly can to do things to the people that will hurt you forevermore, if they get a chance to carry out fully what they want to do.

I can only tell the Congress what it ought to do. I cannot force the Congress to do anything. I send them messages informing them what I think is best for the welfare of the people, and they are supposed to pass laws implementing the suggestions that I

make as President of the United States.

Instead of doing that, they made so many laws that were against the people of the United States, I had to use the veto power more than 60 times, to keep them from taking the rights of the people away from them.

That is true of the farmers, that is true of the laboringmen, and that has been true all along in the history of that Congress.

I want you to study just exactly what they did to you, and I want you to study the issues, after I have taken them out to the country. Then, when you go to the polls, vote the Democratic ticket straight, and you will be safe from such actions as that. I am sure that is exactly what you are going to do.

[7.] Fort Worth, Texas (Outside the Railroad Station, 2:30 p.m.)

Governor Jester, Mr. Mayor, Mr. Carter, distinguished guests on this platform, and fellow Democrats of Forth Worth, Texas:

I am exceedingly and highly pleased at the turnout here in this great city at this time of day. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate it. I want to say to you that ever since the minute I hit El Paso, Tex., I've been most agreeably surprised every time we've stopped—and at a great many places at which we didn't stop. The station platform has always been full, and the station platform here in Fort Worth is full. It looks to me like about 15 acres of people. It is much better to measure by the acre than it is to measure them individually. You don't miss any when you count by the acre.

I've always been told that Fort Worth is where the West begins. When I was a very young man, 17 or 18 years old, I paid my first visit to Fort Worth. I've been paying regular visits to Fort Worth ever since that time for one reason or another.

I was down here in Fort Worth during the World War. I was down here before the Second World War and during the Second World War. I made some inspections here of bomber plants on several different occasions as Chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate the Defense Program—and much to your credit, I found things in excellent shape, and I found that we were turning out the machines which we needed to win that war.

When I was a kid, my father used to take a daily telegram to Kansas City. It always quoted prices from the five markets, and Fort Worth was then, and still is, one of the five great cattle markets of the world.

Fort Worth depends upon the cattle business and the farming and the oil business of Texas for its being one of the greatest cities in this great State of Texas. Therefore, you are vitally interested in the policy of the Federal Government as it affects these various industries.

I stopped in Des Moines, Iowa, on the way out here, and I explained to the farmers just exactly what would happen to them, and what is happening to them under Republican rule.

This 80th "do-nothing" Republican Congress did its best to cut the ground from under the farmer, and I want to say to you that, if this Republican outfit had control of the Government of the United States, the farmer would have been out the window right now.

They passed a rich man's tax bill, this Republican Congress did, and they took the freedom away from labor. That's exactly what they did. And, they were not satisfied with that. They are getting ready again to do the very same thing. They are not interested in the common, everyday man. They are not interested in the people. They are for the special interests, and I think I represent the people. And you have got one thing to do to make up your mind: de-

cide whether you want the special interests to run this country, or whether you want the people to run this country.

The Democrats have always been for the people. You can't help but be for the Democratic ticket because it is in your interest to be for the Democratic ticket.

I am not asking you to vote just for me. I am asking you to vote for yourselves—vote for your own interests. To do that you can't help but get up early on election day and go down and put in a straight Democratic ticket and you can't possibly go wrong. The country will be safe then, and it will be a lot easier for me for I won't have to be troubled with the housing shortage.

It is to your interest, my good friends, to analyze the issues in this campaign, to listen carefully to what the leaders of the Republican Party have to say. Weigh these things carefully. Then, understand carefully what the Democratic Party stands for.

The Democratic Party is the people's party.

This country now has a national income of $217 billion, and that income is so distributed that the farmer, the workingman, and the businessman get a fair share of the income. That was not the case when we had some 14 million people out of work, when the national income was $39 billion, and when there were people being pushed off the farms as fast as the courts and insurance companies could get around to them.

Why, in 1932, there were 123,000 farmers displaced from their farms! Last year, there were less than 800. That was not an accident. The farmer's income last year was the greatest in the history of farming—the greatest in the history of the world, in fact.

I don't see how the farmer can do anything but vote in his own interest, and if he does that, he has to vote the Democratic ticket. And every city and town in the United States is so dependent upon the land; therefore, every citizen of every city in the United States should go to the polls and vote the Democratic ticket straight on the 2d of November.

[8.] Grand Prairie, Texas (3:30 p.m.)

It is a very great pleasure to me to have had the privilege of saying "Thank you" and "Howdy" to this wonderful turnout here in Grand Prairie.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this welcome to the President of the United States, and I hope I will always deserve a welcome like that in Texas.

Thank you very much.

[9.] Dallas, Texas (Rebel Stadium, 4:26 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, Governor Jester, my great and distinguished Attorney General:

Tom, you gave me too much credit. It wasn't Joe Louis I stopped—it was John. I haven't quite that much muscle.

I am happy to be in Dallas, one of the greatest cities in Texas. I began to come into Dallas when I was about 9 years old. I had an uncle who lived down here south of town, in a little town called Wilmer. And I have a great many relatives living in Dallas today, and all over Texas, for that matter.

I came to Texas because I am engaged in one of the toughest political fights with which this country has ever been faced, and I wanted the people of Texas and the people of California and the people of all the States in the Union to understand just exactly what that fight means. And I'm coming to you and telling you what it means to you.

The interests in this campaign go far beyond the election. They go to the very core of American life.

I feel it is my duty, as President, to present to the American people the facts of this vital struggle. Before the election I will have

gone to every section of this great country, speaking to the people about specific issues which are involved in this campaign. My purpose is to state as clearly as I can how I stand on the problems of the day and what I propose to do about them in the future.

I sought to emphasize to the people that the basic issue in this contest is whether or not the Government of the United States is to be run in the interests of the people as a whole or in the interests of a small group controlled by big business.

The Democratic Party stands for the people and our attitude towards the issues is controlled by principle. The Republican Party is concerned with the rights of the selfish and wealthy interests, and they demonstrate this by taking the fight of the privileged few against the people every time they get a chance.

Oh, I wish I had time. It would take all night. I wish I had time to read you the record of that good-for-nothing, "do-nothing" Republican 80th Congress. And when I speak of that Congress that way I'm speaking of the leadership. That Congress had a lot of good men in it, but they had no more to do with the acts of that Congress than I did. Those men were out for special privilege and they were frank about it.

The biggest lobby in the history of the country was at work in Washington the whole time that 80th Congress was in session, and they accomplished their purpose, that lobby did. You can't expect the Republican spokesmen to come out in the open and state clearly who it is the Republican Party is working for. They don't dare do that. You'd take them out and hang them if they did. That would be disastrous.

So in making their speeches they put them on a very high level, so high they are above discussing the specific and serious problems which confront the people.

Recent efforts have been made to throw up a smoke screen which they hope the American people cannot see through. Republican candidates are apparently trying to sing the American voters to sleep with a lullaby about unity in domestic affairs. Let's look at that for just about a minute.

Under the Democratic administration we achieved the greatest unity in foreign policy that this country has ever had before. Personally, I would like nothing better than to see similar unity of purpose and method in domestic affairs. I do not want unity so long as it is benefiting just a few at the expense of most of the people. I'm more interested in millions of people than I am in millions of dollars.

If the Republicans are sincere in their request for unity in domestic affairs, I have a good practical test to put before them.

How about unity on the low-rent housing?

The Democratic Party stands for low-rent housing. The Republican Party, through the Republican 80th Congress, stands against low-rent housing. The people want low-rent housing. In the Senate of the United States they passed the low-rent housing bill known as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, and it went over to the House, and the House killed it. Then they sent a substitute over there, and Senator Taft voted against his own bill with his name on it.

The Democratic Party would be delighted to have the Republican Party unite with it in behalf of the low-rent housing. We would be tickled to death to have unity on that.

How about unity on price control?

Well, for the last 2 years, I have been trying to get the Republican-controlled Congress to curb inflation and high prices. The Democratic Party stands for price control, because it helps the common people. The Republican Party is against price control.

How about some unity on that issue? I think that would be pretty good, myself.

I sent a message to Congress in January 1947, and asked the 80th Congress to do something about prices. Then I sent a message to them again, along about April or May. Then I called a special session last fall and put the matter squarely up to them with ten points in a program to prevent inflation. Then I told them again, in January 1948. Then I called a special session at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, and put it up to them again.

They did not do one thing. What about unity on that one issue? The Democratic Party would be delighted to work with the Republican Party to control prices.

How about some unity on Federal aid to education?

Every American family with children is deeply aware of the need for more educational facilities. Our schools are badly overcrowded, our teachers underpaid. People want Federal aid to education. The Democratic Party is for it. But the Republican Party has shown by the record of the "do-nothing" 80th Congress, that it is against it.

How about a little unity on this issue? Wouldn't that be nice? We would have this thing done if we could have gotten that. The Democratic Party will be delighted to work with the Republican Party for Federal aid to education. In fact, I have sent message after message on it, because it is the kind of unity that would benefit the entire country. This is not the kind of unity the Republicans want. They want the kind of unity that benefits the National Association of Manufacturers.

The kind of unity they want is shown by the private power lobby. They want to help the power trusts, and they want to help the real estate trusts. The National Association of Real Estate Boards is the lobby that prevented that low-rent housing from going through. And they want to help any other selfish interests in this country that they think will be beneficial to the Republican Party, in more ways than one.

They don't want unity. They want surrender.

And I am here to tell you people that I will not surrender.

And I don't believe the American people are going to force me to surrender.

I believe the American people have the intelligence to see through that Republican smoke screen—and that's all it amounts to.

The Democratic Party will unite the American people, and it will unite them not for the benefit of big business but for the benefit of the ordinary folks in this country who have made the country great.

I want you to show them on November the 2d that the Democratic Party is the party of the people. Get out early and vote, every one of you, on November the 2d.

Thank you.

[10.] GREENVILLE, TEXAS (6:20 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Speaker:

I say that advisedly for Sam Rayburn's going to be the next Speaker of the House.

You know, this is the first town in Texas I ever saw—when I was 9 years old. I had an uncle who lived down here at Lone Oak, and my father and mother and my sister and brother and myself came down to pay him a visit; and the train made the first stop in daylight at Greenville, Tex., and that's the first town in Texas I ever saw. And I'm so glad I got a chance to stop here tonight. And Sam Rayburn tells me that this really is the heart of Texas—because this city happens to be in Sam Rayburn's district.

My uncle told me, when we arrived here, that if I'd stick to Texas when it was dry, Texas would stick to me when it was wet. He also told me that if I went out after a

rain I would pick up my tracks and take them with me. I found that to be absolutely true.

You here are vitally interested in the issues in this campaign. You're in one of the richest farming communities in the whole United States. Your whole economy depends on the prosperity of the farmer.

In 1932, if I remember correctly, cotton was selling for about a nickel a pound. You know what it's selling for now.

At that time large numbers of people were walking the streets trying to find jobs, and they couldn't find them.

A policy was started when we elected, in 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt to be President of the United States. And he inaugurated a farm policy which has put the farmer on his feet.

The farmer now is more prosperous than he's ever been in the history of the country. And I fear very much that in 1946 the farmer performed just like a lot of other people when they get fat and lazy. He failed to vote in 1946—and look what happened to him. He got that "do-nothing" Republican 80th Congress. And they began immediately to cut the ground from under him. And I want to say to you: If they had had complete control of the Government and you hadn't had somebody in the White House who was looking after your interests, no telling what would have happened to you.

Now, you've got a chance to overcome that situation. If you'll use your own judgment as it should be used and work in your own interests, as you usually do—you won't have any trouble at all deciding how you ought to vote on election day.

Just so you won't forget it, I'm going to remind you to go to the polls on election day and vote for yourselves. That means—of course, Sam Rayburn's as good as elected—but that means that you're going to vote the Democratic ticket straight on election day, from President to constable. And that means you're going to vote for yourselves and your own interests, and that means also that you'll make it very much easier on your President, because he won't be troubled with the housing shortage—I'll still be in the White House.

[11.] Bells, Texas (Rear platform, 7:30 p.m.)

I certainly appreciate that wonderful introduction from my good friend Sam Rayburn. Sam is one of my friends who showed me around Washington the first time I ever went there, and I will never forget it. And his advice was, of course, sound and solid. He was always on the right side of the question, and I don't think I know a man in the Government of the United States who has done more for his country than Speaker Rayburn. And he is going to be Speaker Rayburn again next year, if I have anything to do with it.

I am going over to Bonham with Sam. He has always told me that it is the finest town in the United States, and I know I am not going to be disappointed.

I don't feel like it would be fair to Sam, or fair to Bonham, for me to stand here and make the speech I am going to make at Bonham in Bells, so I am going to make a deal with you.

It's only 12 miles—why don't you just get in the car and come on over to Bonham, and I will give the Republicans the gun over there. I think you will like it.

I am going to stop at Sherman in the morning before breakfast for a few minutes. If any of you want to get up in time, I will say "Hello" to you then.

But Texas has given me the heartiest wel-

come I have received on the trip. There hasn't been a city or a town or a village where everybody for miles around hasn't turned out to see and hear what the President has to say to them. That shows that you are interested in the welfare of this country. And this, my friends, is the most important campaign we have been through for generations, because it establishes the policy: We are either going to have a government that is the government of the people, or we are going to have a government that is the government of big interests.

For that reason you must turn out on election day and be sure that you cast a vote for the straight Democratic ticket from President to constable. If you do that, the country will be safe.

Now I hope to have the opportunity of seeing all of you at Bonham. Thank you very much for your most cordial welcome.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on September 27 the President referred to Ed M. Cape, Representative Lyndon B. Johnson, Democratic candidate for Senator, Governor Beauford H. Jester, Mayor Tom Miller of Austin, Senator Tom Connally, Representative Sam Rayburn, Representative Wright Patman, Attorney General of the United States Tom C. Clark, former Governor Pat M. Neff, President of Baylor University, Representatives W. R. Poage and Ken Regan, Democratic National Committeeman Wright Morrow, State Senator Crawford Martin, Mayor Edgar Deen of Fort Worth, Amon G. Carter, publisher of the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, and Mayor Sim Beene of Greenville, all of Texas.

213 Address at Bonham, Texas. *September 27, 1948*

Speaker Rayburn—I say that advisedly—Governor Jester, Governor Turner of Oklahoma, and distinguished guests:

I have a warm spot in my heart for Texas. Texas has given me some of the best friends a man ever had, and a great many of them are on this platform with me tonight. There's John Myer, and Wright Patman, and Lyndon Johnson—candidates for Congress in the great State of Texas, who are real men, and who have always been for the people first. And then you have nominated a man for the Senate, my good friend, and the friend of the people of Texas, Lyndon Johnson.

The people of Oklahoma have nominated my good friend, Bob Kerr, for the Senate in Oklahoma, and if Lyndon Johnson and Bob Kerr get to the Senate, we'll make those Republicans dance in the next session.

I am more than happy to be here today in the hometown of one of the finest and best friends of them all—Sam Rayburn.

I understand that Sam asked you folks to come out here today so we could talk a little politics. I'm glad so many of you came, because it shows that you're interested in your Government—and interested in the kind of government you're going to have after the election next November.

One thing is certain. In Texas, it's going to be Democratic government, as it has been in the past; and that's a good way to keep it, because the Democratic Party is the party that works for the people.

So far as the Federal Government is concerned, the Republicans are putting on an immense propaganda campaign in an effort to take over this year. They are spending tremendous sums of money and lining up all kinds of strange bedfellows.

I just don't believe they're going to get away with it. We Democrats are going to see that the American people know the facts. When they do, I don't think the people will be taken in by slick Republican propaganda.

I don't believe that Texas—or the rest of the United States—wants to go back to the days of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover.

The country will make a fundamental decision on election day—a decision which will affect you every year and every day for the rest of your lives.

The people will have to decide between the Democratic and the Republican Parties; and that is really a decision between two different kinds of government.

The Democratic Party will give you the kind of government that Sam Rayburn stands for—government in the interest of the farmer and the workingman and all the people. And when the Democrats have a majority in the House of Representatives, Sam Rayburn will have a powerful voice in seeing that you get the kind of government you ought to have.

Some people have wondered why I keep on talking about the Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress. Well, I'll tell you why. It's because they raised a storm warning that tells us what we could expect, if we had a Republican President as well as a Republican Congress.

We might have "unity" then. I don't know. But if we did have unity, what kind would it be?

Well, it would be the unity of the Martins, and the Tabers, and the Wherrys, and the Tafts. Then it would be unity in giving tax relief to the rich at the expense of the poor—unity in refusing to give aid to our schools—unity in letting prices go sky high in order to protect excessive profits—unity in whittling away all the benefits of the New Deal, about which the Republicans are so scornful. But they have never yet offered to repeal any of the New Deal measures that were put on the books in the last 16 years.

Do you want that kind of unity? Do you want that kind of unity? Well, I don't either.

Some things are worth fighting for. We have to fight the special interest lobbies instead of being "unified" by them. We must fight isolationists and reactionaries, the profiteers and the privileged class.

The way to fight it is to fight them with votes. When the people know the leaders of the Republican Party are tied up with big business and the special interests, then the people will know how to deal with them at the polls.

That is why I keep talking about these Republicans in the 80th Congress and what they did to the people. Part of the story is of special concern to the Texas farmer, although it affects every American. That is the attitude of the Republican Party toward international trade. The 80th Congress has shown that the Republican Party is still a high-tariff party of Smoot and Hawley, and Joe Grundy.

And you can't expect anyone under an obligation to Joe Grundy to change it into some other kind of party.

When Cordell Hull wrote the reciprocal trade agreements program which came up for renewal this year, the Republicans in Congress insisted on a lot of crippling amendments. Moreover, they renewed it for only 1 year instead of the usual 3; and now, apparently, they wanted to be in a position to do something next year that they didn't dare do this year, because this year is an election year. It's obvious what they want to do next year. They just want to kill the program entirely.

This is a matter of concern to every man, woman, and child in the United States, because it vitally affects our prospects for world peace. A thriving world trade is essential to world prosperity. And prosperity is fundamental to peace and security.

When a man gets too hungry he gets desperate. Just the same way with nations. Poverty and distress breed war.

Foreign trade is not merely a way to keep prosperity. It is the best way to insure peace.

Your Government is making every effort to establish a just and permanent peace. That has always been the main objective of my administration.

For that purpose the Democratic administration established a bipartisan foreign policy, taking the Republican Party into our confidence and working with them in matters concerning our relations with other countries.

One of the great architects of our foreign policy, as you know, is your own Senator Tom Connally. From the beginning Tom Connally has contributed a full measure of hard work and statesmanship in making the policy work.

The bipartisan foreign policy has added greatly to the strength of our efforts for peace. But the peace can be no more secure than the foundations upon which it rests. And if the Republican Party will not join us in establishing a firm basis for world trade, the foundation of peace will be very shaky, indeed.

Vigorous world trade is necessary to maintain our domestic prosperity. The farmers of Texas know the truth of that statement from the hard lesson of experience. They know that adequate foreign markets help to provide stable farm incomes. They know that barriers to foreign trade mean farm depression.

Let me give you an illustration. During World War I, American wheat growers expanded their production to meet the great foreign demand for wheat. Shortly after that war, the foreign markets dried up, and the wheat farmers were left high and dry. You know what happened to prices—they kept falling until finally many farmers were selling wheat for 25 cents a bushel.

The same thing happened to cotton. The Republican high tariffs and trade barriers put up after the first World War cut down the trade in cotton and put the cotton prices on the skids. Farmers were finally selling cotton for 5 cents a pound.

You know that the Republicans who were then in office did absolutely nothing about it.

Now, we are faced with problems like those that followed the first World War. This year we are producing bumper crops of cotton and grain. We mean to keep on producing big crops.

The world needs our crops, and our farmers want to sell them. Other countries want to sell their products to the United States to pay for what they buy. And we in the United States need the products they want to sell.

The Democratic administration has been doing a great deal to protect the export markets for your crops. I have spoken of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements. Also, your Government has taken the lead in setting up the International Trade Organization.

In addition we negotiated a special international agreement relating to wheat.

The practical effect of the International Wheat Agreement would have been just this. Now, listen carefully. Our farmers would have had guaranteed markets, domestic and foreign, for billion-bushel wheat crops for a minimum of 5 years, at prices at least as good as those assured by our price support program.

The Wheat Agreement was submitted to the United States Senate to be ratified as a treaty. What happened to it? The Republican leadership of the Senate wouldn't even allow it to be brought up on the floor of the Senate for consideration.

The Republicans killed the International Wheat Agreement. That is how they love the farmers. This is the kind of treatment the farmer has been getting from the Republican Party, and that's the kind of treatment he can expect to keep on getting from

that party. Don't you forget that, now, on election day.

Look at what they have been saying about cotton. The Republican press has been having a field day warning people that the Government may have to make a lot of cotton loans this year at a rate of around 30 cents a pound. They talk as if that is a bad thing to do. They use it as an argument against the whole support price program.

They don't tell you how cotton loans rescued the farmer from the mess of 1932, or how useful Government stocks were during World War Two. They don't tell you that the Truman administration set up a vigorous cotton export program at the end of the war and completely wiped out the last of the cotton surplus—the headache that had plagued farmers for a quarter of a century.

Yes, and we've still got a vigorous cotton export policy. Sam Rayburn can tell you about the $150,000,000 revolving fund that he finally pushed through a reluctant Congress in June. That fund will help us keep on using American cotton in the occupied areas of Germany and Japan.

As long as I have anything to say about it, we'll keep on knocking down trade barriers and opening up foreign markets for American cotton. And we will drive just as hard to hold and expand the home market, by improving the product, finding new uses, and cutting costs of production.

The Republicans tell you not to worry, while they threaten the Reciprocal Trade Agreements, not to worry while they refuse international cooperation through a wheat agreement, and not to worry while they attack your price supports.

This shows very clearly the real principle of the Republican Party. That is the "trickle-down" principle. Take care of the big boys and some of the money will trickle down to the little fellow.

That's just the opposite of the Democratic way. Our primary concern is for the little fellow. We think the big boys have always done very well, taking care of themselves, and they will always take care of themselves. It is the business of the Government to see that the little fellow gets a square deal.

As a matter of fact, I have nothing against the big boys until they get in the way of progress. You sometimes find one who wants the little fellow to get a break. But that is very seldom; you don't find them very often.

Ask Sam Rayburn how many of the big money boys helped, when he was sweating blood to get electricity for farmers and the people in the small towns. You know, Sam was one of the fathers of the Rural Electrification Administration. It's a great monument to him.

When he started working to get REA, you folks in Texas had electricity on very few farms—only on 23 farms in every thousand. Last year, over half of the farms in Texas had electricity. And we intend to push that program vigorously during the next 4 years.

That's an example of what I mean, when I say that the Democratic Party works for the people. And in this case, as in so many others, the Democratic Party did it over violent Republican opposition.

There have been six record votes in Congress on REA. In all but one of those record votes, only about 12 to 25 percent of the Republicans voted in favor of the REA. The vast majority of Republicans opposed REA, and the vast majority of Democrats supported it. The REA program owes its birth and its present life and vigor to the Democratic Party.

I am deeply concerned about what the Republicans would do to the rural electrification program, if they could get control of the whole Government. I know that the Republican 80th Congress was not willing

to bring low cost electric power to consumers that would stand in the way of the profits of the private power monopolies. And that power monopoly had one of the most powerful lobbies in Washington that ever came there.

I could go on and on about Republican failures. They've made enough mistakes to give me ammunition to talk from now to Christmas. But I don't want to wear out my welcome in Texas. After all, nothing I could say about the Republicans is half as bad as their record. In fact, it is because the Republican record is so bad that I am sure the Democrats will win this election.

I have a profound faith in the people of this country. I believe in their commonsense. They love freedom and that love for freedom and justice is not dead.

Our people believe today, as Jefferson did, that men were not born with saddles on their backs to be ridden by the privileged few.

We believe, as Jefferson did, that "God who gave us life gave us liberty." We protect our liberty against those who threaten it from abroad, and we do not propose to give it up to those who threaten it at home.

We will not give up our democratic way to a dictatorship of the left; neither will we give it up to a despotism of special privilege.

The people of this congressional district have shown that they share these convictions. They have shown it by sending Sam Rayburn to Congress time after time.

And when I go down to the Capitol to address the Congress next January, I expect to see Sam Rayburn sitting up in the Speaker's chair where he belongs.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:40 p.m. in the Bonham High School football stadium. In his opening words he referred to Representative Sam Rayburn of Texas, Governor Beauford H. Jester of Texas, and Governor Roy J. Turner of Oklahoma. Later he referred to Representatives Wright Patman and Lyndon B. Johnson, Democratic candidate for Senator, both of Texas; Robert S. Kerr, Democratic candidate for Senator from Oklahoma; Joseph R. Grundy, former Senator from Pennsylvania; and Tom Connally, Senator from Texas.

214 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Texas and Oklahoma. *September* 28, 1948

[1.] SHERMAN, TEXAS (Rear platform, 8:29 a.m.)

Mr. Speaker, Governor Jester, and fellow Democrats of Sherman, Texas:

I can't tell you how happy I am that we were able to stop in this wonderful city of education and agriculture and recreation.

The president of the Young Democrats brought me the key to the city, and I couldn't possibly go by when that happens. It says on here Agriculture-Education-Industry-Recreation. What more do you want? You can't have anything else that is necessary for human existence and for the happiness of the human family.

I have been all over this great State of Texas, practically. Of course, because it is just too big, about half of it I didn't get into; but when I came to El Paso, Governor Jester and Mrs. Jester and Sam Rayburn met me just as soon as I got into the State, and I want to say to you that the hospitality of the State of Texas, and the way I have been treated by the Speaker and by the Governor and Mrs. Jester has never been equaled.

Talk about hospitality!—when I say "Texas," that is the definition for hospitality.

The Governor and I just signed the guest book for Miss Lou Rayburn, and the Governor put down his hobby as "Texas." That's a pretty good hobby.

I am slowly coming to the border of this great State, and I have tried—in going across it—to set out the issues in this campaign; and I have just got a copy of some of the comments of the bitter anti-Truman columnists, and evidently they are hurt, because like old Taber, they are "squealing like stuck pigs," because I am driving home to the people what this 80th Congress did to them.

Now you study that situation, and when you get the issues balanced—which I discussed yesterday in Dallas and wound up in Bonham last night with the fundamentals—if you will just study those remarks, you can't help but be satisfied that the country is much safer, the welfare of the country is safer in the hands of the Democrats. When you put it in the hands of the Republicans, it isn't safe and it hasn't been safe for the last 100 years.

I have always been for the people—the man in the street. Lincoln called them the common people. He said the Lord must have loved them or he wouldn't have made so many of them.

Well now, "big" men always have people to look after their interests. They have lobbyists, highly paid men who go around trying to get things done for special interests.

The people have only one representative in Washington who is all the time for the people, and that is a Democratic President.

Now you have a bunch of wonderful men in the Congress, but they are in the minority, and when I speak of the 80th Congress—the 80th "do-nothing" Congress—I am talking about the leadership and majority control of that Congress. There never was a better man than Sam Rayburn in the Congress of the United States. If this country does what it ought to—and I am sure it is going to—Sam Rayburn will be the next Speaker of the House of Representatives. The Speaker of the House is the most powerful official in the Government of the United States aside from the President, and the most important one; and when you put such fellows as Martin and Taber and Halleck in control of the Congress, you get just exactly what you deserve.

One-third of the people elected that Congress this last time. Two-thirds of you didn't vote. I hope that everybody will go out and we will have such a landslide for the interests of the people that we will have no more trouble with the special interest lobbies in Washington. I am sure that is what you are going to do.

Again I want to thank the Governor of Texas for his cordiality and his hospitality, and his wonderful treatment of me on this trip.

Thank you for getting up so early this morning.

[2.] WHITESBORO, TEXAS (Rear platform, 9:25 a.m.)

Mr. Speaker, and Governor Jester, and citizens of Whitesboro—and good Texas Democrats:

It is a pleasure this morning to be presented to you by my good friend Sam Rayburn. We had a wonderful party at Sam's house last night at Bonham. In fact, it has been a wonderful party all the way across Texas. Ever since we came in at El Paso and met the Governor and Mrs. Jester and Sam Rayburn, we have had a grand tour of Texas. I imagine that I have seen a million people in Texas, and they have given me the most cordial reception that I have had anywhere in the United States. I don't see

where all the people come from.

It shows that you are interested in your Government. It shows that you are anxious to find out what the issues are, and I have made a sincere attempt to lay those issues before the people of the great State of Texas and the whole United States.

I think the line is well drawn. It is the people against the special interests. That's all the issue is in the campaign, and I have cited specific examples as I have gone along, which shows that the Republicans are for special interests, and that the Democrats look after the people.

That is all you need to consider, when you go in to vote on election day, November 2d.

I want to again pay tribute to the cordial hospitality extended to me and my family by the Governor and Mrs. Jester. They met us at El Paso, Tex., and they have been with us ever since; and they will go as far as Ardmore, Okla.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the cordiality with which the Governor has treated me. In fact, that has been the case with all Texans—Sam Rayburn, and every Congressman, and Lyndon Johnson, your candidate for Senator—they have all been just as kind to me as they possibly could be.

I had a most happy breakfast a while ago, when I stopped to see John Garner. He gave us chicken, and white-wing dove, and ham, and bacon, and scrambled eggs, and hot biscuits, and orange juice, and rice; and if there is anything else you can think of, it was on that breakfast table. I never had such a breakfast since I quit the farm.

That's the way it has been all the way over Texas, now. It is something I will remember all my life, and I am very highly appreciative of your turning out this morning.

I am certainly sorry to part with Sam Rayburn, but I think he has got an ox in the ditch at Bonham, and he has to go and do some work on the farm, so he tells me. Having been on the farm myself, I know that sometimes even a politician has to do a little work on the farm.

Thank you very much.

[3.] GAINESVILLE, TEXAS (Rear platform, 10:10 a.m.)

Governor Jester and fellow Democrats of Texas:

You know, I am a little sad this morning. I would like to say that I am glad to be here—and of course I am glad to be here—but you know, the reason I am not as happy as I would be is because this is the last town in Texas, and I hate to leave it.

I have had one of the most pleasant tours that any man ever took in the great State of Texas. Your Governor and his charming first lady met us in El Paso, and they have been with us constantly all the way across Texas. We have had a most enjoyable time with them. They have been extremely hospitable to us. They have made our stay in Texas most pleasant, and I certainly am sorry that we have to leave Texas at this time, although I am sure that the Governor of Oklahoma, who is on the train, will do his best to equal the welcome I received in Texas.

This is a most important situation with which we are faced. We are faced with a situation that is of interest to every single one of you.

You once had one of the greatest orators in the country in this town, who made the same fight for the people that I am attempting to make now. That was Joe Bailey, who was a native of this town. One of the great Texans. He had an oratorical voice that required no loudspeaker such as I have to use. He could make the people hear him over 40 acres of land, if he wanted to. And he worked for the welfare of Texas and the United States, because their welfare is inter-

twined. What is good for Texas is good for the whole country, and what is good for the whole country is good for Texas.

This great country is made up of 48 States, whose interests are mutual and whose interests are at stake in this campaign. You here are in the midst of one of the greatest agricultural districts in the world. You are on the Red River, which is one of the great rivers of the country. The improvement of that river had been started by the Democratic administration, and that improvement, to be continued must be continued by the Democrats, because the Democratic administration since 1933 has been interested in the development of the waterways and the power dams in this great country of ours.

This Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress made every attempt possible to sabotage the public power program of the United States of America. They tried their best to put a tax on co-ops so that the Rural Electrification Administration would have been absolutely made slaves to the power trust. They have done everything they possibly can, not having complete control of the Government, to sabotage the farmer and the laboringman and the small businessman.

Now, you can't afford to take a chance on that situation. You must, under all circumstances, vote for yourself on election day, and when you vote for yourself, you will vote for the Democratic candidate for President, and for the whole Democratic ticket from top to bottom, and then the country will be safe.

Again, I want to emphasize to you the hospitality of this great State of Texas. Back here in Whitesboro a while ago, I told them that from now on my definition for hospitality would be just "Texas."

The Governor, in signing Sam Rayburn's guest book, which asked what your hobby was, said his hobby was Texas, and that is a pretty good hobby, and a pretty big one. I think the Governor is making the most of it.

Again I want to thank him and Mrs. Jester for all the courtesies that they have extended to us since we have been in Texas. Nothing could have been finer. From El Paso to Gainesville, it has been just like this all over Texas. It looked like everybody in Texas was at every stop, yet I must have seen and spoken to a million people in Texas, and I am satisfied that I spoke to the relatives of at least the whole 6½ millions as I passed across this State.

I would now like very much to have the Governor of Oklahoma come out here and tell us what he is going to do to me in Oklahoma.

[*At this point Governor Turner said a few words. The President then resumed speaking.*]

Now I think it would be more than fitting and proper for the Governor of Texas at the last stop in Texas to speak to us as to his impressions of this trip. I have been talking about him. Now he is at liberty to say whatever he pleases about me.

[*At this point Governor Jester addressed the gathering.*]

[4.] MARIETTA, OKLAHOMA (Rear platform, 11:15 a.m.)

Governor Turner, ladies and gentlemen of Oklahoma, and fellow Democrats:

It certainly is a pleasure to me to start my trip in Oklahoma in this great Democratic stronghold known as the little Dixie of Oklahoma. You know, we have got one in Missouri that we never have to do anything about, it goes Democratic every time there's a chance for the Democrats to vote; and they tell me that is the way it is here, that the Republicans are just a token down here in this part of the world.

I have had a wonderful trip across Texas with the Governor. I am anticipating the same sort of trip across Oklahoma with your

able and distinguished Governor.

It was a very great pleasure to me this morning to meet Carl Albert on the train—your Representative in Congress, and an able and distinguished gentleman with a war record that I envy.

I was telling him a while ago my experience in trying to get into the Second World War. I had served in the first one, and I was a Senator on the Appropriations Committee and on the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate in 1940 when we passed the First Draft Act; and I went down to see General Marshall, who was then Chief of Staff, and told him that I would like very much to serve, that I was still a colonel in the Field Artillery Reserve, and I thought I could do a good job if he would let me.

The General pulled his specs down on his nose, like that, and he said: "Mr. Senator, how old are you?" "Oh," I said, "I am 56." "Well," he said, "you're too old for this war, this is a young man's war. Go on back and do your duty in the Senate."

Well, after I became President, he was still Chief of Staff, and he was sitting out in the anteroom waiting for me, one day; and Mr. Connelly handed him a little piece of paper that had been written about that incident, and he said, "General, what would you do now if the same question were put to you by the same fellow?"

General Marshall said, "I would have to give him the same answer, but I would be a little more diplomatic about it."

Circumstances alter cases, as you see.

Now I am familiar with this part of the great State of Oklahoma. I have been here many a time when people didn't look at me so much, they didn't crowd around when I came to town; and I have had many pleasant visits to Oklahoma, nearly all over the State.

I have been interested in the development of the Red River ever since that development started while I was in the Congress. I have been interested in the development of the waterways of the whole Nation, in fact; and have, I think, made a contribution to that, because I had a complete survey made of the waterways of the country, and had authorizations made by the 79th Congress, and have endeavored to get appropriations out of the 80th Congress to get those things implemented.

Very difficult thing, to get anything out of this 80th Congress. They don't want to do anything for the people. They are awful anxious to do things to the people, and they have done a lot of things to the people which I have been telling the people, and it's beginning to hurt.

Old Taber, you know, said that the West was "squealing like a stuck hog," because he knifed appropriations for conservation and flood control, and things of that sort. But I have got them squealing now, and they are going to squeal a lot more before I get through with them.

I want you to analyze this situation. This campaign has just one issue, it's the special interests against the people—just the special interests against the people.

The Democrats stand for the people, and always have stood for the people. The Republicans have always stood for special interests, and they haven't changed a bit.

Don't let them fool you with their slick talk, because if they get back in control of the Congress of the United States and the Presidency, too, the people of this country will be in an awful fix.

You will have such fellows as Taft running the Congress; you will have such fellows as Taber in control of the appropriations; you will have such fellows as Knutson in control of the most powerful committee in the Congress, the Ways and Means Committee.

There won't be any change in the complexion—it will just be the 80th Congress all over again that will take you to town, if they get back there and have the Presidency, too. You can't afford to do that.

You must turn out, down here in this wonderful Democratic part of the world, and help Oklahoma to roll up the biggest Democratic majority it has ever rolled up. I want to see Bob Kerr in the Senate. We need a man like Bob Kerr to take old man Moore's place. He never was any good in the first place.

I know old man Moore. I served in the Senate with him for quite a while, and if he did anything for the people it was by accident and not intention.

You want somebody like Kerr. You know what he can do. He was your Governor. He was a good Governor, too; and you have got a good Governor now.

So let us have a congressional delegation from Oklahoma that is unanimously for the people and not against them. In order to do that, you have got to turn out and vote, and the bigger the vote you roll up, the more it means in the operation of the Government to the President when he is trying to do things for the people.

And I want the backing of the people, that is the reason I am out here talking to you. I want you to know me. I want you to understand what I stand for; and you won't have any trouble finding out, because I will tell you in words of one syllable.

But if you can get these other fellows to tell you how they stand, you are good at it. I can't get them to tell me where they stand. They do a lot of double talk, so that they can take both sides of the street.

This is a fight between the people and the special interests. I am making a crusade to win that fight, and I want you to help me do that. Will you?

[5.] ARDMORE, OKLAHOMA (Memorial Park, 12:10 p.m.)

Governor Turner, Governor Jester, distinguished guests:

I can't tell you how highly I appreciate this wondreful reception in the great city of Ardmore. They tell me that the population of Ardmore is 20,000 people. It looks to me like it has grown to about 40,000. It has been that way, in the receptions I have received, all the way across the United States. It does my heart good, it makes me feel exceedingly happy, to know that the people are really interested in their Government, that they are really interested in meeting the President of the United States and finding out just what his views are on the issues before the country at this time.

Well, I am perfectly willing to discuss those issues with you and let you know exactly where I stand and what I'm trying to do as President of the United States—and then if you can get the other people to tell you where they stand, you can go to the polls and vote for the country's welfare on the 2d of November.

I met an old friend on the train this morning at Marietta, Mr. Easley, who runs your newspaper here. I've known him a long, long time. I've known him so long he still calls me Harry. That's not unusual, for all over the country they call me Harry.

When I was down in Mexico City they had tremendous crowds out, and they would stand out on the street and say, "'Allo 'Arry." I like it. I like it. I believe when you speak to me like that you really do like me—and I want you to like me because I'm trying my best to serve you with everything I have. And if you are pleased with it I am the happiest man in the world.

I hope, some time or other—I say "some time or other" for my time is not my own—

to come down here and let that expert fisherman, Easley, take me out to this beautiful Lake Murray and show me how to catch bass. He said he'd put one on the train for me—and I was going to try to eat it all if I could get to it first.

Now, I want to say a few words to you on some of the issues in this campaign.

We can keep our country prosperous, or we can bog down again into the mire of depression, as we did in the 1920's. The threat we face comes from high prices and inflation.

For 2 years now the special interests have had, from their viewpoint, the Congress that is best for them. This Congress has done more for special interests in the year and a half that it has been in Washington than has been done for those special interests since Mellon was in charge of the Treasury in the 1920's.

Now, that's a terrible thing when you contemplate it, and I just wonder what they would have done had they had control of the whole Government. The country would have been in a terrible fix, I think. But I stood there with my right of veto and I vetoed some 61 of their special-privilege bills, and they only passed 4 or 5 of them over my veto. So I was protecting the interests of the people all the time.

Now, these special interest fellows want runaway inflation because they cash in at tremendous profits. They don't care if you people are thrown into a depression.

I say we can control the inflation that threatens us, and we can continue the prosperity which is everywhere evident. Never, in the history of the country, has there been a situation such as we have had for the last 3 years since the war ended—since our enemies surrendered, let us say.

Last year this country had the biggest income it has ever had in its history—some $217 billions—and that income was so distributed that the farmer and the worker and the small businessman got his fair share of it. That's the first time in the history of the country that that's ever happened. I want to keep things that way. These fellows don't want them that way.

Let me cite you an example or two.

Every one of you here is concerned with the rural electrification program because it reaches practically every farm in Carter County. Every one of you knows of the Democratic flood control and reclamation and conservation programs because Lake Texoma is right in your backyard, and that's a Democratic project put through by a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President.

You know, to complete the work on the Oklahoma side of the Table Basin Area, we must have appropriations to complete that work.

Rural electrification, flood control, reclamation, conservation, recreation facilities—these are important and vital to you and to every one of the States of the United States. The Democratic Party has shown, by action, that it's for them. The Republican 80th Congress has shown that it's not for them—and we can only judge the Republican Party by its acts.

It's clear to you who your friends are in Washington when it comes to supporting these programs. Let me tell you a little about rural electrification.

When the question of increasing funds for rural electrification came up before the House of Representatives in 1947, 99 percent of the Democrats voted to increase these funds. Just 12 percent of the Republicans voted to increase these funds. When the same measure came up before the Congress in 1948, 98 percent of the Democrats voted in your favor, and only 26 percent of the Republicans voted to help the rural electrification program.

Look at what happened in May of this

year when the Democrats in the Senate asked for a $75 million increase in funds for the 1949 crop conservation program. One hundred percent, every one of the Democrats in the Senate, voted for this increase. Only 7 percent of the Republicans voted for it. It passed by just a bare majority in the Senate because there were a few forward-looking Republicans who didn't agree with what the leadership in the Senate wanted to do.

I could continue to give you the record of these predatory animals in Washington, and of the fight that we have been carrying on against them, but you're intelligent people. You know the record. Just study the record—that's all I ask you to do. Study my record. Study the record of the 80th Congress, controlled by Republican leadership, and see the difference.

The question is: Are we going to let this crowd take over full control in Washington? Are we going to let that crowd get control of the Government? I don't think you are. I don't think you are.

I know you, here, won't let me down, and that on election day the polling places are going to be packed early in the morning, and they're going to stay that way all day—and you're going to vote the Democratic ticket while you're in that booth.

Now, in 1944 you gave President Roosevelt and me a 4-to-1 vote in this county. I want you to give me 6-to-1 this time. If you do that, Oklahoma will have done its duty by the Nation. Oklahoma will have elected a Democrat to Congress from here—my friend, Carl Albert, who is an able citizen if there ever was one. Oklahoma will elect Bob Kerr to the Senate, and Oklahoma will elect a whole delegation to the Congress that are looking forward, and not voting to turn the clock back as these Republicans want to do. Keep that in mind. Do your duty on election day and the country will be safe for another 4 years—and I won't have to move out of the White House.

[6.] Davis, Oklahoma (Rear platform, 1:08 p.m.)

Governor, I certainly thank you for the splendid introduction and this splendid reception in your home county. I understand that you are somewhat in the Hereford business. They tell me this is Hereford heaven.

You fellows in Oklahoma certainly do give a fellow a welcome. I was in Ardmore a few minutes ago, and there must have been 50,000 people in that plaza out in front of the Methodist Church, and I appreciated it more than I can tell you; but it looks to me like everybody in the county is here at Davis.

You are vitally interested in this Presidential campaign. Your interests are at stake, as a result of the policies of the two parties.

The Republicans always have been for special interests. The Democratic Party is the party of the people. I have been going up and down this country from one end to the other myself, personally explaining what those issues are, because you have a right to know what those issues are, and you have a right to be told by the people who understand those issues just what they are.

The Republicans are using a lot of propaganda that misrepresents the facts at every turn in the road so far as they possibly can, because they want to fool you. I don't think you are going to be fooled. I think you are going to turn out on election day and show those Republicans just exactly where this country stands when the public interest is at stake.

You can take my record to go on, you don't have to take any promises from me—you know what I have done. I am running

on the record, and I am trying to continue that record.

The Republicans have got to run on the record of that Republican 80th Congress, and they can't get out of it no matter how much propaganda they put out.

I wish I had plenty of time here to go into the fundamental issues in this campaign, and take them one by one and explain them to you, but it would take all the rest of the day; but you know, I have got to go to 40 places in Oklahoma yet, and I want to see as many Oklahomans as I possibly can.

Now, do this one thing for me, will you? On election day, get up early, go down to the polls, and put in that ticket with the Democratic ticket voted straight from President to constable, and the country will be safe.

I certainly appreciate the turnout. I have certainly appreciated these young people coming out to take a look at the President. I know that for years to come you will remember the visit of your Governor and the President of the United States to your good town of Davis; and it makes me happy to see these uniformed bodies from the schools, and these little girls and little boys—thousands of them—for coming out to see what their President looks like. They have got a right to know—they have got to know what he is thinking about. Most of them can analyze the facts and the issues, and it will be good for the country in the next generation, because I am looking forward, in the next generation, to the greatest age in history.

I wish I were 14 instead of 64. I would like to see that age, and see it come about; and you will see it.

Now, use your judgment, get all the education you can, and when you grow up, make this country continue to be safe for the people.

[7.] PAULS VALLEY, OKLAHOMA (Rear platform, 1:45 p.m.)

Governor Turner, and the citizens of Pauls Valley:

I didn't know Pauls Valley had this many people in it. I have seen big crowds and I have been received by big crowds all over the United States, but I'll tell you—this is one to write home about. Thank you very much for coming out.

You know, it certainly is good to be in a place where you have friends, in a county represented by one of the best men who ever came to Congress—Mike Monroney. You know, it was my privilege to present Mike with a medal which said he was the best Member of the House of Representatives—and I never did anything that pleased me more in my life than when I presented him that medal.[1] He earned it and he deserved it, and I know you are going to send him back to Congress with the biggest majority he's ever had.

And I want you to send Bob Kerr to the Senate, in place of that old man who has been misrepresenting you for the last 6 years. Bob is my friend and Bob knows the Democratic principles, and he lives up to them. You know him a little better than I do because he served you as Governor.

I've had a most pleasant time in this State. Your Governor met me last night at Sam Rayburn's house down at Bonham, Tex.—the Governor and Mrs. Turner and Bob Kerr—and we had the grandest time you ever heard about at Sam's house. Sam said he was going to have a little reception. Sam's little reception turned out to be about three or four thousand people, after we had

[1] For the President's remarks of April 11, 1946, upon presenting the Collier's Congressional Award to Representative Monroney see 1946 volume, this series, Item 80.

already spoken to three or four times that many out at the baseball park.

The Washita Valley here is one of the richest and most fertile valleys in the country, so I'm told. I don't want you to tell any of these tall corn boys in Iowa, but they tell me you raise more corn here to an acre than in Iowa. I don't know whether it is so or not. I wish somebody would confirm it. Is it true?

That makes it better. The gentleman here says it's Democratic corn. I don't know whether that's liquid or on the ear.

Oklahoma ought to be exceedingly proud of the contribution that it made to the winning of the last war. I was familiar with your divisions that served in World War I and in World War II. Oklahoma certainly did its share in every way possible—and that, you know, is much to your credit.

As I came across this country things certainly looked good. They looked prosperous. You know what I'm trying to do? I'm trying to keep that prosperity going. I'm trying to keep the clock going forward and not backwards. Look at some of the things that have been happening in connection with things with which you are concerned right here.

You have been menaced for years with semiannual floods that used to cover most of your city. We are engaged now in an $11 million project of controlling floods from the Washita watershed to hold water on the uplands through soil conservation and through special water holders to keep the floods back.

You are concerned that we must continue the farm price program. You want a price support program. You want to continue your rapid growth in the development of farm and mineral resources. The problems are important to you, and I am sure you want people in office who will see that they are taken care of.

Now, the Democratic record on these issues which face you is clear. You know of that Federal help we gave to you in controlling the floods and in helping you with soil conservation. The Republicans in this last Congress tried to cut that out.

Do you know what Senator Taft, the Republican wheelhorse in the Senate, said about problems of floods in May of this year? I'll give you the chapter and verse so you can read it. That's in the Congressional Record of May 17, 1948. He said—and let me read you what he said: "We've had floods for 160 years. Whether we do certain work this year or next year is not a vital question."

Of course it's not a vital question to Taft, because he doesn't live in a flood valley.

Remember that when you think about how your homes used to be flooded down here. And I always remember that 2 weeks after Bob Taft said that we had the biggest flood, on the Columbia River, that's ever taken place—and it washed a whole town away at the middle of the Columbia River. And I went down and inspected that town.

You know, in times past they used to give the President an emergency fund with which to meet emergencies like that flood in Oregon, like the hurricane that's just happened in Florida, like the hurricane that happened last year on the Gulf Coast. But do you know what these Republicans did to the President's Emergency Fund? They wiped it out. They wiped it out because they didn't feel like they could trust this Democratic President to tell when an emergency came about. In fact, it was a direct accusation that your President didn't know how to take care of the country.

But your President does know how to take care of the country because he's been through the worst 3 years that the country has ever faced.

I want to get back a little bit to that price support program. There's a Republican

Congressman from Pennsylvania—his name is Gavin—and here's what he said about the price support program, and I think it states the Republican position very accurately.

This Republican said: "I'm telling you right now that sooner or later you'll have to discontinue the price support program, and you may as well start reconciling yourself to that fact. The sooner you stop it the better off the country will be."

Now, I wonder just how well off the country would be without price support. The price support program is a parity program which puts the farmer on exactly the same basis as labor and businessmen. It gives the farmer a fair price for his products, and it keeps the farmer from having to pay more for what he gets than for what he sells, in proportion to what the rest of the things are bringing.

It's the sanest approach to the farm problem that ever has been put out, and it's been successful because back in 1932, 123,000 farmers were kicked off their farms by mortgage foreclosures. In 1947 there were less than 800. The farm income in 1932 was about $4½ billion. Do you know what it was last year? It was well over $18 billion. And the farm debt has decreased more than 50 percent.

I want to say to you that if the farmers in this country know which side their bread is buttered on—and I believe they do—they're not going to put this Republican gang in control of the Government.

You know, there's a journal published in New York. It is called the Wall Street Journal. That journal isn't published in the interests of the people. It's published for the economic royalists that are terribly anxious to take over the country again. And here's an editorial comment from this Wall Street Journal, dated September 4, after Mr. Stassen gave out his famous interview on the price support program at Albany, N.Y.:

"Nevertheless the whole import of Mr. Stassen's press conference at Albany was just what Secretary Brannon said it was—in essence an attack on the price support program."

Then the editorial goes on to say why farmers shouldn't have price support and a lot of other things; and then it says: "Mr. Stassen is, in fact, proposing a far-reaching reform of the price support policy, or he doesn't make sense." And Mr. Stassen was speaking for the Republican Party when he made that statement.

I have been warning the farmers all across this country that their interests are with the Democratic Party, which has always been their friend. The Democratic Party believes that there ought to be a balance between the farmer and labor and the businessman, and that every one of them ought to have his fair share of this phenomenal income which this country has now.

If you send Bob Kerr and Mike Monroney to the Congress I'll be the happiest man in the world, because in another 4 years we're going to see that this country goes on the right road. It'll be the Government of and by and for the people.

I want to thank all these young people for coming out here. It's a pleasure to me to see so many young people come out to see the President. It shows that they, as the future generation, are interested in the welfare of the United States.

As I said back at Davis: I wish I was 14 instead of 64. And I'll tell you why: because I think we're facing the greatest age in history, and the greatest age in history is going to be in the next two or three generations, and I would like to see it. Of course, I won't be able to see it, but all these young people will—and I want to leave this Government in such a condition that the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States will still be the greatest documents in

the world when these young people grow up. That's my one ambition.

I can't tell you how much I appreciate this wonderful turnout.

[*At this point it was announced that the President would make a radio address at 4 p.m. The President then resumed speaking.*]

You better listen because I'm going to give them everything I've got!

[8.] PURCELL, OKLAHOMA (Rear platform, 2:35 p.m.)

Governor Turner, and fellow Democrats of Purcell:

My, my!—what a welcome.

It certainly is a pleasure to me to see this wonderful turnout in Purcell. You know, Purcell means a lot to me as a name. When I was on the County Court in Jackson County as Presiding Judge of that court, I had an Eastern Judge named Buck Purcell. He was one grand man. He has gone to his reward now, but I always think of him when I pass through Purcell, Okla.—and I have passed through here on numerous occasions. I know something about your problems. I know that this great agricultural county has been very much interested in soil conservation. I know that soil conservation means a lot to the people of this county, and I know that soil conservation is one of the greatest assets that the Democratic Party has given to this country.

Your great Congressman, Mike Monroney, whom you are going to send back to Washington on election day, has told me about the hard work you have put into helping out the farm program and transforming McClain County from one of the counties with the highest percentage of farm tenancies to one of the widest of farm ownerships. That is a wonderful record. That is what we want.

You know, if we can have satisfied farmers on farms that they own and with conditions so that they feel that they are secure in that ownership, and if we can have satisfied homeowners in the cities with jobs they can keep on a prosperous basis, then you have a prosperous and happy country.

And that is what the Democratic Party has been working for.

Back in 1932, if I remember correctly, there were 123,000 farmers kicked off their farms because they couldn't pay the interest on their mortgages. Last year there were less than 800 people—farm-owners—who had foreclosures. That is most remarkable—a most remarkable thing.

Now, we have 61 million people at work—61 million people at work; and the national income of this country is greater than it ever was for any country in the history of the world—some $217 billion; and that income has been distributed so that the most people get the most benefit from it.

Now, you here in Purcell, I want you to bear in mind those things when you go to the polls on election day. I know that everyone is going to the polls and vote for himself, and vote for his own interests; and if he does that, he will vote the Democratic ticket straight, and the country will be safe for another 4 years, and I won't be troubled with the housing problem because I can live in the White House another 4 years.

In order to make the country safe, I want to see Mike Monroney back in the Congress, and I want to see Bob Kerr in the Senate of the United States. Bob will make a real Senator. I served in the Senate for 10 years with Elmer Thomas, and I know he is a real Senator. You will have two, if you add Bob Kerr.

I can't tell you how much I appreciate these welcomes that I am getting in all these Oklahoma cities. I didn't know there were that many people in Oklahoma. I must

have seen at least half the population of Oklahoma this morning, and I haven't got to the big cities yet.

[9.] NORMAN, OKLAHOMA (Rear platform, 3:10 p.m.)

Thank you, thank you very much. I appreciate that welcome immensely.

I sincerely wish that we had more time. The train has been behind the schedule about 30 minutes and we have a statewide broadcast at Oklahoma City which I have to make at 4 o'clock, and I hope that every one of you will listen to that broadcast for I'm going to take the Republicans to town in Oklahoma City.

This certainly is heartening. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the privilege of getting a chance to look into your faces and giving you a chance to see me. I wish I had time to discuss the fundamental issues in this campaign.

There is just one issue: The issue is the people against special privilege. The Democratic Party stands for the people; the Republican Party stands for special privilege. And I'm asking you to analyze these issues clearly, as I have stated them across the country. I intend to make every one of them perfectly clear so you can make up your mind on the facts and not on propaganda.

This is the seat of one of the great educational institutions of the United States. Education is the fundamental necessity for democracy. If we have the right sort of education our form of government will continue always to be the best form that the sun has ever shone upon.

What I'm hoping is that we can fix our educational system so that it will continue to work. It's in a bad way now. We're short of teachers; we're short of space. I tried to get this "do-nothing" Republican 80th Congress to pass the aid to education bill, and I didn't have any luck. The bill passed the Senate and it died in the House, because these Republicans don't believe in aid to education. One of them had the nerve to say that he thought the little red schoolhouse was good enough. The little red schoolhouse was a great institution and it brought forth one of the greatest countries in the world, but we are living in another age from the red schoolhouse. We might as well go back to ox-carts as to try to go back to the little red schoolhouse. We can't do it. We must make our educational system work. The Democrats are for that. I don't think the Republicans are.

I want you to study these issues. I want you to read the record of this Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress and the platform on which the Republicans have to stand, whether they like it or not.

They showed by that Congress how they stood and what they believed in. You've got my record. I don't have to tell you what my record is. I have been in the Presidency 3 years and I was in the Senate 10 years before that. I've got a record on which to run.

I'm making a crusade across this country to save the Government for the people and to keep the special interests from getting control of it.

Now, on election day, in order to keep this country on its feet and to keep this country running like it ought to be run, you must go out and vote. And in order to save the country, vote the Democratic ticket straight—and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on September 28 the President referred to Representative Sam Rayburn, Governor Beauford H. Jester, former Representative Joseph W. Bailey, Jr., and Representative Lyndon B. Johnson, Democratic candidate for Senator, all of Texas; Roy G. Baker, president of the Young Democrats; Secretary of State George C.

Marshall, former Chief of Staff, U.S. Army; Matthew J. Connelly, former Secretary to the President; Charles F. Brannan, Secretary of Agriculture; John Nance Garner, former Vice President of the United States; Representatives John Taber of New York, Joseph W. Martin, Jr., of Massachusetts, Harold Knutson of Minnesota, Leon H. Gavin of Pennsylvania, and Charles A. Halleck of Indiana; Representative Carl Albert, Governor Roy J. Turner, Senator E. H. Moore, Democratic candidate for Senator Robert S. Kerr, Senator Elmer Thomas, and Representative Mike Monroney, all of Oklahoma; Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio; John F. Easley, Publisher of the Daily Ardomoreite; and Harold E. Stassen, former Governor of Minnesota.

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I AM happy to be in Oklahoma City today. I have been traveling around this great country and making many stops to discuss with the people the issues in this campaign.

Here in Oklahoma City, in the heart of the Nation, I consider it appropriate to discuss a subject of great importance to all Americans—the relationship of communism to our national security.

I should like the American people to consider the damage that is being done to our national security by irresponsible persons who place their own political interests above the security of the Nation.

I regret to say that there are some people in the Republican Party who are trying to create the false impression that communism is a powerful force in American life. These Republicans know that this is not true.

The time has come when we should take a frank and earnest look at the record about communism and our national security.

First, let me remind you of a few basic facts which are often overlooked.

Our country is strong enough to resist and overcome all the forces of communism—and it will remain so.

Our Government is not endangered by Communist infiltration. It has preserved its integrity—and it will continue to do so.

The FBI and our other security forces are capable, informed, and alert—and will remain so.

I am going to give you the hard facts which prove what I have said.

The Republicans ought to realize that their failure to deal with the big practical issues of American life, such as housing, price control, and education, is too plain to be hidden by any smoke screen. They ought to realize that their reckless tactics are not helping our national security; they are hurting our national security.

I am forced to the conclusion that Republican leaders are thinking more about the November election than about the welfare of this great country.

I charge that the Republicans have impeded and made more difficult our efforts to cope with communism in this country.

I charge that they have hindered the efforts of the FBI, which has been doing wonderful work in protecting the national security.

I charge that the Republicans have attempted to usurp the constitutional functions of the Federal grand juries and of the courts.

I charge that they have not produced any significant information about Communist espionage which the FBI did not already have.

I charge the Republicans with having impaired our Nation's atomic energy program by their intemperate and unjustified attacks on our atomic scientists.

I charge them with having recklessly cast a cloud of suspicion over the most loyal civil service in the world.

I charge them with having trampled on the individual freedoms which distinguish American ideals from totalitarian doctrine.

I charge finally that, in all this, they have not hurt the Communist Party one bit.

They have helped it.

The fact of the matter is that the Republican Party is unwittingly the ally of the Communists in this country. That is clearly shown in the election record of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party reached its greatest popular strength in the 1932 elections, when it polled over 100,000 votes. That was at the bottom of the worst depression this country has ever known—a Republican depression, brought about by 12 years of Republican indifference to the needs of the people.

By 1936, under a Democratic administration, the strength of the Communist Party had dropped to 80,000 votes. In 1940, when the Communist Party was attacking President Roosevelt as a warmonger, it polled only 46,000 votes. That is less than one-half of what it got in 1932 under Republican rule.

In 1944 there was no Communist Presidential candidate. There is none this year. The Communists are backing the third party.

Let us ask ourselves the question: Just why are the Communists backing the third party?

They are backing the third party, because they want a Republican victory in November.

The Communists feel that by backing the third party they will take votes away from the Democratic ticket and thus elect a Republican President.

The Communists want a Republican administration, because they think that its reactionary policies will lead to the confusion and strife on which communism thrives.

The Communists hate the Democratic administration, because of this country's strong foreign policy, and because the economic and social gains which we have put through make it impossible for them to make any progress whatever in this country.

The Democratic program has brought prosperity, security, and confidence to the American people—and confident people do not become Communists.

I ought to know something about communism. I have been honored by its bitter enmity and its slanderous statements. The controlled papers of communism at home and abroad, have showered me with libelous venom. That is because I have been fighting communism not merely where it is a contemptible minority in a land of freedom, but wherever it is a marching and menacing power in the world.

The greatest danger to us does not come from communism in the United States. The greatest danger has been that communism might blot out the light of freedom in so much of the rest of the world that the strength of its onslaught against our liberties would be greatly multiplied. To meet this danger, my administration has moved vigorously to aid the democratic governments of foreign nations in maintaining the independence and freedom of their peoples.

In spite of considerable opposition from the Republican rank and file in both Houses of Congress, I urged, and the Congress finally approved, programs for economic aid to free nations.

These programs, which began with the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall plan, have made it possible for many nations to stand with us in opposition to Communist encroachment throughout the world.

As a result of these measures, the Communist tide has been checked.

It is a plain and unanswerable fact that all these great programs were conceived and sponsored by the Truman administration.

And while we worked to strengthen democracy in the world, my administration worked with equal vigor to strengthen

democracy at home. For we know that this is the best way to kill communism at its roots.

People who are well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed, and whose basic rights are protected, do not become victims of communism.

With this object in mind, I repeatedly presented a legislative program to the Congress.

Among the big elements in that program were:

Inflation control, to stabilize the cost of living;

Housing, not merely for the privileged and the rich, but also for the people of average and low income;

Adequate medical care for millions of our people who are not getting it now;

Improvement in our educational facilities, to reduce illiteracy, and to raise the entire level of American life;

An increase in minimum wages;

An extension of social security to large groups not now covered, and an increase in benefits to the aged, to the crippled, and to widows, mothers, and children.

But what happened to this program to strengthen American democracy?

It ran into a reactionary Republican Congress—the 80th—and there it was stopped dead.

The truth is, the Democratic Party has been leading the fight to make democracy effective and to wipe out communism in the United States.

Long before these Republicans started their Communist talk for political purposes, my administration was engaged in a direct attack on subversive organizations and persons in the United States.

We worked at it every day—and not just before elections. We continue to work at it, and not just before election.

A part of our effort has been to make sure that Communists and other disloyal persons are not employed by the Federal Government.

I want to tell you about that. I want to tell you some things that you have not heard from the Republicans.

Since 1939 the employees of the Government have been required to swear under oath that they are not Communists. That means that there is not one single employee of the Federal Government who is an admitted Communist.

Nevertheless, we all know that Communists are trained to lie. There is no doubt that they, as well as other disloyal persons, have tried to worm their way into the Government service.

So, in 1947, I set up the employee loyalty program to require an individual check on all Federal employees and to discharge them if they were found to be Communists, or if there were other reasonable grounds for doubting their loyalty.

This was a real program to meet a real situation, and it was worked out by competent people who had the facts and understood how the Federal Government actually works.

At the start, the Congress delayed the program for months through slowness in making appropriations, and when it did come through, when the appropriation did come through, it was much less than I had requested. The Republicans at that time said the program was too elaborate.

Now, in an election year, they say it is not elaborate enough. That is Republican consistency.

This program meant the checking of over 2 million Federal employees. I gave the FBI complete charge of this part of the program. And they have handled their job with such efficiency that all present employees have now been checked.

The FBI check showed that the loyalty of 99.7 percent of all Federal workers was not even questionable.

The remaining three-tenths of one percent represented every last instance in which the FBI found any shred of unchecked loyalty information about any Federal employee. It even included employees who were the victims of accusations by malicious, anonymous persons. Each of these employees was investigated intensively by the FBI from their first birthday to the present time.

The results of the FBI loyalty investigations have been turned over to loyalty boards in the agencies which employ these persons involved. The review of these FBI investigations by the loyalty boards has shown that the large majority of these three-tenths of one percent are good, loyal Americans.

At the same time, in those instances where the FBI investigations reveal sufficient evidence, the loyalty program provided that cases be presented by the Department of Justice to Federal grand juries.

Thus the employee loyalty program not only provides a means for removing employees of doubtful loyalty from Government service; it also provides a method for discovering and punishing offenders.

The agency loyalty boards are disposing of these cases as quickly as possible. Each individual—now listen to this, this is the meat of the thing—each individual is given a full opportunity to protect himself against charges which may be unfounded, distorted, or biased.

Only in the case of about one in 6,000 Government employees has loyalty been found doubtful. That's an amazing record. It is proof of the vigilance of the Government that so small a number of disloyal men and women have been able to work their way into Federal jobs.

Certain Republicans have been shouting for faster action. They seem to want us to fire employees, without hearings, on the basis of unsupported charges. They resent the democratic safeguards of the loyalty program.

Those safeguards are a vital part of the program. The American sense of justice demands for every man a right to defend himself against accusations, the right to a fair hearing, the right to counsel, and the right of appeal.

In the periods of tension such as the present, loose charges against individuals are all too frequent. An innocent man may easily find himself accused of terrible things. I am determined that Communists shall not work for the Government. I am equally determined that loyal employees against whom unfounded charges are made shall not suffer injustice.

We have been concerned, not merely with Communists in the Government, but with Communists in the United States of America, wherever they are.

Evidence of Soviet espionage has been presented to a special Federal grand jury which even now is in session in New York City. The FBI has been quietly and efficiently assembling this evidence for several years. The evidence was being presented to the grand jury long before the Republican congressional committees began their recent hearings. Now these committees are trying to win credit for digging up evidence. They are trying to cash in on the work of the FBI, and to usurp the functions of the grand jury and the Federal courts.

Grand jury deliberations, of course, must be confidential. So must the work of the FBI. But the House Un-American Activities Committee doesn't care about that. By its irresponsible publicity, this committee has already done damage to the work of the FBI and other security agencies. Through its press-agent stunts for political ends, this committee has made confidential informa-

tion available to the intelligence services of foreign countries. And with reckless disregard for the Bill of Rights, this committee has injured the reputations of innocent men by spreading wild and false accusations.

This committee has also deprived the Government of the services of a number of atomic scientists, who are so badly needed to enable this Nation to maintain its leadership in the field of atomic energy. Recently, eight of the most eminent scientists in this country pointed this out as a danger to our national security.

My administration has been steadily and successfully fighting communism. We have acted instead of just talking about it.

We are deporting subversive aliens. We shall continue to do so to the limit of the law. The Attorney General asked the Republican 80th Congress for legislation that would assist this deportation drive, but the 80th Congress did nothing.

The FBI, the greatest counterespionage organization in the world, headed by J. Edgar Hoover, is alert, vigorous, and skillful. It is watching the Communists closely, and systematically protecting our internal security.

So long as the FBI and our other security agencies can do their job without having the ground cut from under them by the committees of Congress, we have little to fear from spies and subversives. Our record during World War II speaks for itself. This country was completely free from foreign-inspired sabotage. Enemy spies and saboteurs who entered this country were caught, and quickly tried and punished severely.

On the basis of evidence collected by the FBI and submitted to the grand jury, twelve top Communist leaders will go to trial in New York on October 15. We have prosecuted and we shall prosecute subversive activities wherever we find them. But we must have real evidence. We cannot use speeches of Republican politicians as evidence.

This is the United States of America. We are the oldest major democracy on earth. Our democratic values are deep and sound. They cannot be destroyed by a few Communists. We must protect ourselves against communism, but we must not abandon the fundamental ideals of our democracy. To do so would be a surrender to totalitarian doctrines.

The Republican leaders have been trying to make communism an issue in this election. They are trying to make you think that the Republican Party has a monopoly on patriotism.

Don't let them fool you!

I think most Americans will understand that they are trying to divert your attention from the shocking record of the Republican 80th Congress.

Here is something for every American to think about. Why have the Communists lined up solidly to help put a Republican President in the White House? Why do they want a Republican victory? Could it be that their position is now so weak, under a Democratic administration, that their only hope is in a change? Could it be that they are counting on a Republican administration to produce another economic crash, which would play into the hands of world communism? Think that one over.

The record is plain for all to see.

Republican politicians have contributed nothing against the fight on communism in this country.

The Democratic Party has steadily improved the well-being of the American people—the best defense against communism; and we have successfully prevented the spread of communism in this world.

The Democratic Party is for free govern-

ment and against totalitarianism.

We are for free enterprise and against communism.

But we are against those who raise the cry of communism to slander and obstruct policies conceived in the people's interest.

There is nothing that the Communists would like better than to weaken the liberal programs that are our shield against communism.

There is no power on earth which can bring communism to this country if you, the people of the United States, and your Government, work steadfastly and calmly to maintain the ideals and principles of effective American democracy.

I ask your support for your Government in the achievement of that great purpose.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4 p.m. from the grandstand at the Oklahoma State Fairgrounds. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

216 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Oklahoma and Missouri. *September* 29, 1948

[1.] SHAWNEE, OKLAHOMA (Rear platform, 7:35 a.m.)

Governor, and fellow Democrats of Shawnee:

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this wonderful turnout at this time of day—and the train 15 minutes ahead of time. You know, that's the most unusual thing in history—for a train to run 15 minutes ahead of time.

I wonder if the colorbearers would let the flags rest on the ground until I get through speaking, so the people behind can see. Thank you very much.

I have been acquainted with Shawnee for a long time. You've got a Baptist school here, and I am a Baptist myself. Not only that. In years past Shawnee was, and still is, one of the oil capitals of this great oil State of Oklahoma.

But Shawnee decided that the fundamentals come out of the top of the ground, in the form of farm products; and I'm informed that there are more than 4,400 farms and 500,000 acres in cultivation around this great agricultural center and that you are, from year to year, producing more and more of the things that go to make up the good things in life—which is fiber, grain, and things of that sort—and we have, in this campaign, a very decided and clear drawn issue. It is the people against the special interests. And this last Congress made a sincere effort for the special interests to abolish our farm program. I just want to give you some statistics on things that happened in the House of Representatives in this last Congress.

The Republican House Appropriations Committee, headed by one of the worst old mossbacks in Congress, John Taber of New York, said, "To hell with the farmers out West." That's an exact quote from him. And they voted to cut the funds of the Department of Agriculture by 37 percent. The cuts they made put the axe to your program of rural electrification, school lunches, and small farm loans and soil conservation. Those are among the most important things to the farmer that ever have been on the law books of the country.

Then my friend Clarence Cannon, a great Democrat and your neighbor over here in Missouri, who used to be Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, tried to get those cuts restored; and he was supported by every

one of the Democrats on the Committee and every one of the Democrats in the House, including all the Representatives from the great State of Oklahoma. The Republicans ganged up against us and they defeated that attempt to put those appropriations back, by 180 to 174. But there happened to be a very good bunch of fighting Democrats in the Senate, and they got most of it restored.

But it just goes to show you that if these Republicans could get complete control of the Government of the United States I don't think the farmer would have a chance. They'd take every gain that the farmers made in the last 16 years away from him. I'm just as sure of that as I'm standing here; and I started out this campaign on this trip at Des Moines, Iowa, and explained to the farmers just exactly where they stood with these Republicans. Stassen has made it very plain that they want to revise the price support program down to the point where the farmer won't have a chance in these high markets.

I hope you weigh these things very carefully and that you'll consider your own interests when you go to the polls on November 2d and vote for yourselves. Vote for yourselves as well as vote for the Democratic ticket, and when you do that you'll be sure that the country is in safe hands.

Now, I'm particularly interested in these young people who come out to these meetings. These young people are going to be in a position to run the country the next generation, and I think we are facing the greatest age in history; and as I said time and again, I wish I was 14 instead of 64 so I could see what was going to happen in the next 50 years, because I think we are going to face a situation, when you get all the wonderful inventions and the harnessing of atomic energy, to the point where the world will be the happiest place to live in possible—if we can just succeed in getting a few contrary people to understand that peace is much more profitable than war. And I think we're going to get that done before we get through. If you really want to implement these policies, if you really want to do the proper thing for the most people in the United States of America, you'll send Bob Kerr to the Senate and you'll send my good friend Steed, here, to the House of Representatives. And Steed knows his way around Washington. He has been secretary to three Congressmen, and if he doesn't know where all the places are it's not his fault. Secretaries, you know, do most of the work for Congressmen.

[2.] SEMINOLE, OKLAHOMA (Rear platform, 8:25 a.m.)

This is a wonderful morning to be in one of the oil capitals of Oklahoma this early and to see that everybody is out. That's what pleases me—and to see that you're all so happy.

I've had a most pleasant trip from the Red River to Oklahoma City and across the Rock Island to eastern Oklahoma. Your Governor has been a perfect host. He has seen to it that the President has had every courtesy. He and Mrs. Turner made it so pleasant for us last night in Oklahoma City. I was told that they had one of the finest meetings for women there that's ever been held in any part of the United States, and I suggested that the managers of that meeting go up to Kansas City and show them how to do it.

You people are interested in the issues that are before the country in this campaign or you wouldn't be out here this morning to listen to what your President has to say. And these issues are clearly drawn. It means special privilege against the people. The Republicans have always stood for special privilege. They conclusively proved, in this last meeting of the Congress which they con-

trolled, that their ideal is for those people who are at the top. They're not interested in the welfare of the people as a whole.

It has been the policy of the Democratic Party, from the beginning, to work in the interests of the country as a whole. You know, this last year we had the greatest income in the history of the world—$217 billion—and that income was so distributed that the farmer got his fair share, the workingman got his fair share, and the businessman got his fair share. There wasn't any distribution of that wealth so that the hogs could get the best of it.

But the Republicans are trying to repeal that situation. They have begun immediately to undermine the farm program, to take the liberties away from labor, and to absolutely smother the small businessman. That's the issue in this campaign. I want you to bear that in mind. I want you to study those issues. I'm trying to put them to you boldly so you can understand exactly what we are doing.

As President of the United States I represent all the people in the country. I don't represent any special interest. But you'll find that this 80th Congress was completely surrounded by lobbies from every special interest in the country, and they listened to those lobbies, as the results show. They tried to tear up the rural electrification program. They cut the appropriations for the farmers to the point where it was almost necessary to close up shop. If it hadn't been for the fighting Democrats in the Senate of the United States the farm appropriation would have been cut 37 percent.

Now, you're interested in soil conservation. You're interested in farm support prices. You're interested in REA. I am, too. I want to continue those things. I want to continue them on a basis so that instead of having 65 percent of the farms in the United States with rural electrification I want 100 percent of them to have it.

Now, you didn't have any rural electrification before the Democrats came along and gave it to you. And now if you want to throw it away, the best way to do it is to take these special privilege fellows and let them take it away from you and give it to the power trust. That's what they want to do. They cut out the appropriations for the feeder lines from the dams where most of this power is developed for rural electrification, and tried their best to make it possible for the power trust to take that power at the dam and then charge you whatever they pleased for it.

I'm against that. I think the Government is for the people and I've tried to show that all over the country. You know where I stand. Try and find out where the other people stand. They'll give you a lot of double talk, and talk about home and mother and what a beautiful country this is; but they won't tell you what the issues are in this campaign, because they're afraid. They know very well that if the people understand what the issues are they haven't a chance to win on November 2d.

And I want to tell you something: If you want to help this situation you want to turn out en masse on election day and see that Bob Kerr and Tom Steed go to the Congress. They're two fighting men and they're Democrats and they believe in the same principles of government that I do.

Now, this is a crucial campaign. I wouldn't be making this crusade across this country and working from daylight to dark trying to tell you people exactly what the issues are if I didn't believe that it was absolutely necessary.

So it's your interests that you're voting for. You're not only voting for me for President of the United States, but you are voting for

yourselves and your own interests when you vote the Democratic ticket straight—which I know you're going to do on November the 2d.

I can't tell you again how much I appreciate this turnout.

[3.] WEWOKA, OKLAHOMA (Rear platform, 8:45 a.m.)

Thank you, Governor. It certainly is a pleasure to see so many smiling faces at this time of the day in this oil city of Oklahoma. I am more than pleased to have a chance to face the citizens of Oklahoma and give them some idea of what I stand for, so that they can vote intelligently on election day.

First, I want to thank this Harrison Bell Post of the American Legion of Wewoka for making me an honorary member. I shall treasure that membership, and sometime or other, I may want an extra vote in the convention, and I will have it from the Wewoka Post.

All day we have been traveling through the rich oil fields and farms of your State, and it is a most inspiring sight. Being from Missouri, I kinda rate Missouri as the best farm State, but there seems to be some argument about it in Oklahoma, Iowa, and some of the other States; but we are, of course, loyal to our own States.

Well, I find this: in Iowa, in Missouri, in Nebraska, in Kansas, in Oklahoma, and everywhere else in the United States, the farms are more prosperous than ever before. That was not an accident. That is due to the policy of the Democratic Party which went into power in 1933 and which adopted a farm policy that has put the farmers in their proper place in the Government of the United States.

Now you have got to decide whether you want that prosperity to continue, and it is up to you to decide, and decide that on November the 2d, whether you want a Democratic administration or a Democratic Congress devoted to the interests of the farmer and the interests of all the people, or whether you want to change the Government back into the hands of the special interests.

That is the only issue in this campaign. You know, the 80th Congress was a Republican Congress that acted as a bunch of messenger boys for big business.

Take rural housing, that is a good example of how big business runs the Republican Party. It is no secret that the American farm family is inadequately housed all over the United States. One out of every five houses is structurally unsound, and four out of five lack one or more of the facilities considered to be basic in American living standards. About 3 million new homes are required over the next 10 years.

The Democratic Party has a plan for meeting this need and tried to get this plan through the 80th Congress. There was a bill called the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill which the Senate signed and passed this spring, after long drawn-out attempts on the part of the real estate lobby to have it killed. If we could have gotten that bill, it would have authorized $300 million to be used for the benefit of the construction of farm homes. This program held bright promise of breaking the back of the farm housing problem, but the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives killed that bill deader than a doornail. They didn't even let the House vote on it. When it came right down to brass tacks, the name of that bill was Taft-Ellender-Wagner, and Senator Taft ran out on his own bill when the showdown came. He could have gotten that bill passed, if he had wanted to.

If the Republicans get control of the Senate and House, you know, Senator Taft is

going to be one of the leaders in the Senate in the next Congress, and he is going to be most influential in top legislation. You don't want to let them do that. Send Bob Kerr to the Senate, and send Tom Steed here to the House. If you do that in Oklahoma, and all over the United States, the Republicans won't have a chance to sabotage the people's program in the next session. The actions of the 80th Congress is the treatment that the people of the United States can expect from a Republican Congress and a Republican President. Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover are so far back in history that we have almost forgotten what Republican administrations were like.

Well, that 80th "do-nothing" Republican Congress refreshed our memory. They showed you just exactly how Republicans act when they get into power. That 80th Congress will go down in history, I think, as one of the worst they ever had. I think it is one of the most lobbied Congresses in the history of Washington.

It is a crying shame that the people didn't have any lobby. If you didn't have a President of the United States in there, looking after the interests of the people, you would be in one terrible fix. And now these people want to get complete control. You can't afford to let them do that. You just can't afford that.

This is a great Democratic stronghold. You must get out and vote. Every Democrat and everybody who is interested in the welfare of the people must vote the Democratic ticket, so that we will roll up such a majority in Oklahoma that they will understand just exactly where Oklahoma stands on the issue of the special interests against the people. Don't forget that.

Now I am more than pleased to see all these young people out here this morning, these schoolchildren, because the next generation is going to suffer or it is going to profit from the results of this election. I wish I were about 14 years old instead of 64. I would like to see the next 50 years, because I think it is going to be the greatest in history, once we get this atomic age working as it should.

You talk about inventions that have taken place in the last 50 years, it will be nothing compared to what we will have in the next 50, if we just get peace in the world. That is what I am working for, if we can get peace in the world. We are facing the greatest age in the history of the world. There is plenty for everybody in the world, and it will be happy if we will just try to abide by the rules of living—live and let the other people live.

You know, the Constitution is founded on the Bill of Rights, and that is what we are fighting for. And I am here to assure you that I am doing everything I possibly can to help bring about that great age.

[4.] HOLDENVILLE, OKLAHOMA (Rear platform, 9:11 a.m.)

Thank you very much, Governor.

It certainly is heartening to see all these smiling faces here at Holdenville this morning. You certainly must be interested in the welfare of your country, you must be interested in the issues in this campaign, or you wouldn't turn out like this to hear what I have to say about them.

These issues are well known. As I've said time and again all over the country, the issue is the people against special privilege; and this 80th Congress conclusively proved that that is the issue.

I just want to discuss one particular thing in which I know you are vitally interested in this farm community, and that's the soil conservation issue. You're more interested in that in Oklahoma, I think, than in any other part of the farm program.

Oklahoma is sort of like Missouri. This good topsoil of this great State has washed away and blown away to the extent that if we don't commence to do something about it very soon we won't have any soil; and that's true in Missouri—I think Missouri and Oklahoma would lose one county after another down the Mississippi River.

Back in the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover days soil conservation was something with which the Government wasn't supposed to have anything to do. Soil was just another of those natural resources that was just there to be plundered. You people here in Oklahoma know better than anybody, because you know what happened under that system. You remember the dust storms when good, hard-working farmers in this State and others saw the soil, on which their livelihood depended, blown away, and the rich farmlands were about to become a desert.

That was one of the great crises faced by President Roosevelt when he took office in 1933. He saw that our land would have to be saved if our Nation were going to be saved. He initiated a great soil conservation program, unprecedented in the Nation's history. That program has been continued by me. We have only just begun to fight this battle of the land.

The Republicans have never gotten away from their Hoover philosophy. They still are doing their best to stop my efforts for soil conservation so that our land and your land cannot be plundered.

Look at the record of the 80th Congress. House Republicans cut the appropriation for soil conservation one-third. Fortunately, we got most of this cut back in the Senate. Again in 1948 the House voted to cut the soil conservation appropriation. One hundred percent of the Democrats voted for that appropriation, and 95 percent of the Republicans voted against it. That shows how they stand. In the Senate the Democratic leaders over there got these cuts restored. One hundred percent of the Democrats in the Senate voted to support that restoration, and 93 percent of the Republicans voted against it. The result was that $37½ million, or 12 percent, of the soil conservation payments proposed by this administration were cut out by the 80th Congress.

Can anyone doubt what a Republican Congress and a Republican President would do to these very Democratic farm programs if they get into power? You can see now what I've been saying: that the Republican Party belongs to big business and the Democratic Party belongs to the people.

That's why I urge you, here in this great Democratic county, to get out on election day. Get up early and get out and roll up a majority in Oklahoma that will let these special privilege fellows know where you stand. If you do that you'll have Bob Kerr in the Senate and Tom Steed in the House, and you can't go wrong.

I want to express my appreciation to these young people and these schoolchildren who come out to see their President, because this campaign and the issues in this campaign will affect you for the next generation if the Republicans get control of the country. Remember that, and bear it in mind, and when you grow up you'll be saying that President Truman either saved the country from special privilege or special privilege overwhelmed the country. Bear that in mind, you young people, because you'll be talking about it for a generation.

Thank you a lot.

[5.] McAlester, Oklahoma (10:45 a.m.)

Governor Turner, and fellow Democrats of McAlester and surrounding territory:

It certainly is a pleasure to be here this morning. I have been agreeably surprised at the warmth and cordiality of the welcome

I have received across the country in every State and in every city where we have stopped. It looked as if everybody in the surrounding counties had come around to look at their President, and to listen to him; and that is a healthy sign in this great Republic of ours, for that means that you are interested in your Government, and it means that you are anxious to know what the issues are, and I have been telling the people straight from the shoulder what the issues are, and where I stand on them.

I hope you can get the opposition to tell you, but they haven't been able to do it yet. They are afraid to assume a position on these issues.

There is just one great issue in this campaign, and that is the people against special privilege—special privilege against the people from the Republican standpoint. They represent special privilege. The Democrats represent the people.

All morning we have been riding through some of the richest farming country I have ever seen—next to Missouri. You are enjoying real farm prosperity now. The farmers of Pittsburg County are making six times as much money as they did in the last Republican depression year of 1932; and that is true all over the country. The farmers never were in such good condition as they are now.

The farm income in 1932 for this county was only $1 million, and now it is over $6 million.

The national income of the farmers in 1932 was $4½ billion. Last year it was $18 billion. Think of that!

That is the difference between poverty and prosperity. Such prosperity is good for everybody. I want to make sure that we keep that prosperity in the United States. If the farmers and the laboringmen have their fair share of the income, the country is always prosperous.

There were 61 million people at work in this country this year—more than 61 million people at work, and they are receiving better wages and better living conditions than they ever had before in the history of the world.

If we just had this price spiral stopped, everybody would be happy. I tried to get the Congress to help me stop that, but they wouldn't do it.

You know, and I know, that much of this prosperity is due to the programs—this farm prosperity—of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. They have put that into effect—farm price support, rural electrification, soil conservation, flood control, farm tenant purchase program, and a lot of other fine farm programs that never were heard of until the Democrats took over the Government.

One of these programs is farm price supports, which is at the very heart of farm prosperity here in Oklahoma, and all over the country. Farm price supports benefit the farmer with a guarantee that the price of the things he sells will be high enough to cover the cost of the things that he must buy. The American farmers no longer have to sell cheap and buy high. They are on a par and on a level with all the rest of the segments of the population of this great country.

That is just the way it ought to be. And that is no accident! That is a policy of the Democratic administration. It is a party principle, this is, since it was begun at the start of President Roosevelt's administration, and it has helped lift the farmers of this country out of the worst depression in history. It encouraged the highest farm production in our history to meet the war and postwar emergency food needs of the entire world.

You don't suppose we would have had these great and magnificent crops if the farmer had not been sure he wasn't going to have his throat cut when it came time to sell.

It has prevented a farm depression like the one we had after the last war.

The Republicans haven't had a chance to wring the farmers out, after this war, yet, but they will try if you give them a chance to do it; and that will be your fault. If you vote the Republican ticket, that is what you will get, too.

Now, listen to this: the farm price support program has not cost the Government one red cent. The Republicans would like to make you believe that that is a contribution. It is nothing of the kind. On the contrary, since 1933 the farm price support program has made money for the Government. The farm price support program has made the taxpayers over $80 million.

The Republicans never told you that. They never tell you anything that is good for the country. They are always working for special interests, and they like to put out propaganda, they like to talk about innocuous things that have nothing to do with the issues in this campaign.

Before I get through with 'em, I am going to smoke 'em out, and we are going to know where they stand.

Your Governor tells me that you people out here in Oklahoma are worried about what the Republicans would do to the Democratic price support program, if they get control of the Government. I don't blame you for being worried about it.

Governor Stassen started the attack on the farm support program on his boss's doorstep in Albany, N.Y. The Wall Street Journal—I don't know that the Wall Street Journal ever cared anything much about what happened to the farmers—the Wall Street Journal, and there it is, right there [*indicating*], for September 4, 1948, said editorially: "Mr. Stassen is in fact proposing a far-reaching reform of the price support policy, or he doesn't make sense."

This is in that editorial right there, and that is the Republican propaganda program. They are going to trim the farmers, if they ever get control of the Government. They would have done it this time, if I hadn't been standing there to keep them from doing it.

It was that same paper which revealed on August 21st that "Republican Congressmen were considering cutting supports under farm products in 1949."

I can think of no greater authority on the Republicans, and what they believe, than this same Wall Street Journal which I just now showed you. That is the Republican bible—that is the special interests publication, published in New York City every day. They use half their editorial columns giving me hell, because I am for the people.

You people of Oklahoma have to decide on November the 2d whether you want a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress, working hard on the side of the farmer and of the American people to sustain and increase the prosperity we all have won for this country since 1932.

Now that is what is before you, and if you people down here don't send Carl Albert to the Congress, and Bob Kerr to the Senate, you are not doing the best thing for your own interest.

I want to see Oklahoma send a full Democratic delegation to the Congress. You have had some very sad experiences with these backward-pulling Republicans in this State. I could name some of the worst fellows that have been to the Congress, so far as the public interest was concerned—they came right from this State. And I have got one or two from Missouri that are just as bad, too.

Whether you want a Republican President or a Republican Congress, determined to knock the props out from under the farm price support program, and the American

people, it is absolutely up to you.

Now this is a great Democratic community in this great State, and you have a habit just like several other great Democratic communities in Missouri, of having to fight in the primaries but staying at home on election day.

You must not do that this time. You must go out and roll up the vote necessary. The people still want a government of the people and not the special interests.

So, go and vote on election day, all of you.

The Republicans are scared to death that the people are coming out and vote. They don't want the people to come out and vote.

They admit that if as many as 55 million people come out and vote, they are whipped.

I want to see 65 million people vote this time, and whip them good—and we won't have any more trouble the next 4 years.

Again I want to thank all you good people for the courtesies you have shown me. Your Governor met me at Bonham, Tex., the home of Sam Rayburn, and he and Mrs. Turner were with us all day yesterday. Mrs. Turner couldn't come this morning, she had to stay in Oklahoma City. Your Governor has been steadily with us, and I have never met a more hospitable Governor, I have known him a long time. He really has turned the State over to me. I like Oklahoma hospitality.

Now, if you like me, go out and vote on election day, that is all I ask you.

[6.] EUFAULA, OKLAHOMA (Rear platform, 11:44 a.m.)

Thank you very much, Governor.

Well, the welcome gets warmer all the time. Oklahoma is certainly a hospitable State. I came into it yesterday, and the Governor met me down at Bonham, Tex., at the home of Sam Rayburn—he and Mrs. Turner—and we've been coming across the State of Oklahoma ever since, and it looks to me like everybody's anxious to get a look at the President, and I'm very happy over that. I am pleased. I appreciate it, and I want to thank you very much for it.

Eufaula, here, is in the center of a great farming community and is interested, like all the rest of the cities in Oklahoma, in the consummation of the farm program which the Democrats inaugurated back in 1933, and which we have been carrying on ever since.

I've been telling the people in Oklahoma just exactly what this "do-nothing" Republican 80th Congress has tried to do to the farm program. They've tried to sabotage it. But the fact that they didn't have control of the White House and that there were a few fighting Democrats in the Congress prevented them from doing just that. Now they are on the road to getting it done, unless you people look out for your own interests. I want to see you send that good Democrat from this district back to the Congress. I want to see you send Bob Kerr to the Senate. And I would like to see the whole Oklahoma delegation be on the side of the people and not on the side of the special interests, as some of your Congressmen from this great State are, and as some from my State of Missouri are—which I don't like very much.

I want to thank you again for all the courtesies you have shown to me, and I want to urge you with everything I am capable of to get out and cast your ballot on election day. You know, that's the greatest privilege that you have. This is a government of the people. You are the Government. You elect your Representatives in Congress. You elect your Senator. You elect the President of the United States. Therefore, when it comes right down to the grassroots, the people are the Government. But if you

don't exercise that ballot you are not the part of the Government that you ought to be; you're a shirker.

Now, in 1946 just one-third of the people who were entitled to vote in this country elected that "do-nothing," good-for-nothing 80th Congress. And see what you got. I won't feel a bit sorry for those people who stay at home and don't vote and then complain about what they're getting out of this Republican Congress. They haven't got a kick coming. Don't do that this time. Over in this part of Oklahoma I want to see you pile up a majority that will let the world know that Oklahoma is for a Government of the people, and that means a Government by the Democratic Party. If you do that I won't be troubled with the housing shortage, because I'll stay in the White House for another 4 years.

You know, what pleases me immensely at all these meetings is the young people that come out—the future voters of America. They're coming out and getting information, getting education, getting acquainted with your President. And in the next generation we're going to have some people who understand what the Government is all about, if I have anything to do with it. It shows your interest, and I compliment you on coming out, and I appreciate your coming out, because I like to meet the young people. They're facing the greatest age in history, if things go well, and I think they will.

I am putting forth every effort possible that the President is capable of to get peace in the world so that the next generation will see the greatest age in history—and I believe it will. I wish I could see it with you. I'm going to try to see some of it because I expect to live to be a hundred years old, and I want to go along with you and be as happy as you are in this great Republic of ours which, in my opinion, is the greatest one the sun has ever shone on—and it has the greatest Government in the history of the world.

Now, let's keep that Government as it is. Don't turn it over to the special interests and run it downhill, like we did in the 1920's.

Thank you very much.

[7.] MUSKOGEE, OKLAHOMA (Spaulding Park, 1 p.m.)

Thank you very much. I certainly am most happy to be in this wonderful town of Muskogee this morning. I don't know where all the people come from. There must be everybody in Oklahoma here this morning. It makes me feel very happy when you people turn out to listen to your President and to get acquainted with him and to find out where he stands on the issues that are before the country. You have a right to know just what my plans and programs are. You have a right to examine my record as President of the United States, and then it is up to you to make up your minds as to what you want to do for the country.

The issues are clearly drawn. There is just one issue in this campaign, and that is the special privilege interest against the people. The Republicans have always stood for special interests, and they haven't changed one little bit.

All day our train has been riding through the rich farming country of this great State. I could tell by looking at your rich farms on our way into Muskogee that you people—like everybody else in the country—are having good times.

Back in the Republican depression days, the total cash returns from Muskogee County farmers were less than $2 million. In this year of 1948 you will have almost $10 million, an increase of 500 percent. Now that is true all over the United States.

The farm income in 1932 for the whole

United States was about $4½ billion. Last year it was 18 billions.

The farmers have more assets than they ever had before in their history.

In 1932, 123,000 farmers were displaced from their farms—that many were displaced in 1932. Last year there were less than 800.

The farmers only owed about 50 percent of what they owed in 1932.

They are prosperous. They are happy. If they look after their own interests, they are going to continue to be prosperous and happy.

If you are going to continue to be prosperous and happy, you had better send Bob Kerr back to the Senate, and Bill Stigler to the House.

In county after county throughout the United States, those stories of prosperity have been repeated.

And it was not an accident. It was due to a policy—the policy of the Democratic administration which took office in 1933 when we elected Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Now I wonder if you want to exchange this streamlined 1949 model of Democratic farm prosperity for a 1929 model T under the Republicans? That is what they are asking you to do.

One of the big reasons for the prosperity in your county and your farms is the farm price support program. You know that much better than I do. That is why I was so deeply concerned a couple of weeks ago when, after a conference with the Republican candidate, Governor Stassen came out with an attack on the farm price program. And here is what the Wall Street Journal says. The Wall Street Journal doesn't represent the farmer. The Wall Street Journal speaks for the Republican Party and the special interests. And they called Mr. Stassen's statement an attack on the price support system, and it said further, "Mr. Stassen is in fact proposing a far-reaching reform of the farm policy, or else he doesn't make sense."

I think he knew what he was talking about, and I think he was talking under orders.

The hue and cry that was raised by this attack was so great that the Republican Party immediately issued statements in favor of farm price supports—in principle, they said.

Does that mean that they are for the farm price program, or are they against it?

I think you will find that they are against it, when you get right down to brass tacks. The first thing this Congress tried to do was to cut the throat of the farmers in cutting appropriations for the Agriculture Department of the United States. The next thing they tried to do was to take the freedom away from the laboringman. They are not for the common everyday citizen.

The income of the United States was $217 billion this year, and it has been distributed fairly evenly to all the people, the farmers, the laboringman, and the small businessman. They have had a fair share of this $217 billion income—which was in 1947—I said this year—it is a great deal more this year, but we can't add it up until we get to the last day of the year.

But that situation was not brought about by accident. It is the policy of the Democratic administration—of the Democratic Party—to be for the people. For 2 years there has been a fine and comprehensive bill up before the 80th Congress for the extension of farm prices support programs.

Are the Republican leaders for that bill, or are they against it?

That Republican 80th Congress had that bill before them for 2 years. Finally, they got around to doing something about it just 1 hour before the Congress adjourned. Do you know why they did that?

I've been out in Omaha, Nebr., and I told the farmers out in the farm belt at Omaha,

Nebr., just exactly what the 80th Congress was doing to them. That was back in June. And as quickly as the farmers heard that speech they put so much heat on that Republican Congress that just 1 hour before they adjourned they passed a half-baked farm bill—just a half-baked farm bill—and they passed that, they said, because they'd have time to work on it a little more in 1949 when they had both the Congress and the Presidency.

They're not going to get either one.

You know—and I've tried to make it perfectly plain—that the Republicans are only for the farmer in an election year when they think they can get his vote. That's been the case ever since I can remember, and I've been a politician a long time. That shouldn't surprise you because this Congress had the biggest lobbies surrounding it of any Congress in the history of the country. They had the real estate lobby and the National Association of Manufacturers lobby, and they had every kind of a lobby you can name—and the money flowed up there like water.

And this Republican Congress never acted until it heard its master's voice—the chief lobbies for whatever bill was pending before the Congress. I make that charge advisedly, and if they want me to prove it and name names and give them the chapter and verse, I can give them that, too.

Now, I want you to weigh these things carefully. Muskogee, here, is in a very great valley. Muskogee is very much interested in the development of the waterways around here. Muskogee is interested in the development of power because Muskogee has hope, some time or other, of being a great industrial city. And you can be right in the center of a cheap power belt if, if—there's a big "if"—if you return the Democrats to power so we can carry out those power projects to their logical conclusions.

The Republicans are against public power. And the power interests had one of those powerful lobbies in Washington I was telling you about. And they tried to sabotage the policy of the United States Government toward power. Muskogee is interested in that—very much interested in that.

Bob Kerr handed me a telegram today that Newt Graham sent to him in regard to including in the budget an appropriation for one of these dams over here—Eufaula Dam, I believe they call it. That was in last year's budget and the Republicans knocked it out.

I hope you won't give the Republicans a chance to knock it out this next year. I hope you'll have Democrats in that Congress that I can work with. Now, I'm urging you with everything that I possibly can to do your duty as a citizen. And your first duty as a citizen is to exercise the franchise which the Constitution of the United States guarantees to you—that is, go out and vote on election day.

In 1946 only a third of the people voted. Two-thirds of them stayed at home, and look what you got—you got that 80th Congress. Don't do that this time. Show the world that this is a people's government. If you do that—go out on election day and vote the Democratic ticket straight—the country will be safe for the next 4 years, and I won't be troubled with the housing problem—I can still stay in the White House.

[8.] TULSA, OKLAHOMA (Address at Skelly Stadium, 3:55 p.m., see Item 217)

[9.] CLAREMORE, OKLAHOMA (Rear platform, 5:20 p.m.)

Thank you very much, I appreciate that [*statuette of Will Rogers*] very much. Will Rogers was one of my heroes. I knew him very well. He used to come to Washington when I was in the Senate, and he and Vice

President Garner always had lunch together; and on a number of occasions, I had luncheon with them at the same time.

He was a man of the utmost commonsense. He, I think, represented and said in a way that everybody could understand what most Americans think all the time.

He contributed not only to the commonsense approach to things in this country, but he gave us a laugh every once in a while.

He wrote a piece about the 1932 Democratic Convention that nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt, which I thought was as funny as it could be. He said,

"Ah, they was Democrats today—and we was proud of 'em. They fought, they fit, they split, and adjourned in a dandy wave of dissension. That's the old Democratic spirit."

He always had something like that to say, no matter what happened.

I heard him say one time that a pedestrian was a man with a wife, a daughter, and two cars. I think that is the best definition I ever heard, for I have a wife, a daughter, and two cars.

I wish it were possible for me, but the time does not permit, to go to the memorial for this great man, and lay a wreath on that memorial to him. He was a terrific loss to this country. We all suffered.

It is going to be my privilege now to present to Mrs. Paula Love, his niece, a wreath which I hope she will lay on the memorial for me.

I was just telling Mrs. Love, that I was here when the memorial was opened. I wasn't so well known then, and I didn't attract nearly so much attention as I do today.

[10.] CHELSEA, OKLAHOMA (Rear platform, 6 p.m.)

Thank you very much, Governor. I appreciate that introduction and I certainly appreciate this turnout in this great city of Chelsea. It certainly is a compliment to the President of the United States to have you come out this way to see and hear what he has to say.

I just had the privilege of stopping over at Claremore a while ago and presenting a wreath to Will Rogers—to the memorial over there. I understand that his sister, Mrs. McFadden, lived in this town for a long time and he was a frequent visitor here while he was alive. I also understand that the first oil well in Indian territory was found here and that it was found at a depth of 31 feet. Think how nice it would be now if we could drill some of these big oil wells and strike at 31 feet! We'd have plenty of oil in that case, because we could get the pipe and everything to make a well operate nowadays. I suppose that well probably cost $50, and nowadays you can't even get the first section drilled for less than a hundred thousand.

But this country now is vitally interested in the farm situation; and it's to your interest to become vitally interested in the farm situation as it affects you right here.

This last Congress did everything it possibly could to wreck the Democratic farm program which has been in effect since 1933. That program was instituted for the benefit of the farmers, and it has benefited the farmer because the farmer in 1932 had an income of $4½ billion, and the farmer last year had an income of over $18 billion in this country. There isn't a farmer in this country who is not better off now than he was in 1932. That year 123,000 farmers were kicked off their farms by foreclosure. Last year there were less than 800. The farmer has reduced his debt by 50 percent in this Democratic administration of the last 16 years.

If the farmer is looking after his own interests, just as the laboringman should look after his own interests, he can't do anything

in the world but send Dixie Gilmer to the Congress and send Bob Kerr to the Senate—and then I'll have somebody I can work with.

I certainly appreciate your turnout, and I want to compliment you on this nice band; and I'm tickled to death to see the young people come out and listen because the next generation is the one on which this country is depending. And this election will affect the next generation and the generation after that if it goes the wrong way because these Republicans want to turn the clock back.

You don't want to see that done, and if you don't, get out there on election day and vote and pile up the biggest majority Oklahoma has ever given the Democrats—and that will be a notice to the world that we believe in going forward and not backward.

[11.] VINITA, OKLAHOMA (Rear platform, 6:40 p.m.)

Governor Turner and fellow Democrats:

It certainly is a pleasure to be here tonight in your wonderful city of Vinita. I have been here many a time. I was driving out here at one time and stopped here at 5 o'clock in the morning to get breakfast. And I got a good one, too. It wasn't quite as much as John Garner gave me the other day, but I had plenty to get me to Houston on, anyway.

I am going through the United States from one end to the other, to give you some idea of what the real issues are in this campaign. You have a right to know what those issues are. If you understand those issues, you won't have any trouble making up your mind how to vote.

There are just two things in this campaign that you want to keep in mind. One is that the Republicans are for special interests, and the Democrats are for the people. That is the difference between the two parties. The Democrats are the forward-looking party, they are the party of the people, and they do things for the people.

You have been troubled here with floods. The Democratic Party has been for flood control. The gateway to this Grand River project up here, which not only furnishes you power and controls the floods, but it is a nice place to go to for an outing. There are hundreds of cases like that all over the United States, where the Democratic Party has been for the people.

This last Congress tried its best to "do in" the REA, and to cut the farmers' throat, which they are most happy to do. They want to turn the farmers back to the speculators, and that I am not going to have, while I am President of the United States.

These standpatters, known as the 80th Congress, fought our approach to these things.

Now, you can remedy that situation very easily by just turning them out and putting in some people that know where they are going.

You ought to be sure and send Dixie Gilmer to the Congress, and I am sure you are going to send Bob Kerr to the Senate.

I would like very much for every Democrat in Oklahoma, and every good man and woman in Oklahoma who is interested in the welfare of this country, to turn out and vote the Democratic ticket straight on election day; and if you do that, the country will be safe for another 4 years—and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage.

[12.] AFTON, OKLAHOMA (Rear platform, 6:50 p.m.)

Madam Turner and Governor Turner:

I certainly do appreciate this turnout. You know, I feel like I did when I started to come out over Texas. When I got to Gainesville, Tex., there was a crowd just about like this. Gainesville was the last

town in Texas, and I had been riding in Texas for two days and had met a million people in Texas; and the Governor of Texas had been my host, and I kinda hated to leave Texas.

Then I came across the river to Marietta, Okla., and a crowd just like this met me there. Then I went up to Ardmore, and there were 50,000 people there just like this all the way along. This afternoon there were 100,000 people on the streets in Tulsa, and about 30,000 in the stadium out there. It looks as if you people are really interested in things. In McAlester and the rest of the cities where we stopped, the crowds were just like this.

I want to say to your Governor that I don't think my family and I have ever enjoyed a day more thoroughly than we have this day across Oklahoma. We have been most hospitably treated. I couldn't ask for anything better, and as I say, while I am right next door to Missouri, I hate to leave Oklahoma, and my family feels the same way about it.

I am going to tell you something—I am going to tell you a secret. I have been discussing the issues all the way across Oklahoma in these towns, and I made a couple of major speeches in the State. The train has managed to get away 20 to 25 minutes late, and I am due in Missouri at certain hours for three towns over there, and I have asked Bob Kerr to stop here and make my speech for me. He is going to speak to you after the train leaves. I know you would like to hear him, because he is a much better speaker than I am. You are going to send him to the Senate, because this is a fight between the special interests and the people.

The Democratic Party stands for the people. The Republican Party stands for the special interests, and that has been the case ever since the two parties have been in existence.

And the actions of this "do-nothing" 80th Congress have conclusively proved that the Republicans are still the same old gang they always were. They are for special interests. They don't care much about what happens to the people.

The best way to cure that situation is for everybody to go out and vote on election day, and roll up such a big majority here in Oklahoma that the whole world will know that you don't believe in special privilege, that you believe in the rights of the people.

I can't tell you how much I appreciate the cordial reception I have had in this great State. If you turn out like this on election day, I have got nothing to worry about.

[13.] NEOSHO, MISSOURI (Rear platform, 8:10 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, and fellow Missourians:

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this most cordial welcome to my home State, in this lovely town of Neosho. I spent many a happy hour in Neosho when I didn't cause so much confusion.

I've had a most wonderful and instructive trip over the Nation. I started out at Des Moines, Iowa, at a plowing contest, and there were 100,000 farmers at that plowing contest; and they wanted to find out just exactly what I thought about the farm program and how I stood on the farm program. There were just about 10 acres of people in front of the stand where I spoke, and I told them that if they had a four-mule team and a two-gang plow I thought maybe I could plow, but they didn't have a mule on the place. And I told them I didn't want to turn the clock back because we wanted to go forward, like the Democrats, and not backward, like the Republicans. And I explained to those farmers just exactly what the farm program is, how the farm program started, who was responsible and who is

responsible for the welfare of the farmer.

You know, the farmer got the biggest income this year that he ever had in his history, and had the smallest income he ever had in his history in 1932. There were 123,000 of them kicked off their farms in 1932, and there were less than 800 foreclosures last year. And the farmer owes just less than 50 percent of what he owed in 1932—and he feels like he's rather safe because he knows that when he raises a crop he is going to get a fair price for it.

Now, on my way home from Des Moines, Iowa, out West, I went to Denver—and there were 100,000 people who met me in Denver—and went on down the Denver-Rio Grande Railroad and went over to Salt Lake City and talked about reclamation. Everybody in Utah was at that meeting. We had the meeting in the Mormon Tabernacle. It holds 11,000 people, and there were about 12,500 at the place. And when I got through with them I don't think there was a Republican in Utah that didn't feel like he wanted to vote the Democratic ticket.

Then we went on to Nevada, and at Reno, Nev., I think everybody in the State was there. You know, there are only 80,000 people in Nevada, and they had about an acre and a half of people in that park. I'm telling you all this just to show you the reason and the necessity for this trip. I'm sure I don't need to campaign in Missouri, but I can't pass Missouri up—and don't intend to. I'm going to wind up the campaign in Missouri because I want Missouri to give the Democrats the biggest vote they have ever been given in history—and I think Missouri is going to do just that.

We went from Reno, Nev., to San Francisco, Calif., and on the way stopped at the capital of California—Sacramento. We had more people out in Sacramento early in the morning than I had when I was there before, and they said at that time that that was the biggest crowd that had ever been down to the station to meet anybody.

At San Francisco, out in front of the City Hall—on account of a chilly night when the Hearst papers out there prophesied that it was going to rain and nobody should come out—they had about 25,000 people at that place.

Then I went over to Oakland to a public park, and they had the same sort of a turnout there.

In Los Angeles we had about 30,000 people out at the Gilmore Stadium, and they seemed to be highly interested.

We got to San Diego the next morning before breakfast and went to the ball park, and there were 30,000 people in that ball park and 100,000 people out on the streets. So there are people around the country interested in seeing the President.

In Phoenix, Ariz., away along in the middle of the night—about 11 o'clock, I think it was—there were about, oh, nearly twice as many people out there as there are here because everybody there in Arizona had driven all day to see what was going on. There must have been 30,000 people at that place.

Then we went into Texas—and everybody said Texas was going to be cold to the President. And the first city we stopped in was El Paso, and everybody in El Paso was down at the station. The Chief of Police said he estimated the crowd at 25,000. Then I went over and had breakfast with John Garner, former Vice President, a good friend of mine, and he gave me a breakfast to write home about. We had chicken and white-wing dove, and we had ham and bacon and scrambled eggs and hot biscuits, and I don't know what all. And the Governor of Texas met me there, as did Sam Rayburn. And we went across Texas, and I must have seen a million people in Texas.

I saw 500,000 people today in Oklahoma.

Every town turned out, just like this, just the same as if I was having a homecoming in Missouri.

I believe the people are interested in the issues before the country. And I've been trying to tell the people what the issues are. The big issue is special privilege against the people. The Democrats stand for the people; the Republicans stand for special privilege, just as they always have.

This good-for-nothing 80th Congress proved it.

You know, in 1946 two-thirds of you stayed at home. You did that here in Missouri, too. Two-thirds of you stayed at home and you elected that Republican 80th Congress—and you got just exactly what you deserved. Now, you ought to correct that this time and give me a Democratic Congress so I can do something for the country in the next 4 years.

I'm exceedingly happy to have so many good Missouri Democratic candidates meet me here tonight. And I'm going to introduce them to you and ask them if they want to say anything to you; but first I wonder how you would like to meet my family.

[14.] MONETT, MISSOURI (Rear platform, 9 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, and citizens of Monett:

This certainly is a very great honor to me. I am highly pleased to see so many Missourians out here on the platform at this time of night. I want to say to you that I had hoped to be able to get off the train and dedicate this Legion Hall here tonight, but I want to explain to you that it is like moving the Ringling Brothers circus to get the President around, and it would take at least 40 minutes or an hour to get the President off the train and then back on again. Then there is also my entourage that has to go with me, so I thought it would be much better if I could present this wonderful gavel here to the Post Commander, Art Jackman, and say to you that I am now taking part in the dedication of that Legion Hall.

You have got a record here in men who served, and I want to congratulate you on the contribution you made, not only to the Second World War but to the first one. Some of my old cronies came from this part of the State, and I am very proud indeed to present to you, Art, this gavel. I hope you will use it with circumspection and that you will never be arbitrary in the use of it. I appreciate the privilege of being able to do this.

Now I just want to call your attention to a fact or two. This campaign of mine is a crusade. It is a crusade in the interest of the people. There is just one issue in this campaign, and that is whether special privilege shall run the country, or whether the people shall run the country.

You know, we have the greatest Government in the world in this country. It is a government for the people, as long as the people attend to their business and make that government work.

Well now, back in 1946 two-thirds of the people stayed at home and one-third of the people of this country elected, I would say, the next to the worst Congress this country ever had. And the other two-thirds didn't have anything to cry about, because they stayed at home and let it happen.

Now, if you do that this time, you won't have anybody to blame but yourselves, because the welfare of this Nation and the welfare of this world depends on what you do on November the 2d in this campaign.

I want you here in Missouri to roll up a majority that will give you a full Democratic congressional delegation in the Congress, and show the world that you are be-

hind your President in his efforts for peace, and in his efforts for the welfare of the people of this country.

For the last 16 years, policies have been inaugurated by the Democratic administrations during that period for the welfare of the everyday man, the welfare of the farmer, the welfare of the laboringman, and the welfare of the small businessman and white-collar worker.

If you want to overturn that and give the country back to the special privilege boys, that is your affair, because you are the Government; but if you are going to do that, go out and vote for it, don't stay at home and then blame the other fellow because you get bad government.

Let me urge you with everything I have got, to go to the polls November the 2d, just as early as you can get up and get there, and vote the straight Democratic ticket from President down to constable, and the country will then be safe.

[15.] SPRINGFIELD, MISSOURI (Rear platform, 10:05 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, and fellow Missourians:

I don't think I've ever had anything please me more than to see this crowd in this great hometown of mine of Springfield. It's a wonderful, wonderful turnout.

I've had some grand times down here in Springfield. I've attended Legion conventions and Democratic conventions and every other kind of a convention in this town, and I have myself run for the Senate 4 times—twice in the primary and twice in the general election. And each time I paid several visits to this great city you were always kind to me, and I appreciate it. It shows how you feel towards your President—your Missouri President.

It looks to me as if the whole 60,000 Springfield people are down here tonight. And you know——

Voice: Republicans!

Oh, the Republicans are going to be converted.

You know, in my trip across the country, at nearly every city where I stopped—I say, at *nearly* every city—at *every* city where I stopped the turnout was in proportion to this one here in Springfield. Very few of them were as big, but in a little town up in Iowa there were 2,500 people on the platform, and I asked the Mayor how many people lived in that town, and he said 500. And I said, "Where did the rest of them come from?"

Down here in West Texas, in a little town called Sierra Blanca, they had just a half a dozen people in the town, but when the train got there there were 500 people on the platform.

That goes to show that the people are interested in the story I've got to tell them. They want to know what the issues are in this campaign. And that issue is finely drawn, clearly drawn. The issue is between the special interests and the people. That's the issue in this campaign. And I've been making that perfectly plain across this country, and the people are interested in it. And the reason they are interested in it is because they have had enough of this "do-nothing" 80th Congress—which you stayed at home and allowed to be elected by the Republicans.

Now, you right here in Springfield have got a chance to remedy that situation. You want to send George Christopher to Congress so I'll have somebody from this district I can work with.

I don't want you to stop there. I want you to elect the whole Democratic ticket in Missouri, and I know that's what you're going to do.

There is one thing that you are vitally interested in around here, and that's farming and the dairy business. I know all about what this town depends upon. And then, you have a great many good railroad workers here in this town—and the railroad workers are my friends, and I thank them for that.

Now let me tell you: There's a lot of propaganda going on in this country. They're trying to make the laboring people and the white-collar workers who live in town believe that the high cost of living is due to the fact that the farmer is getting a fair price for his crops; and they're trying to make the farmer believe that the high cost of things is caused by the laboringman getting good pay. Now, there's no truth in either one of those statements.

In this country last year there was an income of $217 billion, and that income was fairly distributed so the farmer got his fair share, the laboringman got his fair share, the white-collar man got his fair pay, and the merchant got his. That's what the Democrats stand for: a fair distribution of the income of this country.

That's not what the Republicans want. They want the special privilege fellows to get the money.

They tried to cut the ground from under our farm program the first thing when they went in there, and they gave themselves a rich man's tax bill, and tried to take the liberties away from labor. That's what they did as soon as they got a chance.

And you want to bear those things in mind when you go to the polls this fall, because you're voting for yourselves when you vote the Democratic ticket, and you're voting for the special interests when you vote the Republican ticket—and it's always been that way. Don't let anybody tell you anything different.

I've been across this country, from one end to the other, and the people are beginning to wake up. I'm making a crusade for the Government and for the people. This is one of the most crucial elections this country has ever been through. You're either going to turn the country over to the special privilege fellows, or you're going to keep it yourselves. If you want to keep it yourselves you want to send me back to the White House and you want to elect a Democratic Congressman. Then you'll be safe.

The best thing you can do now is to get up early on election day, go down there, and vote the Democratic ticket straight.

You know what you did in 1946. Two-thirds of you stayed at home—and look what you got. You got just what you deserved. You don't want to do that again, because we certainly don't want this country to go down hill.

Those backward-looking fellows want to turn the clock back; they want to go back to some place. The Democrats want to go forward, and they've always wanted to go forward—and everything that's progressive in this country has been inaugurated by a Democratic administration. Just study your history and you'll find that is true.

Be sure and vote early on election day and don't any of you stay at home.

I wish it wasn't so late at night. I would like to go into all the issues in this campaign. I could talk from now until morning on this subject, but you don't want to stay up that late.

[16.] MARSHFIELD, MISSOURI (Rear platform, 11:10 p.m.)

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for that wonderful introduction. I think you are a good prophet. You know, it is always a pleasure for me to stop in Missouri and see my old friends. I have been here in this town time and again, when I was running for the Senate, and this town was always

good to me in the campaigns that we have had here before, and I am sure that this town is going to be good to me this time.

Some of the newspapermen on board say I talk too much about Missouri, in every State where I have been I am always comparing some of the things that they have with how much better Missouri is. They say I talk too much about that, but I can't help it because Missouri is just as good as there is, and they don't make 'em any better.

As I came across the Nation—I have been across the Nation and back, starting in Washington and going to San Francisco, and I am this far on the way to Washington again—the country is in a more prosperous condition, so far as the farms are concerned, than ever in the country's history.

I stopped in Iowa at Des Moines and attended a plowing contest, where there were a hundred thousand people present, and all those farmers were from all over, from Minnesota, and Wisconsin, and North Dakota, and South Dakota, and Missouri, and Kansas. And they were having a plowing contest; and I suggested that I would like to see whether I could plow again, if they had a four-mule, two-gang plow, I would see what I could do; and they said I was an old fogy, that they didn't use that sort of plow any more. So I told them all right, I wouldn't be like the Republicans who want to turn the clock back, they could go ahead and do their plowing with tractors.

Then I went on from there to Colorado, across Kansas, and people turned out at every place, just like you have turned out here to see the President, because they are interested in the welfare of this country, they want to know what the issues are in this campaign, and I think all the people are going to try to vote intelligently this time. If they do that, they will vote the Democratic ticket, because the Democrats have always stood for the people, and they stand for the people now. The Republicans are for the special interests, every time they have had control of the Government—the special interests had a back-door entrance to the Treasury. I am sure that is not what you want. You want this Government to go on as our forefathers founded it—a government of the people. You are the Government, when you exercise your right to vote; and if you exercise the right to vote, and enough people vote, the right people will always get into office.

It is the lazy people who don't go to the polls that cause bad men to be elected to office, they don't want to exercise that authority which they have, to create a government.

Now Missouri has a splendid ticket in the field this time from top to bottom, and I would give anything in the world if every county in Missouri would go Democratic, because you have a Missourian running for President. Missouri is in the forward-looking column. Missouri does not want to turn the clock back. Missouri wants to go ahead with progress; and that is what the Democratic Party stands for.

I wish I had more time to go into all the details of the issues in this campaign, but it is getting so late tonight, and you have been standing up here so long waiting for me to arrive, that I don't feel like I ought to bore you with too much conversation.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on September 29 the President referred to Governor Roy J. Turner, Democratic candidate for Senator Robert S. Kerr, Democratic candidates for Representative Tom Steed and Dixie Gilmer, and Representatives Carl Albert and William G. Stigler, all of Oklahoma; Representative Clarence Cannon and Democratic candidate for Representative George H. Christopher, both of Missouri; Representative Sam Rayburn, Governor Beauford H. Jester, and former Vice President of the United States John Nance Garner, all of Texas; Representative John Taber of New York; former Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota; Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio; and Mrs. Paula Love, niece of Will Rogers.

217 Address at Skelly Stadium, Tulsa, Oklahoma. *September* 29, 1948

Governor Turner, Mr. Mayor, distinguished guests, and fellow Democrats:

I am very happy to meet you here in Tulsa this afternoon. I can understand why this is the "Magic City" and the area surrounding it called the "Magic Empire." I want to thank this color guard, this VFW color guard. I understand that they were all in the 35th Division in the First World War. That is wonderful. They seem to be able to wear the same belts they could in 1918. Now, contrary to what some people say, I know that you still have the same courage and vision and faith of the men who built this great region.

And I know that you are looking forward with me, and not backward with the Republican Party. Now, if that's the case—and I believe it is—you can't help but send Dixie Gilmer to the Congress, and you must send Bob Kerr to the Senate, and then we'll be well on the road to curing that "do-nothing" 80th Congress. I know that Oklahoma is always on the beam.

It sent one of the best divisions to fight in World War Two, and Oklahoma in the First World War was the training ground for the 35th Division, of which I was a member, over here at Fort Sill. I spent one of the coldest winters in my life at Fort Sill, Okla. And when it wasn't cold, why, it was blowing Texas up one day and blowing Kansas down the next. But I still like Oklahoma and always shall like it, because I've been coming here all my life.

As a veteran of World War One, I know what it takes to make a good division, and I know that that Thunderbird Division had a record that's unsurpassed. It is fearless men who know what they are fighting for, and I believe that is a characteristic of all the people of this great State.

I know you still have the spirit of the men who built this region because you are still carrying on in their tradition. Today, you are fighting the forces of drought and flood just as your forefathers fought the wilderness.

You have carved out of a semi-arid region a land of agricultural abundance.

You have made such progress that I am happy to be able to report to you that this year, for the first year in your history, Oklahoma will reach a farm production worth $1 billion.

Just think of that, $1 billion income for the Oklahoma farmers this year!

I remember all too well in the early 1930's when Oklahoma's agricultural production was only a little over one-tenth of this year's figure. Much of your farmland was wasting away. Farmers all over the State were moving away in despair.

What is responsible for this great change between the early thirties and today? I will tell you what it is. It is the result of wise Federal farm programs.

These programs were conceived in the interest of all the people of the United States and by the administration of our great Democratic President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. They have been extended, and ably executed, in the interest of all the people of the United States, I am proud to say, by my own administration, too.

The basic issue facing the people of the United States today is this: Shall States like Oklahoma continue to expand and reach a better living, or shall their progress be stopped dead in its tracks? Shall the Democratic program that brought this wonderful record to Oklahoma be continued, or shall it be thrown back into the dark ages by the Republicans?

Let me remind you of the Democratic and Republican records as they affect the West.

I'll give you two sets of figures. The first figure will be for the period ending in 1932, after 12 years of Republican neglect of the welfare of the people.

The second will be for 1948 after 16 Democratic years of work for all the people, farmers, workers, businessmen, and white-collar people.

In 1932 the value of Oklahoma farm produce was $106 million. Today it is a billion.

In 1932 only one Oklahoma farm in forty had electricity. In 1948, one-half of all the Oklahoma farms have electricity.

Between 1920 and 1932—those 12 long Republican years—only four reclamation projects were completed in the entire western section of the United States.

Between 1933 and 1948, the Democratic years, thirty-two reclamation projects were completed.

Under 12 years of Republican rule, only 706,000 new acres were brought under irrigation by Federal projects. The Democratic years saw the tremendous figure of over 1½ million new acres brought under irrigation.

The Republican years saw an increase in hydroelectric capacity in the West of 78,000 kilowatts.

The Democratic years saw a staggering increase of almost 2½ million kilowatts. The Republicans are trying to wipe that out. This 80th Congress did its best to hamstring the public power policy of the United States, which has been the policy since 1933, and they almost succeeded in doing it. If you hadn't had somebody in the White House who was looking out for your interest, they would have done it.

You all know what this program has meant to the West. Here in Oklahoma the irrigated cotton yield is 3½ times as high as dry farm cotton. Average income per acre in Oklahoma on irrigated land is 6 times as high as on dry-farmed crops.

The facts are all the sales talk the Democratic program needs.

The Democratic Party is committed to continue and expand this program. Now, what do the Republicans plan to do?

They have made a lot of campaign promises, but the best proof of the pudding is in the eating. Look what the Republicans do, not what they say. You can always judge a man by the way he acts and not what he says.

Let's take up some of the issues that mean a lot to you people here in Oklahoma.

The Republican 80th Congress attacked our reclamation and public power policies. The Republican House passed a bill which would have cut out six of the largest reclamation projects and would have forced Federal power prices up as much as 48 percent!

The Republican House of Representatives voted against an increase in funds to expand the rural electrification program.

The Republican House voted to cut reclamation funds for 1948 by more than half.

Why, the Republican Congressman from Tulsa even fought the Grand River Dam project right here at his front door! I don't know what he wanted to do that for. His record is one of the worst records in the Congress, so far as the interests of the people are concerned, and he's got a brother up in Missouri that's got the same kind of record. That's the reason I want you to send Dixie to the Congress.

My threat of a veto on some of the worst Republican bills and loyal support by Democratic Congressmen are all that saved your reclamation and public power programs from ruin.

There isn't time to tell you today all about the things the Republicans did to you during the 2 long years of the 80th "do-nothing" Congress.

But there is one matter that every voter in the country should know about.

The Republican 80th Congress passed a law which has already begun to hurt the farmers.

They passed a law extending the life of the Commodity Credit Corporation, but that law had a joker in it. They took away from the CCC the right to provide emergency storage for farmers' grain when regular grain storage facilities are full.

Because the CCC cannot build storage bins this year, thanks to the Republicans, farmers have been unable to meet the requirements for Government support prices. In a great many places they have had to sell their grain for whatever prices were offered by speculators in the grain trade.

That's what the Republicans would like to do to you right now. They would like to turn the clock all the way back and turn the farmers back over to the speculators. As long as I'm President, they're not going to have a chance to do that. Look how they treated the workingman. The first thing they did as soon as they got there was to try to take some of the liberties away from labor. We have it right now—on the front page of the paper today—what they propose to do to labor if they get back in there. Now, farmers and laborers and small businessmen are exactly on the same boat. All of them must be prosperous, if the whole country is going to be prosperous. Now, what are some of the Republican plans if they win this election?

They have already attacked the farm price support program throughout the country. Republican campaign propaganda is being spread through the country in an attempt to make the workers think that the farm program is to blame for high prices. At the same time, Republicans are telling the farmers that wages are to blame for high prices.

The Republican Chairman of the House Public Works Committee has attacked the power and reclamation program and promises to reverse the present Federal power and reclamation policies in the next Congress.

In an article he recently wrote for a private utility trade magazine, he promised that, if the Republicans are elected, they will stop Federal projects and take the power from existing projects and turn it over to a private utility monopoly. In other words, the Republicans intend to take the power that is already yours as citizens, away from you, and give it to private monopolies to sell back to you on their own terms.

Is that what you want? I know you don't. If you really don't want it, you'll go and vote the Democratic ticket straight on election day. Now, this article I refer to, about these utilities, was written by a Republican Congressman from Michigan, who again would be Chairman of the Committee on Public Works in the House of Representatives, if we got another Republican Congress. His name is George A. Dondero, and he's one of the most backward-looking men in the Congress.

This Republican spokesman made the flat statement that the Republicans "are of one mind" in changing our Federal reclamation and power laws.

Now, I disagree completely with the Republicans on this issue. I believe we should expand our programs for building up the country—not tear them down.

Just for example, my administration is now working on plans for seven new reclamation projects for your State of Oklahoma that will irrigate 89,000 acres of land that is not now producing.

I have taken a great interest in the development of the Arkansas River. I conferred on this subject at length with my good friend Bob Kerr, when he was Governor of your great State.

I felt a real sense of satisfaction, when he told me this morning that my efforts with reference to the Arkansas had speeded up that development by at least 10 years.

I want to assure you people of Oklahoma that I shall continue my efforts in behalf of the Arkansas River development.

For the first time in the history of this country I had a complete flood control power and dam site survey made of the whole Mississippi Valley, from the Appalachian Mountains on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west, and from Minnesota to the Gulf of Mexico; and I've got a program for that whole river system that will cure floods and give us all the power we need here in the Middle West.

Now, the issues are clear enough in this campaign. You can vote for continued price supports, more rural electrification and greater reclamation, irrigation, and hydroelectric power projects. Or you can vote for the candidates who threaten to reverse the established policies and turn the clock back to the boom-and-bust Republicanism of the twenties.

I just don't believe you're going to do that. I think you're going to take this thing in hand. I think you're going to inform yourselves, and I think on the 2d day of November you're going out there and pile up such a record Democratic vote that these fellows never will again try to turn the clock back.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:55 p.m. at Skelly Stadium in Tulsa. His opening words referred to Roy J. Turner, Governor of Oklahoma, and Roy Lundy, Mayor of Tulsa. Later he referred to Dixie Gilmer, Democratic candidate for Representative from Oklahoma's First District, Robert S. Kerr, Democratic candidate for Senator from Oklahoma, and George A. Dondero, Representative from Michigan.

218 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky. *September* 30, 1948

[1.] MOUNT VERNON, ILLINOIS (7:40 a.m.)

I am certainly happy to have this wonderful reception on my first appearance in Illinois. I am also most happy to see all your good Democratic candidates out here this morning—your next Senator, your next Congressman, and your local officials.

I understand you have a Congressional Medal of Honor man on the ticket, a wonderful young man. I pinned that medal on him, and I told him I would much rather have that medal than be President of the United States—and that's just exactly what I mean.

The country is very prosperous today. The country is in financially as good condition as it has ever been in the history of the whole term of the life of this Republic. The wealth of the country has been fairly evenly distributed. The basic proposition in this campaign is that we must continue that program, both locally and internationally.

There are two theories of government on which you have to make a decision on election day. One is the theory that the people are the government, and the other is that special privilege should run the government. The Republicans have the special privilege theory, and the Democrats have always been for the people.

You know, you are the Government. You are the Government. And when you exercise your right of franchise you remain

the Government, but when you do like you did in 1946—shirk your duty—you get just what you got this time in that 80th Congress.

Now, the Democrats have, ever since 1933 when they took over the Government, tried to make a fair approach to these things. They passed the Wagner Act, which gave labor its fair place in the good things of life. Then it passed farm security acts—the AAA and all those things that has made the farmer prosperous.

In 1932 there were 123,000 farmers who were kicked off their farms because they couldn't pay interest—their mortgages were due. Last year there was less than 800. The farmers had an income of $4½ billion in 1932. Well, they had an income of over 18 billion last year.

Right here in Mount Vernon, in Jefferson County, you can see the great difference between the Republican and the Democratic records. Under the Republicans people all through this county were losing their farms and their homes. Now Mount Vernon has plenty of credit available, backed by the Farm Credit Administration, created in 1933 by the Democrats. You have a National Farm Loan Association in Mount Vernon and the Production Credit Association in Lawrenceville. Last year this Production Credit Association had 816 members and loaned $1,516,000. It doesn't look like you're in need of anything.

This is the headquarters city for the Tri-County Electric Cooperative. This cooperative received loans from the Federal Rural Electrification Administration totaling $2,155,000, to build 1,583 miles of line to serve 5,524 rural customers. And you know, the Republicans would like to stop that rural electrification thing. They tried their best to raise the rates on rural electrification something over 50 percent. If you hadn't had a Democratic President and enough Democrats with fighting spirit in the Senate of the United States they would have succeeded in doing that very thing.

The Republican leaders under Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover didn't worry about giving Federal credit and electric lights to the farmers. Well, you got them because you had a Democratic administration that was interested in the welfare of the whole people.

Now, you can't afford to stay at home this time, as you did in 1946, and let nature take its course, because if you do, this gang of special privilege fellows will get complete control of the Government. Well, you had a sample of what will happen. They tried to take the liberties away from labor. They did their level best to ruin the farm program.

I have been going up and down this country, trying to explain to the people just exactly what the fundamental issues are in this campaign. And I think I have made some impression because people come out. They're interested. Look here at this early-morning crowd here in this great farm community at Mount Vernon. Look at it! That's been the case all over the United States.

I began over in Rock Island, Ill., as your new Senator can tell you. We had a tremendous crowd there at Rock Island. And they kept growing and growing and growing. We've had crowds as large as 100,000. We had the biggest turnout in Tulsa, Okla., yesterday that they have ever had in that town—and Tulsa, Okla., is ruled by a bunch of economic royalists who made a lot of money out of oil. But they came out to hear what I say.

I hope that on election day every single one of you will get up early and go and exercise that franchise, which is the best thing that you have in this country, because that makes you the Government.

Thank you very much.

[2.] WEST FRANKFORT, ILLINOIS (8:55 a.m.)

Mr. Mayor:

I heard of this memorial as we were going through, and I felt that it was proper for me to stop and place a wreath on this monument to the men who served to save the Constitution of the United States and put freedom into the world.

This is a great community, and you have made a very great contribution not only the war effort but to the industrial setup in this country.

I was told, as I passed, that you have the biggest coal mine in the world—that it turns out 1,000 tons an hour. That's really some mine!

I have known something about the disasters you have had in this part of the country, and I have tried my best to do something about it.

I hope that we can, from now on, work for the welfare and safety of the people as a whole and not for just a favored few.

I place this wreath in the name of the people of the United States to those who died for the welfare of the United States.

[3.] HERRIN, ILLINOIS (9:28 a.m.)

Thank you, Mr. Mayor, most sincerely for this cordial welcome. I certainly appreciate the privilege of being with you this morning. I've been in several Illinois towns this morning, and it looked in every city and every town as if everybody from the surrounding community wanted to be there and see the President; and I'm glad of that because the President has a message for you.

The President is trying to impress on you that this campaign is in the nature of a crusade. This is the people against the special interests.

Now, you're interested in mining and agriculture here in this community. There are people who work for wages here, there are people who work the soil to produce things to eat and things to wear. Those two balance the economy of the United States, along with the merchants and the white-collar people—and every single segment of that population ought to have its fair share of the national income.

I've been fighting for that ever since I went to the Senate in 1935. I've been fighting on a Democratic platform just for that.

When the Democrats took over in 1933—in March, when President Roosevelt was sworn in as the Democratic President of the United States—he and that administration immediately went to work to balance that income. He had a farm program; he had a labor program; he had a program that protected the white-collar man and the merchant. Now, I'm trying to prolong that program into the future. I'm trying to save that program, because a lot of you stayed at home in 1946 and you elected that "do-nothing" 80th Congress. And you were to blame for it because you didn't go vote. One-third of the voters of the United States elected that Congress. Two-thirds of you stayed at home because you were not interested in government. You are the Government, and when you stay at home and do not vote you are shirking your duty and you got just what you deserve when you got something like that 80th Congress.

Now, you mustn't do that this time. It's too serious.

I stood to protect the interests of the people, and there were a lot of good Democrats in that Congress who stood shoulder to shoulder with me to save these great forward-looking measures which had been put

on the books by the Democrats. The first thing the Republicans did, just as soon as they could get settled in that Congress, was to pass the Taft-Hartley Act, which was intended to take some of the rights away from labor which had been given to it by the Wagner Act.

The next thing they did was to pull the road from under the farmer, and if some of us hadn't stood there and fought and gone over this country and told the people what was happening, they would have absolutely ruined the farm program and turned the farmer back over to the speculators.

That's not good for the country. That's not good for the world. Had it not been for the farm program and our labor program we never in the world could have won this war. We united the country to win this war.

Now, I'm trying to unite the country to win the peace—and I want you to go along and help me.

Thank you very much. I think you understand the issues in this campaign. It's just special interests against the people, and the Democrats stand for the people and the Republicans stand for special interests; and that's just the shortest, quickest definition I can give you of what this campaign is.

[4.] CARBONDALE, ILLINOIS (Address at the University of Southern Illinois, 10:15 a.m., see Item 219)

[5.] MARION, ILLINOIS (Veterans Hospital, 11 a.m.)

Mr. Manager, and ladies and gentlemen, and patients of this great hospital:

I was told that, by detouring a short distance, I could have a chance to come here and let you look at me, and I could get a chance to look at you.

I have always been interested in proper care for the men who served their country in two great world wars, and I am happy to see the pleasant surroundings of this beautiful hospital here.

I was just telling Paul Douglas that when my time is up, I expect to spend the balance of my life in one of these veterans hospitals, because I am entitled to go to any one I want, the care is always so good.

I hope every one of you is well treated. I hope every one of you has plenty to eat. I can see that you have beautiful nurses, and that's all a man wants when he is in a veterans hospital.

I am very happy that I got an opportunity to stop by here, and to assure you that your Government never forgets you—it makes no difference who is President of the United States.

[6.] MARION, ILLINOIS (11:12 a.m.)

Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen of Marion and surrounding country:

It certainly looks like half of southern Illinois is here—the way it looks to me. I appreciate very highly this privilege of getting a chance to stop and just say "Howdy" to you.

I wish I had the time to go into the issues with which we are faced in this campaign, and to discuss them with you at some length. But that is not possible at this time. These issues will be thoroughly discussed by other members of the Democratic Party who are running on the ticket with me for election.

There is one thing I want you to be sure to do, and that is to send a Democratic Congressman from this district to Congress, and to elect Paul Douglas to the Senate of the United States. If you want to do a real job, you want to elect Adlai Stevenson to be Governor of Illinois.

I want Kent Keller to come to Congress,

as well—but I don't know whether he is in this district or the next district.

Thank you very much. I am sorry, but we are on a tight schedule and will have to leave, but I do appreciate the chance to get to see all of you, and to let you see me and what I look like.

[7.] ELDORADO, ILLINOIS (12:10 p.m.)

Thank you very much. I never had a more cordial welcome on the whole trip. I appreciate it very much. I had the pleasure of riding with your Mayor, and with your Mr. Powell, who has entertained me most highly on this trip, and he told me all about Illinois and this part of the State—a great Democratic stronghold, this is. I am certainly glad to be here in this great Democratic stronghold, and I wish I had all afternoon to discuss with you the issues that are before us in this campaign; but the issues are clearly drawn.

It is merely the people against the special interests. The Democratic Party has always represented the people in these fights with the special interests, and the Republican Party has been the special interest party. And this 80th Congress—I call it the "do-nothing" 80th Congress—has conclusively proven that they are still for that viewpoint of the public servant.

Now, the way you can cure that is to elect a Democratic Congress, and if you do that, of course you will return me to the White House, and I won't have any trouble with the housing shortage.

I want to see Illinois come back into the fold and go Democratic, as it should. I want to see you elect John Upchurch here to the Congress of the United States, and Paul Douglas to the United States Senate; and then you ought to elect Adlai Stevenson to be the Governor of Illinois. You know, Mr. Stevenson comes of a line of public servants. His father was Vice President of the United States with Grover Cleveland, and he has rendered tremendous public service during this emergency through which we have just passed. He is a good administrator, and I am sure you can't do better than to make him Governor of Illinois.

If you will send Paul Douglas and John Upchurch to the Congress, and if Illinois will go down the line and give us a Democratic delegation in the Congress of the United States, we won't have any more 80th "do-nothing" Congresses.

Here are just a few examples to prove it to you that this Congress is a special interest Congress. The first thing they did when they got there was to vote themselves a rich man's tax bill, which I vetoed. Then they took it back and modified it, and I vetoed it again. Then they passed it over my veto. It is a rich man's tax bill, if you analyze it.

Then the next thing they did was to take some freedom away from labor, and to pass the Taft-Hartley Act which tried to emasculate the Wagner Act. Now labor got its magna charta from President Roosevelt under the Wagner Act back in 1935, the act that gives to labor the right to free collective bargaining, and guarantees that right. Well, this Taft-Hartley law endeavored to take that right away from labor.

And if the laboringmen stay at home, as they did in 1946, I have just received information as to what the Republicans intend to do further to labor.

Then they took on the farmer, and they are going right down the line to undo everything that has been done to keep his income on an even keel, to evenly distribute the income so that everybody will have his fair share. Then, on the price support program, they almost wrecked it by a joker which they put into the recharter of the CCC, which

does not allow the Government to furnish storage space for the grain on which they make loans.

Corn, right now, in this vicinity is selling 45 percent below the support price just for that reason, and the speculators will get the benefit of the Republican change in that Commodity Credit law. And it isn't fair. It isn't right.

I have been going up and down this country pointing out specific examples of what happened. We wanted to build a steam-plant—a standby plant for TVA, which would be of some benefit to you people right here and cost $4 million. They knocked that out. I asked them to put it in again at the special session, but they never did it. They did not intend to do anything for the welfare and benefit of the people. The power trust lobby stood out here at the rat-hole and wouldn't let them do it. There are bigger lobbies in Congress this time—in that 80th Congress—than ever before in history.

We have been making a crusade up and down this country, trying to convince the people that their interests are with the Democratic Party, and if you believe that, you will send me back to the White House, and you will elect a Democratic Congress to take the place of this "do-nothing," good-for-nothing 80th Congress.

Thank you.

[8.] CARMI, ILLINOIS (1:05 p.m.)

I certainly appreciate this grand welcome in Carmi. I never saw so many people in one place for a long, long time. I am very happy to be here in your city. We have had a very pleasant trip across the State here this morning, and we find things in this great State just as we found them in every other State, and that is that the people are interested in knowing the situation. They are coming out to hear what I have to say about the issues in this campaign, and I hope that they will weigh those issues carefully, and then I hope that they will go and do what is best for the country; and I believe they will.

You know, there is just one fundamental issue in this campaign, and that is that it is the people against the special interests. The people are represented by the Democratic Party, and the special interests are represented by the Republican Party. And if I had the time, I could stand here all afternoon and tell you example after example to prove what I am saying is true.

This is a farming community, and one of the first things that that Republican 80th Congress did when it came into session was to begin to cut the ground from under the farmers; and they took a crack at labor, and they took a crack at the farmer, and they almost sabotaged our public power and reclamation program. They are interested in the people at the top, they don't care whether the little man has a house to live in, they don't care whether the farmer gets a fair price for his crops, they don't care if labor has a bill of rights.

But those things are fundamental Democratic principles. We inaugurated a farm program in 1933, when we elected Franklin D. Roosevelt to be President of the United States; and that farm program has worked in the interests of the farmers.

The farmer's income in 1932, the year before the Democrats took office, was about $4½ billion. Last year it was more than $18 billion. The total income in this country was $217 billion for 1947, and it is fairly evenly distributed. That is the greatest income of any country in the history of the world, and everybody has been getting their fair share.

If we could have gotten this Republican Congress to go along with us on lowering prices to prevent inflation, we would have

made that income sufficient for the welfare of everybody in the country.

Now, when it came to butchering the farm program, when rechartering the CCC, they put a joker in it so that the CCC could not furnish storage for grain on which they were to make the parity loans, so that now corn is selling below parity. Wheat has been selling below parity, and they want that to happen because they want to turn the farmer back to the speculators.

Now, if the farmers stand idly by this time and don't do their duty on election day, they will deserve to go back to the speculators, that's all I have got to say about it.

You know, this situation came about because of the indifference of the people, because everything was going great with them. In 1946, when election time came around, two-thirds of the people stayed at home, and the other third elected the 80th Congress. I have said all over the United States that I think this is the second worst Congress that ever met in Washington; and it had more lobbies than any other Congress I ever heard anything about. Those lobbies accomplished their purpose. There was the real estate lobby, the power lobby, and they had the lobby that was working for the grain exchange up here in Chicago, the speculators lobby, I call it. I know that there were a dozen others that were there for special interests, they were not interested in the welfare of the whole people; and I am asking you, in order to remedy this situation, to elect a Democratic Congress, and if you do so, you are bound to send me back to the White House. And if you do that, the interests of the people will be safeguarded and the Government will be run for the whole people and not for just a few of them.

Now you have a wonderful man here running for the Senate in this great State of Illinois—Paul Douglas. I hope you will send him to the Senate. He is a forward-looking citizen. He doesn't want to turn the clock back.

You have got the same situation here with Congressman John Upchurch—send him to the House. Send Paul Douglas to the Senate, and go the whole way while you are doing it, and elect Adlai Stevenson to be Governor of this State of Illinois, and you will be on the safe side of progress, instead of in the hands of people who want to turn the clock back.

I sincerely wish that I could spend the time going into the issues of this campaign in detail, and outline it to you, I think I could convince you that I am telling you what is right.

I am making a crusade across this country, trying to convince the people that their own interests are at stake when they vote the Democratic ticket in the fall, that it will be a vote for themselves, you won't necessarily have voted for any individual or voted for me for President.

Get up early on election day and go down to the polls and get that ticket and make no mistake—just vote the Democratic ticket straight, and then you will be on the safe side.

[9.] Mount Vernon, Indiana (Rear platform, 2 p.m.)

I am very, very sorry that we got held up in Illinois and lost a couple of hours, but I couldn't help that. But I'm most happy to see all these smiling faces here in this great city, which I understand is the hometown of the Chairman here.

I want to see you send Mr. Denton to the Congress because we must be sure that we have men in the coming Congress that are not looking backward, but looking forward.

I understand that you're an agricultural community here. Therefore, your vital in-

terest is at stake in this campaign, for the simple reason that the first thing the Republicans tried to do when they got to Washington—there were three first things they tried to do: they tried to sabotage labor, they tried to sabotage the farmer, and they tried to do away with all our public reclamation and power projects. You're interested in that because I tried to get a steamplant down here by TVA, for a standby plant to make that a complete integrated entity down there, and they kept that out of both appropriation bills. In fact, they knocked it out of one and kept it out of the other.

Now, the best thing for you to do, in your own interest, is to go to the polls early on election day and vote for yourselves, and when you vote for yourselves you vote the Democratic ticket straight because the Democrats are for the people. The Republicans are for special privilege.

I'm extremely sorry that we're so late so I couldn't stand here and talk to you quite a while, but we must try to make up this schedule for I have an air broadcast in Louisville, Ky., which covers the whole country, and that won't wait. In these broadcast days even the President can't do as he pleases.

[10.] EVANSVILLE, INDIANA (Courthouse, 3 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Chairman:

I certainly am most happy to be in Evansville today. Judging from the crowd before me I would say that Evansville is pretty prosperous these days. The truth is that Evansville and the whole country are prosperous right now, and are more prosperous right now than ever before in their history. I think the people of Evansville and the rest of the country want to keep that prosperity by keeping a Democratic Government in Washington.

That's the main issue of this political campaign: whether we are going to stay prosperous with the Democratic Party or fall back on the boom and bust policies of the Republican.

There are many fine Republicans in this country, many Republicans who vote the Democratic ticket because they know the leaders of their own party haven't learned anything since the days of Warren G. Harding.

Look at the record of the 80th Congress. For 2 years I have been trying to get the Congress to do something for the people. But the Republican leaders were too busy protecting the interests of big business and the bankers. They didn't have time to do anything *for* the people, but they did plenty *to* the people.

Look at the record on labor. Under the Democratic administrations of the last 16 years the working people of this country had made the greatest gains in the history of the world. But they haven't made these gains at the expense of the rest of them. We have all gone forward together—farmers and businessmen, wage earners and factory owners. Most of us are better off now than we ever have been before in our lives.

Democratic policy has been based on a great principle: that the wage earners of this country have a right to a fair share of the wealth they help to produce. Republican policy is based on the idea that working people have to be kept in bounds. That's why they passed the Taft-Hartley Act—to put handcuffs on labor.

Labor's right to organize in unions freely chosen by workingmen, and the right to bargain collectively were recognized by the

Wagner Act, passed by a Democratic Congress. That is the Bill of Rights for labor.

The first thing that Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress tried to do was to tear up that Bill of Rights.

Labor's standard of living was protected during the war and the reconversion period by a Democratic system of stabilizing prices and wages. With the election of the Republican 80th Congress in 1946, the working people of this country have found out what the Republican leaders had in mind for them. Led by Senator Taft and Representative Hartley—two men who would like to take the United States back to the 1890's—the Republicans pushed through the Taft-Hartley law, which converted the National Labor Relations Board into an agency to hamstring union labor.

You people of Evansville will decide on election day what kind of Government you're going to have. If you want to, you can turn the Government over completely to a crowd of Tafts and Tabers, who single out one segment of the population for punishment, to satisfy the big businessmen and the bankers. Or you can give your country a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress with a positive program to help all America keep prosperity and build peace in the world.

You can help a lot if you elect a Democratic Congressman from this district. This young man who introduced me, Winfield Denton, should go to Congress from this district. If you want decent government in Washington elect the Democratic ticket. And if you elect a Democratic Congressman you are bound to elect a Democratic President—and I'll stay in the White House.

If you want a decent government in Washington you can get it—by voting the Democratic ticket the 2d of November.

All I ask is that every one of you here—and all your friends and neighbors—look at the record, and vote not necessarily for me—vote for yourselves. Vote for the welfare of the country. Vote for the future of this great Nation by voting the Democratic ticket straight on the 2d of November.

Thank you very much.

[11.] HENDERSON, KENTUCKY (Rear platform, 3:55 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen of Henderson, Kentucky:

You know, I had a reputation for being prompt. I lost that reputation today, and I am sorry for it.

The people of Illinois got us over to one side of the track, and we lost 2 hours in that great State, but we saw about half a million people while we were doing it; but I want to apologize to you for keeping you waiting, because I like to be on time and I like for people to be on time, too, when they deal with me. But it can't be helped, and I do appreciate it that you have been kind enough to wait here in order to listen to me for a few moments.

I have been going up and down this country telling the people what I think are the issues in this campaign, and we have learned the difference between a Republican administration and a Democratic administration. We learned that by hard experience. We found out that the Republicans are for special privilege, and that the Democrats look out for the people.

Under the Republicans, the farmers in Kentucky couldn't sell their goods except at bankrupt prices. In my part of the country, in Missouri, we sold hogs for $3 a hundred. We sold corn for 25 cents a bushel, and sometimes burned it up instead of using it for

feed. We sold wheat for a quarter a bushel.

Under the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and under my administration which I have been running for you for the last 3½ years, you have been getting a fair share of the country's prosperity. That is because the Democratic farm program is based on the great truth that the farmers have a right to be sure of an income for their products at good prices.

Here in Henderson you have organized cooperatives to make certain that you get a decent return from the farms in this area. One of them that has done a lot of good is the Henderson Union Rural Electric Cooperative.

The policy of the Republican and Democratic parties on cooperatives shows the difference between the two. Republican leaders in the 80th Congress conducted a one-sided investigation—the Republican Congress has never conducted any kind but a one-sided investigation—into the cooperatives, and tried to smear it as socialistic.

The Democratic Party has encouraged the formation of cooperatives. That is just one example. I haven't time to go into others, because we are behind schedule, but if you will listen to my speech in Louisville tonight, I will tell you about a great many more.

You people of Kentucky, and the people of the other States will have a choice on election day. You can decide whether you want to keep the kind of Government that has brought prosperity to all of the people, or you can turn your Government over to a bunch of big business Republicans who are interested only in their own profits.

Now, if you don't want that kind of special privilege Government, elect Virgil Chapman to the Senate, and send Mr. Whitaker back to the Congress from this district. I am trying to get a Democratic Congress elected all over this United States, and if I get that Democratic Congress elected, I won't have to move out of the White House, and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage.

All I am asking you to do is just take one look at the record, and then go to the polls on November 2d, and I know that if you use your best judgment, you will vote the Democratic ticket straight, as you do most of the time here in Kentucky.

[12.] OWENSBORO, KENTUCKY (Rear platform, 4:50 p.m.)

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this privilege. I am very happy to be here in Owensboro. I like that introduction of the Chairman when he said "next President of the United States."

I want to apologize to you for being late. I have a reputation for being prompt. I'm usually on the dot everywhere I go, and when I have an appointment in the White House the fellow never has to wait for me. But I got in with a bunch of hard-working Illinois Democrats this morning, and they ran me around, all over southern Illinois, and lost 2 hours—and I couldn't help it.

It is a pleasure to visit Kentucky, the most spirited State in the Union—except my home State of Missouri.

This year I am glad to see that Kentucky is so prosperous. In fact, the whole country seems better off than it ever has been before—and I want to keep it that way. And you know, the best way to keep it that way is to be sure, be sure, that you dislocate the Members of that 80th Republican "do-nothing" Congress. Send Virgil Chapman to the Senate and John Whitaker to the House. That will help matters to a great

extent, because if you elect a Democratic Congress you'll be bound to elect me as the next President.

Judging from the Republican record—when they wrecked our prosperity back in '29—none of us would be prosperous very long if we let these Republicans return to power. There are plenty good, forward-looking Republicans in this country, but the present leaders of their party do not represent them. These leaders are tied, hand and foot, to the big businessmen and the Eastern bankers, and they are under the control of those terrible lobbies in Washington. There are more lobbies in Washington than there ever have been before in the history of the country. They went there to work on this 80th "do-nothing" Congress, and they worked very successfully.

If you listen to my speech tonight in Louisville I'll prove to you just exactly what has happened since the Republicans gained control in 1946, when most of the people in the country didn't go out and vote. You know, only one-third of the people voted in 1946, and two-thirds stayed at home. And look what they got. They got just what they deserved. They got that 80th Congress.

You people of Kentucky and the people of other States will make your choice on election day for the kind of Government you want. You can choose the Democratic kind—the kind Senator Barkley and I represent, and the kind of Government that means a fair share of the prosperity for the farmers and the working people and all our citizens—or you can turn your Government over to a crowd of big business Republicans who will let you sink back into the poverty and trouble you had in 1932.

All I ask is that every one of my Kentucky friends look at the record and vote in November. Go out on election day first thing in the morning—right early, so there won't be too many people in your way—and vote the straight Democratic ticket, and you'll leave the country in safe hands.

[13.] HAWESVILLE, KENTUCKY (Rear platform, 5:35 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen of Hawesville:

I am glad to be here. You know, Frank Chelf has been spending quite a lot of time trying to get a flood control project for you people here, and I was glad to sign a bill not so long ago, which I hope will protect you from these floods when that project is built, and I am sure it will.

The people of Kentucky are interested in this campaign, not from any selfish motives for Kentucky alone, but for the whole country. The welfare of this country is at stake in this campaign. The line is clearly drawn, it is special interest against the people. Unless you vote to keep the special interests out of Washington, you are going to get just what you got out of that bad 80th Congress, which worked for special interests the whole time it was in session.

I had to veto more bills in this one Congress than any other President except Grover Cleveland had to veto. I vetoed more bills since I have been 3 years in office, trying to protect the people's interest, than any other President except Grover Cleveland; and his principal interest was vetoing special pension bills, the bills that I vetoed were bills against the public interest.

I want you to bear that in mind, now; and if you do bear that in mind, you will send Virgil Chapman to the Senate, and you will keep my young friend Chelf in the House of Representatives. I hope that you will send a whole Democratic delegation, and I hope

Kentucky will roll up such a vast majority for the people in this election on November 2d, that special privilege won't stick its head up again for another generation.

Just before we pull out, I want to tell you that I am not late on purpose, but we got held up in the great State of Illinois this morning, and they drove me around a lot of counties I didn't know we were going to, and we lost a couple of hours. I certainly do appreciate your waiting to see the President and his family, and all these good Kentuckians who are running for office.

[14.] IRVINGTON, KENTUCKY (Rear platform, 6:40 p.m.)

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I especially like that second remark you made.

I was talking to the Governor of Kentucky a while ago, and he looked out the window and he said, "A lot of people must have postponed their milking tonight." I'm glad you did because I wanted to see you, despite the fact that the train was late. That wasn't my fault. I got delayed in the great State of Illinois. They sidetracked me and drove me all over southern Illinois and I was due 2 hours before while we were doing it, but it was a pleasant trip; and in every town we saw almost as many people as we have here. At every stop there's always a prophecy that there won't be anybody there, and when we get there it looks as if everybody in the county got there.

I stopped here in Henderson when we came across the river from Evansville, and I asked the newspaperman there how many people were there. "Oh," he said, "fifty thousand." I said, how did he know it. He said, well, there were fifty thousand people in that county and they were all there!

I wish I could spend enough time with you to discuss the issues that are before the country at this time because you are all vitally interested in them. But I can't do it because the train is late and I have got a special meeting at Louisville tonight that is over a national radio hookup—and you know, people have to be prompt with the radio or they will charge you for the time and you won't get the use of it, and I know you won't have me do that, would you?

But there are certain fundamentals that I can mention incidentally—the attitude of the Republicans toward the farm program, which was inaugurated by the Democrats in 1933. If you remember, the farmer was about as low as he could possibly get, financially, in 1932. He was being foreclosed. He could get nothing for his produce. If I remember correctly, corn was as low as 15 cents a bushel, and wheat went to a quarter. Hogs were selling for $3 a hundred, and you couldn't sell a fat steer at all, unless you brought in the skin, and you had to almost give him away.

This situation has been almost reversed since 1933. The farmers have been more prosperous than ever before in the history of the country. The national income has been fairly distributed between the farmers, laborers, and white-collar workers, and that is what the Government is for—to see that everybody gets a fair deal in the country. That's what we started to give the country, and that's what we did give the country over the last 16 years.

Then along comes the terrible 80th Congress, and they're trying to undo it. They did their level best to undo those things. They cut the ground from under the farmer and the price support program. They tried their best to abolish labor's Bill of Rights by passing that Taft-Hartley Act, and they're working on reclamation and irrigation projects and public power. They would

like to abolish TVA. They've cut out the power transmission lines from these great dams which the Government has built and which belong to the public and which are intended to furnish cheap power to the public. They are a special interest Congress, and they are representative of the Republican Party.

Now, I want you to keep that situation in mind, and I want you to be sure and send a Democrat, Senator Virgil Chapman, to the Senate this fall, and I want you to send Frank Chelf back to the House—and then we'll have a start on a Congress that will be in the interest of the people—and goodness knows we don't want another duplicate of the 80th Congress. And if the Republicans get control that's just exactly what we'll have because the leadership will be exactly the same.

Now, bear these things in mind. And just do one thing for me: get up early on election day. Go down to the polls, and don't stutter or stop. Just vote the Democratic ticket straight, and then I can stay in the White House and won't be troubled with the housing shortage, and we'll have a good Democratic Congress.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on September 30 the President referred to Paul H. Douglas, Democratic candidate for Senator, Clyde L. Choate, Democratic candidate for the State legislature and recipient of the Congressional Medal of Honor, Luther Burpo, Mayor of West Frankfort, John Murray, Mayor of Herrin, Adlai Stevenson, Democratic candidate for Governor, Kent Keller, Democratic candidate for Representative from the 26th District, Mayor John D. Upchurch of Eldorado, Democratic candidate for Representative from the 24th District, and Paul Powell, Democratic State Committeeman, all of Illinois; William H. Dress, Mayor of Evansville, and Winfield K. Denton, Democratic candidate for Representative from the Eighth District, both of Indiana; Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio; Representative John Taber of New York; and Representative Virgil Chapman, Democratic candidate for Senator, Representative Frank L. Chelf, Representative John A. Whitaker, and Governor Earle C. Clements, all of Kentucky.

219 Address at the University of Southern Illinois, Carbondale, Illinois. *September* 30, 1948

Mr. Mayor, distinguished guests, fellow Democrats:

I feel that I must talk to you today without mincing words about the danger of reaction that confronts this country.

You are faced this coming election day with a fundamental decision that will affect you every year and every day for the rest of your lives.

You are about to choose not merely between the Democratic and Republican Parties, but between two different kinds of government.

Now, you have had an ample demonstration of what those two kinds of government are, and I am going to expound on them a little bit. The Democrats are for the people. The Republicans are for special interests. And that is the basis of this campaign. This Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress amply demonstrated that they are a special interest Congress, and I want to urge you with everything I have to send Paul Douglas to the Senate, and Kent Keller to the House. If you do that, this special interest program of the Republican Party will have a terrible blow.

We are hearing a lot of propaganda these days to the effect that there is no real difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties.

That is a malicious untruth, to put it mildly.

When you elected Franklin Roosevelt in

1932, you found out what a difference there is between Democratic and Republican administrations.

The very course of your lives was changed. The dark Republican days of discouragement and fear gave way to new hope and revived energy, as the Democratic administration went to work for the people. That's the difference. The Democratic administration went to work for the people. Just as soon as these Republicans got control of this Congress, they went to work for the special interests.

We, the Democrats, have been working for all the people for the past 16 years.

You remember how the Democratic administration aided the farmer, until now farm income is ten times what it was in 1932.

You remember how we saved millions of homeowners and farmowners from foreclosure and eviction.

You remember how we rescued the banking system, brought truth into the sale of securities, and established the Federal deposit insurance law.

Because of these safeguards, there has not been a single bank failure in the United States in 3 years.

We established social security. The sweatshop and child labor were abolished. Respect for human rights was written into the statutes of the American Government by the Democratic Party.

We wrote into law for the first time the collective bargaining principle in labor relations, which protects the entire Nation.

We enacted a minimum-wage law and started a program for slum-clearance and low-rent housing.

We began the great multipurpose operations in river valleys, which have brought irrigation, electric power, navigation, and flood control to vast areas of the United States.

Under the Democratic administration, employment has risen to record-breaking heights. And the profits of business are larger than ever before.

Despite the obstructionists and the isolationists, we prepared our country against danger from abroad. Under Democratic leadership, the people gained an overwhelming victory in war against the forces of tyranny abroad.

And while we were making the greatest of all military efforts, at the same time, the American people maintained their liberties, their living standards, and their social gains. We also continued the fight to expand our civil liberties by new measures against discrimination.

After V–J Day, a Democratic Congress and a Democratic administration, working together, set out upon the great tasks remaining before us. We accomplished swift reconversion. We avoided a postwar recession, and reached a peak of more jobs, higher civilian production, and better standards of living than ever before.

There is nothing like that in the history of the world after a great war. Bear that in mind. That is an accomplishment that nobody can appreciate. Not very much has been said about that, but we had no riots and no bloodshed. We didn't have people crying for jobs. We didn't have the farmers marching on Washington. We didn't have returning soldiers marching on Washington, because we took care of them in educational institutions and absorbing them back into the economy of the country without a debacle.

We enacted the Employment Act of 1946, pledging all our resources and efforts to the maintenance of prosperity.

We brought the United States to a position of unquestioned leadership in world affairs. Don't let anybody tell you anything different.

I repeat—for 16 years the Democratic administration has been working in the interest of all the people.

For 14 of the 16 years, the Democratic President was supported by a Democratic Congress. We were able to go steadily forward in fulfilling our pledges to the people.

And then—and then!—in 1946, something happened—something bad and dangerous to the country.

That was the year of the congressional elections, when most of the people stayed home and failed to vote.

Those who did vote gave you a Republican Congress—that notorious Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress. There are a lot of good men in the Congress. There are 531 Members in the Congress, but when we speak of a Congress, we speak of its control and its leadership. Its control and its leadership are doing their best to turn the clock back. They are trying to go back to the 1920's, or even as far back as 1898, some of them would like Congress to. The Congress that has done its best to put an end to Democratic progress is the 80th Congress.

This Congress proved quickly that the Republican Party had learned nothing from experience. The Republican leadership set out to follow the same disastrous policies they had followed under Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover.

The first bill that was introduced in the 80th Congress was the rich man's tax bill sponsored by the Republican leadership. It was a bill for the benefit of wealth and privilege at the expense of the people and the financial stability of this whole Nation. I vetoed it. In fact, they had to study that bill three times, because I vetoed it three times. They finally passed a modified version, which was not quite so bad, although bad enough, as the first one they sent to me.

That was only the beginning. At every point, that Republican-dominated Congress has shown itself to be the legislative puppet of the most reactionary forces in American life, the puppet of big business, the puppet of the special lobbies—the real estate lobby, the power lobby, the grain speculators' lobby, and many others I could name.

There have been more lobbies in Congress in the last 2 years than were altogether there in the whole history of the Congress before that time, and they spent money like water to get what they wanted.

Some Republican newspapers have reproached me for speaking this out in public. They would like me to be more polite. They would like me to conduct this campaign so as not to hurt anybody's feelings. They think I am being rude. All I am doing is telling you the facts for your benefit and welfare.

There has been growing in this country a deeper understanding of the rights and needs of the workers in industry. The Democratic Party led the way to give workers a voice in their own destiny. The Wagner Act of 1935 was passed for that purpose.

What did this puppet Congress do? They passed the reactionary Taft-Hartley Act. Instead of improving the Wagner Act as I recommended, they cut and hacked away at the workers' newly-won rights. The Taft-Hartley Act is the way backward, not forward. It's the Republican way.

Take another example. With the great growth of population in this country in recent years, we've begun to burst at the seams in our schools. That situation endangers the education of your children. We urgently need a national program to aid the States in meeting the present shortage of teachers and schools.

The Democratic Party has such a program.

But the Republican Party, as usual, can't see the need for this forward step. In spite of the pleading of parents and teachers and

school administrators all over the country, this puppet 80th Congress refused to pass the aid to education bill. As a result, millions of American children are failing to get the good education that is their birthright here in the United States. The Republicans want to go backward, instead of forward. That's the Republican way.

The big business Republicans have set an economic trap for the American consumer. They have baited that trap with glib assurances that everything will be all right, if you just let nature take its course, everything will be taken care of. And when they say nature, they mean themselves.

The people have been fooled before by that bait. I hope we are not nibbling at it again. We nibbled at it under Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. You know what happened to us under that circumstance.

At every point the Republicans have shown plainly that they are trying to turn back the clock to the 1920's.

They don't want the Government to do anything about housing, about high prices, about social security and education and conservation. They don't want the Government to work constructively in the interest of the farmers and the workers and the small businessman. They are interested in but one thing—the profits of big business.

Where is the Republican Party getting the millions of dollars it is pouring into this campaign? From big business, who know that if the Republicans win, they will get their money back many times over—until the crash comes.

Today big business is rubbing its hands in the hope of having another boom-and-bust spree under a Republican administration.

They are in the same greedy state of mind that brought about the crash of 1929 and the Hoover depression.

Then Wall Street had the spree, and the people had the headache that lasted for several years afterwards.

Are we going to let that happen again?

No one can look at the record of the past 2 years without realizing that the Republican 80th Congress has started down the same path as the Republican administrations of the 1920's.

They have sent out their best orators to make high sounding speeches and to make big promises. But the road down which they are trying to lead you is the same road that nearly led us to ruin in 1930.

You cannot afford to let these reactionaries have their way. Already, the big business Republicans have begun to nail the American consumer to the wall with the spikes of greed.

Are you going to let them get away with it?

There is one way to stop them.

And that is to get out on election day and vote. And make every vote count.

This election concerns the security of your homes and your lives and your jobs next year, and the year after, and the year after that.

Search your minds and your hearts. Is it to be another era of fear under the Republican reactionaries, or another era of hope under liberal Democratic administrations?

On November 2d, you can decide. You can decide to send me back to the Presidency, you can elect such men as Paul Douglas, and Kent Keller—and I sincerely hope the whole Illinois delegation will be Democratic this time, and you can avoid these things. You can avoid the situation with which we are faced. This is one of the most crucial elections which you have ever faced. I have been making a crusade across this continent, trying to wake the people up to the seriousness of the situation. I am telling you that I am succeeding. Now it is for

you and for all the people of this Nation to choose.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:15 a.m. in the auditorium of the University of Southern Illinois. His opening words "Mr. Mayor" referred to John I. Wright, Mayor of Carbondale. Later he referred to Paul H. Douglas, Democratic candidate for Senator, and Kent Keller, Democratic candidate for Representative from the 26th District, both of Illinois.

220 Address in Louisville, Kentucky. *September* 30, 1948

Governor Clements, distinguished guests, and fellow Democrats of Kentucky:

I am happy to be here in the State of Kentucky, the State of my good friend and running-mate, America's most beloved Senator, Alben Barkley.

Here in Kentucky, Alben Barkley needs no indorsement from me. But I wonder if even you Kentuckians know how much he means to the Democratic Party, to the Nation, and to the world.

Alben Barkley represents 35 years of continuous, responsible experience in national affairs.

He knows as few men do the business of our Government, the affairs of the Nation, and the problems of the world. He has graduated from a great school of statemanship with the highest honors. And he earned his degree the hard way. He labored in the grim years of the Hoover depression, and he led in the great New Deal battle against human misery—under Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The respect which all Americans, regardless of party, hold for Alben Barkley was earned by a lifetime of distinguished public service.

Alben Barkley and I are engaged in a tough, hard fight. And we are going to win that fight, because we are right.

In this fight we are bringing out the facts of a shameful record—a Republican record. And the Republicans don't like it one bit. They say is isn't polite. They want us to confine the campaign to undisputed generalities, so the people will lose their big chance to find out what the real issues are.

This campaign of plain facts and plain speaking is annoying the Republicans—but it is pleasing the people.

And I intend to keep waging this fight, until the people of this Nation know all the issues of this campaign.

This is not a parlor game we are playing. This election is a very serious business. The future of the American people is at stake.

I know that there are some forgetful people who say there is no real difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties.

They are just as wrong as they can be.

When you elected Franklin Roosevelt in 1932, you found out how great the difference is between the Democrats and the Republicans.

The very course of your life was changed. The dark Republican days of discouragement and fear gave way to new hope and revived energy, as the Democratic administration went to work for the people.

We have been working for the people—for *all* the people—for the past 16 years.

The question that faces you now is whether you are going to continue the kind of government that has done so much for

the people, or whether you are going to turn around and start back down the Republican road.

The issue in this election, as I have said time and again, is the people against special privilege. Is the Government of the United States going to be run in the interest of the people as a whole, or in the interest of a small group of privileged big businessmen?

Some of you may think I am exaggerating when I say that the Republican Party is the party of special privilege. Some of you may think I am exaggerating, when I say I have watched big business using its lobbies, and spending its millions, in Washington to turn the Congress away from its duty to serve the people.

You don't have to take my word for it. Look at the record.

Look at the record on inflation.

Right after the end of the war, big business in this country set out to destroy the laws which were protecting the consumer against exploitation.

This drive was spearheaded by the National Association of Manufacturers, the most powerful organization of big business in this country. The NAM boasts of a membership of 15,000 industrial firms, but it is dominated by the officers of just a handful of giant corporations.

The NAM is big business.

In 1946 the NAM set out on a well-planned and well-financed campaign to destroy price controls.

The reason was not that American business had suffered under price control. Since 1941, business profits had been higher than ever before in the Nation's history: $10½ billion in 1943, and almost $11 billion in 1944, compared with only $5 billion in 1939.

The reason the NAM set out to destroy price controls was that, in their greed, the leaders of big business wanted to make even higher profits.

We know how the NAM organized this conspiracy against the American consumer. One of its own officers was so proud of the work they did that he spilled the story in an interview, which was published after price control was killed. Now listen to this very carefully.

In this interview, the Director of Public Relations of the NAM told how his organization spent $3,000,000 in 1946 to destroy OPA. The NAM spent a million and a half on newspaper advertising. They sent their own speakers to make a thousand talks before women's clubs, civic organizations, teachers, another one to 15,000 clergymen, another one to 35,000 farm leaders, and still another to 40,000 leaders of women's clubs. A special clip sheet with NAM propaganda went to 7,500 weekly newspapers and to 2,500 columnists and editorial writers.

There never was a more vicious or a better organized campaign to mislead and deceive the American people.

That is what the NAM had to say about the result of their $3 million propaganda campaign. This is what they had to say: Their own publicity director said that, when NAM started the campaign against OPA, a survey showed that 85 percent of the people believed that OPA was absolutely necessary. In November 1946, after the NAM campaign, he boasted that only 26 percent of the people believed that OPA was vital.

Let me give you just one example of their propaganda. You can judge from that how much their advice is worth and how much their promises can be believed. In a full-page newspaper ad in the summer of 1946, NAM said, and I quote: "If OPA is permanently discontinued, the production of goods will mount rapidly and, through free competition, prices will adjust themselves quickly to levels that consumers are willing to pay." Now, that's what NAM said in an ad.

Well, prices adjusted themselves all right. They adjusted themselves the NAM way—the big business way—the Republican way—they went up and up and up.

For instance, here in Louisville you paid 28 cents for chuck roast in June 1946. In August of this year you were paying 67 cents.

For hamburger, you paid 27 cents in June 1946. For hamburger in August 1948, you were paying 56 cents.

These prices certainly did adjust themselves—they just doubled.

Now, the policies of the NAM were carried out by the Republican Party. We have proof of that. Senator Wherry of Nebraska, the Republican majority leader in the Senate, told an NAM group in February 1948, and I quote him—this is what he said:

"I do not need to remind the membership of this association that it was the Republican leadership in the Senate and the House that was responsible for ending OPA." I want to read that to you again. Listen to this. This is the Republican attitude in the public interest: "I do not need to remind the membership of this association that it was the Republican leadership in the Senate and the House that was responsible for ending OPA."

The Senator not only admitted that the Republicans killed the OPA, he boasted about it.

That's the plain, factual record on inflation. The forces of big business, operating through the Republican Party, tore down the protection against high prices, which had been built up for our people.

The people who told you in 1946 that your Democratic administration was wrong, when we wanted to continue price control—the people who told you that prices would take care of themselves—these same people are telling you now that, if you will turn the Government of the United States over to them, everything will take care of itself.

I don't think you're going to be fooled again by that sort of tommyrot.

Since they killed price control in 1946, the Republican Old Guard have given ample proof that they were quite satisfied with prices going higher and higher and with profits of big business getting bigger and bigger.

Time and time again in 1947 and 1948, I asked the Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress to concern itself with the way our people were suffering from high prices, and to do something constructive to hold down the cost of living. Every time, the Republican Congress refused to take effective action.

That's what I mean when I say that the Republican Party is acting for the benefit of big business and against the best interests of the people.

Now, have you benefited from high prices?

Have you found it easier to make ends meet now, than you did 2 years ago? Well, of course you haven't.

But there are some who have benefited by high prices.

Profits, after taxes, of all corporations were running at the rate of 12 billions a year in the spring of 1946, before price control was ended. Two years later, in the spring of 1948, they were running at the rate of $21½ billion—an increase of 70 percent in corporation profits.

There are some people whose incomes have gone up faster than prices, even if yours hasn't. One of America's largest corporations reports that it paid its top ten executives $865,000 in 1946.

Do you want further proof that the Republican Party is the instrument of special privilege?

Look at the record on housing.

What kind of housing do our people need? We need good low-priced low-rent housing.

For 3 years there has been legislation before the Congress to bring more good housing at lower prices and lower rents. For 3 years the real estate lobby, operating through the Republican Party, has blocked that legislation. As a result the Government today can do nothing to help the cities and towns build low-rent housing, nothing to help cities and towns clear their slums, and nothing to bring better rural housing.

That's the plain, factual record. That's another reason why I say that the Republican Party is the party of special interests, and not the party of the people.

Who has benefited from this housing situation? Not the people who have had to pay three or four times the normal value of a house. Not the veterans who have had to mortgage their future to buy housing at exorbitant prices to have a roof over their heads.

Only the special interest group—represented by the real estate lobby—has benefited.

Would you like still another example of what I mean when I say the Republican Party serves special interests instead of the people?

Look at the record on social security.

The 1944 Republican platform, like the Democratic platform—now the Republican platform and the Democratic platform were alike—promised to extend the benefits of our social security system to millions of workers who are not now protected by it. Well, what happened?

Have the Republicans extended social security? They have not. Instead of extending social security to more people, they passed a law—over my veto—actually taking away social security rights from nearly a million people who already had them.

That wasn't for the benefit of the people. That was for the benefit of employers who didn't want to pay the social security tax.

That's what I mean when I say the Republican Party works for the benefit of special privilege. That's why I say we need a Democratic victory in this election because the Democratic Party stands for the people. The Democratic Party stands for the people!

Now, let's just take another example. Look at the record on monopoly. The plain facts on monopoly are these:

—Two hundred giant industrial corporations own nearly half of all our industrial assets.

—One hundred commercial banks control one half of all the bank deposits in the United States.

—Three steel companies own 59 percent of all the ingot capacity of the United States.

—Two corporations produce 83 percent of all the tin cans.

These facts shout a warning to all of us. They mean that big business can manipulate prices and production at its own discretion, regardless of the public good. That's not healthy for this country—it's the biggest threat there is to our free enterprise system.

My administration has been doing what it could to break up monopolies through the antitrust laws. And we asked the Republican 80th Congress to strengthen those antitrust laws to plug up some of the loopholes.

Studies by the Federal Trade Commission have shown that big corporations have been gobbling up small businesses faster than ever during the past few years. And this process cannot be stopped until the Congress passes legislation to stop up these loopholes.

Did the Republicans give us unity in our fight against monopoly? Well, of course not. That's not the kind of unity they be-

lieve in.

Instead of strengthening the antitrust laws, the Republican Congress passed—over my veto—an act which exempts one whole segment of industry from those laws. Under this act, the railroads no longer have to worry about antitrust laws when they set rates. The Republican Congress fixed that for them.

That's what I mean when I say the Republican Party is willing and eager to listen to the voice of big business and special privilege.

That's the only conclusion that can be drawn from an honest look at the record.

And that's why I say it's time for a change—a change from the Republican Congress we've been suffering under for the last 2 years.

Give us a Democratic Congress and we will get action against high prices. That will be a change.

Give us a Democratic Congress and we will get action for more housing at lower prices. That will be a change.

Give us a Democratic Congress and we will take action against monopoly. That will be a change.

Give us a Democratic Congress and we will move forward for the benefit of all the people, toward better housing, better medical care, better education—all the things that mean a happier and more secure life for the average American family.

That is the sort of change we Democrats propose. That is the kind of change the American people need and want, and you can get that change, if you'll do your duty and vote on election day.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. at the Louisville Armory. In his opening words he referred to Governor Earle C. Clements of Kentucky. Later he referred to Senator Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska.

The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

221 Radio Address Opening the Nationwide Community Chest Campaigns. *September* 30, 1948

[Delivered in Louisville at 9:55 p.m.]

Good evening:

We Americans are a busy people—but we are never too busy to be good neighbors. This is especially important today.

Throughout the world we are striving to prove democracy's worth. One way in which we can do this is by example—by showing how the voluntary action of a free people, united by sympathy and understanding, can safeguard the common welfare.

The Community Chests of America are a practical demonstration of the democratic faith we profess. They both serve, and are served by, people from all ranks. Red Feather services are available to everyone, regardless of race, creed, or political belief. The civic-spirited citizens who work without pay as leaders and trustees of the Red Feather services are a cross-section of their communities. Business, labor, the professions, religious and racial groups are all included. The Red Feather campaign volunteers, too, come from all walks of life.

On this eve of another October—the Red Feather month—more than a million volunteers are ready to begin their annual labor of love for their fellow men. The funds they must raise total $184 million. This great sum will be spent in 1,200 communities for more than 12,000 Red Feather services. This year another important activity has been added to the list of these services. To meet

the needs of our expanding Armed Forces, the USO has been called back to duty. Wholesome recreation, entertainment, and the long arm of hometown concern will be provided for the youth of our new Army, Navy, and Air Forces by the new USO.

All these Red Feather community services, including the USO, contribute to our physical and spiritual health—to our family security—to our children's opportunity and to peace and friendship with all our neighbors. These are the benefits we can rightfully expect from a democratic way of living. These are the most convincing arguments for democracy that one nation can put before another.

When the people of a country like ours—free to act selfishly in their own interest—choose to act unselfishly in the common interest—this is democracy at its best.

In this campaign let us live up fully to the Red Feather slogan: "Everybody gives—and everybody benefits."

222 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Kentucky and West Virginia. *October* 1, 1948

[1.] SHELBYVILLE, KENTUCKY (Rear platform, 8:45 a.m.)

Mr. Chairman and citizens of Shelby County:

I imagine all the county is here; it is a very great pleasure to me this morning to have had the privilege of stopping in Shelbyville.

My grandfather Truman ran off with Mary Jane Holmes and was married here in Shelbyville, and lived on an adjoining farm out here west of town. Then he went to Missouri—was afraid to go back home. And about 3 or 4 years after that, why his father-in-law sent for him to come home, he wanted to see the first grandchild. That settled things and they got together, and my grandfather Young and grandmother Young lived right around here. My grandmother was the youngest of 13 children, and they lived out here on the farm between here and Louisville. The house sat half in Jefferson County and half in Shelby County, and when my grandmother's brother—she was raised by her oldest brother—didn't want to serve on the jury in Jefferson County, he would move over to Shelby County, and when he didn't want to serve in Shelby County, he moved to Jefferson—he was very conveniently fixed.

But I am proud of my Kentucky ancestry, naturally. Kentucky and Missouri are just symbolic of the ancestry there. Missouri was settled by people from Kentucky and Tennessee mostly, and the central part of Missouri from St. Louis to Kansas City is just a cross-section of Kentuckians, so I know exactly what you think about, and how you like things. If you will come out to Jackson County, I will show you a slice of Kentucky.

You are interested, of course, in this campaign, and it will be one of the most historic campaigns in the history of the United States, because there is just one issue in this campaign, and that issue is do the people rule the country or do the special interests rule the country.

Now, you are a great farming community here, and the first thing that this Republican Congress did, as soon as it got into session, was to begin to cut the ground from under the farmer.

You see, the Democratic administration, in 1933, took over the country when the

farmers were broke, when the banks were closing all over the country so fast you were afraid to go into one for fear it would blow up in your face before you could get out. The laboringman was considered just a part of the cost of production.

The Democratic administrations inaugurated a policy which put the farmer on his feet in the right place, and gave him a fair share of the income of the country, and they did the same for the laboringman, and did the same for small business. And there hasn't been a bank failure in the United States in the last 3 years, due to the fact that we inaugurated the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

I don't think these Republicans dare tear up what the Democrats have done for the country. The farmer's income this year is $18 billion, compared with 4½ billion in 1932. One hundred and twenty-three thousand farmers were put off their farms in 1932, and only 800 last year.

Now, if the farmers know which side their bread is buttered on, they will send the Democrats back to Congress, and they will let me live in the White House another 4 years, and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage.

You are interested in farm products, particularly tobacco. If it weren't for the price support program, you tobacco raisers would be out the window. That is Democratic policy, but the Republicans want to tear that up, and they have indicated that they will tear it up, if they get control of the Congress as well as the White House. They would have done it this time, if I hadn't been sitting there to prevent them from doing it. Now, in order to prevent that Republican 80th Congress from being repeated in the 81st Congress, you will elect Virgil Chapman to the Senate of the United States from Kentucky, and you will elect Frank Chelf to the Congress; and if you do that all over the United States, we won't have another "do-nothing" Congress like we have had for the last 2 years.

[2.] FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY (Rear platform, 9:30 a.m.)

Mr. Chairman:

I certainly appreciate the privilege of stopping here in Frankfort this morning in the capital of the great State of Kentucky, and I am highly appreciative of this wonderful reception which you have given me.

It shows that you are interested in the affairs of state. It shows that you want to get the facts in this campaign. It shows that you are citizens of the greatest Republic in the world, and that you want to exercise the privileges of a citizen of this great country of ours. And if you exercise those privileges as you should, our Republic will continue to be the greatest that the sun has ever shone on.

If you do not exercise those privileges, the first thing you know, you will have a clique in control of the Government, and it will be out of your hands. And that is what you are faced with in this campaign.

If you do your duty as you should on election day, we won't be troubled with a Congress like the one we have now. Two-thirds of the people of the United States stayed at home and did not go out and vote, and that is how we got that 80th "do-nothing" Congress, the Congress that is the special privilege Congress. That Congress immediately went to work to cut the ground from under labor, and from under the farmer, and from under the general workingman, and the businessman who had a small business.

The Democratic Party believes in a fair distribution of the income of this country, so that everybody gets his fair share. We believe that labor ought to be well paid, we

believe the farmer ought to get good prices, and we believe that small labor ought to be protected so he won't be gobbled up by the trusts.

That is the fight that we are making in this campaign now, and I want you to use good judgment and send Virgil Chapman to the Senate, and send Tom Underwood from the 6th District to represent this district in the Congress. And if we can get a Congress like that, the country will be safe from the special privilege fellows.

I want you to study the issues in this campaign. I wish I had the time to stand here and discuss them with you. I have gone from one end of the country to the other, and if you will study those issues, you can't help but go to the polls on election day and vote the Democratic ticket straight. And if you do that, we will have a Congress that is a Congress of the people, and not a Congress of special privilege; and I won't have to move out of the White House.

[3.] LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY (Rear platform, 10:35 a.m.)

Mr. Underwood, next Congressman from this district:

I appreciate that introduction very much.

I am certainly happy to be here in Lexington, in the heart of the blue grass country. You know, every Kentuckian that used to come to Missouri—and they are pretty near the same way yet—would always say they had come from the blue grass of Kentucky near Lexington, and that old Doc Dudley had been the physician of their grandparents, and that set them up just right in Missouri.

I am sorry I can't stay very long this time, but you know that I am in the midst of a political race, and I have to keep running.

You people know a great deal about horse races in Lexington, and you know that it doesn't matter which horse is ahead or behind at any given moment, it's the horse that comes out ahead at the finish that counts.

I am trying to do in politics what Citation has done in the horse races.

I propose at the finish line on November the 2d to come out ahead, because I think the people understand what the issues are in this campaign.

The stakes are high. In fact, the prosperity of this country is at stake. For the last 16 years our country has enjoyed increasing prosperity. The farms are prosperous, business is doing well, and the workers are reaping the benefits of full employment.

You know, last year this Nation had the greatest income in the history of the world. The national income was more than $217 billion, and there was a fair distribution of that income. The businessman got his fair share, the laboringman got his fair share, and the farmers got their fair share.

That was not a Republican policy, that was a policy inaugurated by the Democratic Party in 1933, when the farmer was at the bottom of the pile, and the workingman was out of work—14 or 15 million idle people in the country in 1932 when Franklin Roosevelt took over the Government.

Since that time, the farmer is at the top of the heap. We have 61 million employed, the greatest number of employed in the history of the world. And if we had inflation control, which I have asked for from the Congress time and time again, everybody would have been extremely happy.

Now, I wonder if you people here want to go back to 8-cent tobacco, and 3-cent hogs, and 15-cent corn, and 25-cent wheat. Well, that is what you were getting in 1932, when your farms were being taken away from you. You almost didn't have a market for your tobacco because you didn't have a place to raise it part of the time because the

mortgagers were taking away your farms. There were 123,000 farmers taken off their farms in 1932. The smallest number of foreclosures in the history of the country was last year, less than 800.

That's all there is in this campaign—it's the special interests against the people. The people, I am sure, understand that situation, and if they understand it, they are going to send Virgil Chapman to the Senate from Kentucky this year, and they are going to send Tom Underwood to the House from this district this year.

I would like to see a complete Democratic delegation from Kentucky this year. You are going to have a man from Kentucky for Vice President this year, one of the greatest legislators that ever was in the Congress. He ranks with Henry Clay and those other great men of Kentucky.

Kentucky will take the place of Texas in the Congress, if Kentucky will just send a Democratic delegation to the Congress. You know, there was a time when Texas controlled all the principal committees in Congress under their chairmanships. Kentucky this time will have a Vice President. Kentucky, if it has a delegation in the Congress, will have some of the greatest chairmanships there are in the Congress.

Don't fail to do that now. Get up early on election day and go out and cast your vote for the straight Democratic ticket, and you can't make a mistake; and if you do that, I won't be troubled with the housing shortage and I can stay in the White House another 4 years.

[4.] WINCHESTER, KENTUCKY (Rear platform, 11:20 a.m.)

Judge:

I appreciate very much that introduction, and I'm going to make you a promise that some day, if everything holds together and I'm President for the next 4 years—which I think I will be—we'll come back to Winchester, and I'm going to let you make that 30-minute speech that you had in your system that morning.

You know, I can't tell you how I appreciate the cordiality of the welcome I have received in the great State of Kentucky. Every city and town where we stopped the people have turned out just like this—not quite so many in some places, but just as cordial and just as happy as they possibly can be. And that makes me feel like I'm not wasting my time when I go up and down the country telling the people what the issues are in this campaign.

I've made it perfectly plain that the issues in this campaign are just the people against the special interests. The Democrats represent the people and the Republicans represent the special interests. And I have tried to prove that to every voter in the Nation that I have been able to come in contact with. And I think I have seen some 2,500,000 of them on this trip—and that's a record, ladies and gentlemen. That's a record.

This, you know, is the center of a great farming community. You're dependent on tobacco and agricultural crops in this part of the country, and if you study the issues carefully you'll find that just as soon as the Republicans got control of Congress they immediately began to try to cut the floor from under the agricultural policy which the Democrats inaugurated in 1933.

I wonder, now, if you would care to go back to 8-cent tobacco and 3-cent hogs and 15-cent corn and 25-cent wheat. That's what you had in 1932—and that's what these Republicans are trying to give you again.

The very first thing they did when they got there was to try to cut the ground from under the Agricultural Adjustment Act.

You can't afford to have that done. It's in your personal interest to go out and vote for

yourselves on election day, and when you do that you'll vote a straight Democratic ticket—and you'll send Tom Underwood to the Congress, and you'll send Virgil Chapman to the Senate. And if you do that I'm very sure that you'll elect the present occupant of the White House, and he won't have to move out and be troubled with the housing shortage.

Don't fail to get to the polls early now, and vote a straight Democratic ticket.

[5.] Mt. Sterling, Kentucky (Rear platform, 11:50 a.m.)

I appreciate very much that most cordial welcome here in Mt. Sterling. You know, that welcome seems to be innate to Kentuckians. Kentuckians have been so cordial to me, in every city I have been through, that I feel like I am a Kentuckian, and I appreciate it most highly, because I am by descent.

It is always a privilege for me to stop and visit with you, and if I had time, I would rather circulate through the crowd and talk to you, and listen to what you have to say, for that is what I like to do.

Kentucky, however, looks very prosperous this year; in fact, the whole country is doing pretty well. Under a Democratic administration, don't forget that!

Senator Barkley and I are going to keep Kentucky and the rest of the country on the high-road of prosperity. And you can help Senator Barkley and me do that if you will send Joe Bates to Congress, and send Virgil Chapman to the Senate. I know you are really with me on that request.

The key question in this campaign is whether we are going to keep running smoothly under a Democratic administration or whether we are going to let the country slide backward. I have known a lot of good Republicans in my life, but the Republican leadership of the 80th Congress have never listened to them, they have been doing what the lobbies said, not what the people said. This Congress has been completely surrounded with lobbies. More lobbies worked for this 80th Congress than ever before in the history of the country. And they accomplished their purpose. This Congress did not work for the welfare of the whole people, they worked for the benefit of the lobbyists and the special interests. That is the reason I am very anxious for you to make a change there.

I told you last night in Louisville that there ought to be a change, you ought to change that Congress and put in a Democratic Congress that will work for the people. I am very sure that is what you are going to do before you get through.

Now if you remember, back in 1932, the Democratic administration is the difference between 15-cent corn and $1.47 corn, the difference between 8½-cent tobacco and 50-cent tobacco. I don't believe you want to turn the clock back to the old days of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, and again go broke and have all your farms foreclosed, as was done in 1932. Last year there were fewer foreclosures than ever before in the history of the country.

You people who get your living from the soil, in my opinion had better go to the polls on election day and vote in your own special interest, and that is the interest of all the people. And if you do that, you will vote the Democratic ticket straight, and then I won't be troubled with the housing shortage in 1949, and I will still stay in the White House.

[6.] Morehead, Kentucky (Rear platform, 12:45 p.m.)

I appreciate most highly that introduction. There must be something sweet about me,

because there's a honeybee flying around this microphone. I'll say this to you, that Kentucky has been mighty sweet to me since I came into the State yesterday afternoon. I think I have seen more Kentuckians on this one trip than any other man in the history of the country; and they have been giving me a most cordial welcome, and I highly appreciate it.

This is beautiful country we have been coming through. It is country that reminds me of home. We have a part of Missouri that looks exactly like Kentucky. Missouri, you know, was settled by Kentuckians—all four of my grandparents were Kentuckians; and I met a football player at Lexington awhile ago, named Lee Truman, who is a great grandson of my grandfather's brother. Now, you figure out what that relationship is. But you are not interested in relationships, you didn't come out here to listen to me talk about that.

I want to discuss with you just a little bit the issues that are before this country. The one issue is the people against special privilege. And that issue was brought about by the election of the 80th Congress, the Congress which I call the Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress, which since it has been controlled by Republican leadership the Democrats have had nothing to say about legislation in the last 2 years, except to head off some very bad legislation that this Republican Congress wanted to put through, and which required two-thirds vote to override, and I vetoed. The Democrats usually sustain me on my vetoes, and I put through more vetoes than any President except Grover Cleveland.

I want you to keep in mind that this is a crusade for the people against special privilege, and if you want to make that crusade work here in Kentucky, you will send Virgil Chapman to the Senate, and Joe Bates back to the House of Representatives, and then I will have some people to support me in the next administration—for I expect to be the next President—who will not allow the undermining of the program which the Democrats set up in 1933 for the farmer.

As you know, if it weren't for the price support program, which was inaugurated by the Democrats in the Agricultural Adjustment Act, you would be back probably getting 8 cents a pound for your tobacco, 3 cents a pound for hogs, and 15 cents a bushel for corn, and a quarter a bushel for wheat. That policy was inaugurated by the Democrats, with an objective in view: to put the farmers on a parity with industry, and that parity has been working.

We have a price support program that has caused the farmer to create a production situation that is the greatest in the history of the world. We have produced in the last 7 years food to feed ourselves and our army while it was in the field, and food to keep the world from starving to death. If it hadn't been for this country's wonderful production, encouraged by Democratic policies, millions of people would have starved to death.

Now then, the Republicans, as soon as they got the chance, tried to undermine that program. The Democratic record on the farm price supports is crystal clear. We enacted it, and we intend to support it.

But what do you think the Republicans intend to do about price supports? Right now, just because elections are coming up in a month, they are making a lot of campaign promises. Republicans don't talk that way except at election time.

Let me read to you what a Republican Congressman from Pennsylvania said right on the floor of the House of Representatives last June about price supports. He is a member of the House Agricultural Committee. This is what he said, and I am quoting him. "The whole parity program is wrong.

The farmers are disgusted with this ridiculous program."

He is trying to tell the farmers that they don't want the prices they are getting now as compared with the prices they got in 1932. I wonder if that is so?

The Republican attitude on price supports is just an example of how they feel toward the farmer, the workingman, the small businessman, and the white-collar man.

You people can't afford to have a party in control in Washington that threatens your well-being.

It is up to you, whether you will turn your Government over to these men in November. If you want a Government that looks out for you, and looks out for peace and prosperity, you are going to vote the Democratic ticket on election day; and I think that is what you are going to do.

This is a crucial election, and that is the reason I am so happy to see so many young people out at every one of these stops, because they are interested in their Government, they are interested in the welfare of this country, and they are the coming generation.

I have said it time and again, that I think we are facing the greatest age in history, and I have said many a time that I wish I were 14 years old instead of 64 years old, and I could see the next generation and how it looks, because we are on the threshold of one of the finest ages that the world has ever seen, and this country is working toward that end.

It has been the policy of this Government to work for peace and prosperity—peace in the world and prosperity in the United States, and that is the policy that I intend to continue.

That is the reason I am making this trip across the country, because I want you people to understand exactly what the issues are: the people against special privilege.

Now, whatever you do, go to the polls early on election day, and don't waste any time. Just take that ticket and vote the Democratic ticket straight down the line, and you will be helping your country, and helping yourselves. You will be not only voting for me, and Virgil Chapman, and Joe Bates, but you will be voting for yourselves and your best interests; and I believe that is exactly what you are going to do.

Thank you very much.

[7.] Olive Hill, Kentucky (Rear platform, 1:21 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman:

You know, I like that prophecy very much, because I'm as sure as I can be, after this trip around the country, that the people aren't being fooled at all by Republican propaganda. We're going to have a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President for the next 4 years.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the wonderful welcome I have received in Kentucky. It's been just like this everywhere I have been for the last 2 days. And I can't understand why you do it, unless you're interested in the things I have to tell you.

I've been trying to tell the people what the issues are. I have been trying to give them a cross-section of why it's necessary for the President of the United States to make a campaign like this.

Well, I'll tell you why it is. I want you to know the facts and the truth about the issues that are before the country at this time. And if you know the facts and the truth you can't help but vote the Democratic ticket straight.

There is just one issue, and that is the people against special privilege.

You know, the first thing they did, when the Republicans got control of the 80th Congress, was to begin to take away the rights of labor. You see, when the Democrats took

over the Government in 1933 they passed a Magna Carta for labor, known as the Wagner Act, and that act gave labor the right to bargain collectively with their employers and gave them a fair chance for a fair distribution of the profits and the wages in industry.

Well, the first thing this 80th "do-nothing" Congress did was to try to tear up that Wagner Act by the Taft-Hartley law. I like to say "Taft-Hartley" because Mr. Taft said, in the last election year in Kentucky, that how that election went would show what would happen in the country. Well, you elected a Democratic Governor by the biggest majority that Kentucky ever gave any Governor, and I know that's a barometer to what you're going to do this fall.

Voice: What has the Taft-Hartley Act done?

Well, the Taft-Hartley Act has done a disservice to labor. I did everything I possibly could to keep it from becoming a law, and if you'll read my veto message on it you'll find exactly what it will do in the future.

And not only were they not satisfied with doing what they could to labor, but they began to undermine the farmer. They did everything they possibly could to take the farm price support program away from the farmer. In 1933 the Democrats inaugurated a farm program which has made the farmer prosperous. The Republicans want to do away with the parity price program. They are unfair to farmers, they are unfair to the laborer, and they are unfair to little business, because they want big business to get all the profits and let a little of it trickle down to the common, everyday man.

I want you to study the issues in this campaign. I want you to use your own head and judgment and vote for your own interests—vote for yourselves. And if you do that you'll send Virgil Chapman as the Democratic Senator from Kentucky, and you'll send Joe Bates back to the Congress—and then I'll have somebody I can work with in the next administration and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage—I'll still be in the White House.

[8.] ASHLAND, KENTUCKY (Rear platform, 3:54 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman:

Thank you very much. I particularly liked the cracker in that introduction—"the next President of the United States."

I'm certainly delighted to be in Ashland, and I am also very sorry because I'm leaving Kentucky. This will be my last stop in the great State of Kentucky—and I had a reception almost as large as this when I came into the State. And at Owensboro and at Louisville, at Lexington, at Winchester, at nearly every place we stopped, it looked to me as if everybody in Kentucky was there—and I think they are all here this time.

You know, I'm going across the country, trying to explain to the people that there is a great stake in this campaign. The basic issue is whether our Government is to be an instrument for the welfare of the people or a tool in the hands of special privilege. Don't let anybody tell you that the Democratic and the Republican Parties are just alike, and that it does not matter which party is in power. You need only to look at the record for the last 30 years and you can see the difference.

Under Republican rule in the twenties the rich were getting richer and the poor were getting poorer. Under the Democratic administration of the past 16 years all the people—business and farmers and workers alike—have marched forward toward a richer life.

You know, last year we had the greatest national income in the history of the world.

It amounted to $217 billion. The farmer got his fair share of that income. Labor got its fair share of that income. And business got its fair share of that income. And that's what happens under the Democratic administration.

Let's look at the Republican record on labor for just a moment.

I wish I had time to discuss all the issues in this campaign, but it would take me all afternoon, so I'm only going to cite one or two instances.

The twenties, under Republican rule, were days of sweatshops, when there was no floor under wages. In 1934 the Democratic administration put through the Wagner Act, the Magna Carta of labor. Labor began to get its rightful share of the national income. And that's what the Democrats believe in. It believes that every single person should have a rightful share of the national income. The Republicans want the big fellows at the top to get the income and let a little trickle down to the everyday fellow.

Now, what did the Republicans do as soon as they got control of this "do-nothing" 80th Republican Congress? They passed the Taft-Hartley Act to weaken the strength of organized labor. The whole purpose of the Taft-Hartley Act is to undermine unions. And if labor is unable to secure decent wages so as to maintain its purchasing power our whole economy will suffer—not just labor alone. That's why I vetoed the Taft-Hartley Act.

You see, when the income is fairly distributed—when the farmers get high prices and can have great production and are assured that they are going to get fair prices for that great production, when labor gets fair wages, when the merchants can sell their merchandise at a fair profit, when the white-collar man has a fair salary—that means that everybody is getting a fair share of the good things of life. And that's what the Democratic Party stands for.

The Republicans aren't satisfied with all the damage they have done in this 80th "do-nothing" Congress. They want to finish tearing up the Wagner Act. They want to finish putting the farmer back where he'll get 3 cents for his hogs, 8½ cents for his tobacco, 15 cents for corn, and a quarter a bushel for wheat.

Now, I'm going to prove to you that the Republicans are not through with either labor or the farmer.

One of the authors of the act, Congressman Hartley, proposed only a few days ago to bring the unions under the laws against monopolies. That's a typical Republican Party act. They want to put the laboringman, in his fight for good wages, in the same class with the billion-dollar corporation. They want to do that so they can cut down on the workingman's share of the national income.

It will be up to you on election day to determine whether you want that kind of Government or not for the next 4 years. You can travel down the road to another depression and disaster with the Republican Party or you can keep this country on the road to progress and prosperity.

Ours is the richest country on earth. We can make sure that all our people receive a fair share of what our mines and mills and farms produce, or we can let a privileged few take the lion's share and let the rest of us have the crumbs. That's the choice that's before you on November 2d.

You know, only a third of you voted in 1946—two-thirds of you stayed at home—and we got that 80th "do-nothing" Congress as a result of two-thirds of you not exercising the greatest privilege on earth, the privilege of taking a part in your Government—and when you vote you are a part of the Government. When you don't vote you don't have any right to kick about the

kind of government you get.

Now, get out early in the morning on election day. All of you get out early on election day and vote the Democratic ticket straight, and if you do that you'll send Joe Bates back to the House and you'll send Virgil Chapman to the Senate, and then we'll have people from Kentucky with whom I can work.

And on top of that, you'll have the greatest Vice President that the country has ever had in Alben Barkley.

And another thing: You'll prevent me from suffering from the housing shortage. I won't have to move out of the White House.

You know, I had a grand time in Kentucky, and as I said before, I certainly hate to leave the State.

But you know, all the way across this great State more than half the audiences have been made up of young people, people who seem to be interested in the future. And they are interested in the future; and this campaign is a vital one. All you young people, when you get control of the Government—as you will in the next generation—will look back on this campaign as one of the key campaigns in the history of the whole country. It's a campaign to keep the special interests from getting control of the Government and to let you young people have something to inherit when we get through with this generation.

Thanks a lot, and it's certainly been awfully nice to have been here.

[9.] HUNTINGTON, WEST VIRGINIA (At the railroad station, 4:35 p.m.)

Senator Kilgore:

I appreciate that introduction most highly. Senator Kilgore and I had the pleasure of serving in the Senate together through a very crucial period. The Senator, in my opinion, is one of the ablest in the Senate. And I am happy to hear that West Virginia is going to send another able Senator to the Senate, Matt Neely. I am well acquainted with both of these gentlemen; and I am here to tell you that if we have Harley Kilgore and Matt Neely in the Senate, things will be a little bit different in the next 4 years.

I am delighted—certainly delighted to be here in Huntington on my first stop in West Virginia. This is a crusade to let the people of the country know just exactly what the issues are; and the way they are turning out, I think they are interested. I have been in a great many States since I left Washington—Iowa, Colorado, Utah, Califorina, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky; and the turnout at every place was just like this one—not quite so many in some places, I have to admit, but everybody is interested in these issues, and they are coming out to hear what the President has to say about them. That is a good sign that the people are ready to take the Government back into their hands, that's what I think.

Huntington has a great many vital industries, and Huntington made a very great contribution to the war effort. Nobody knows that better than Harley Kilgore and I, for we made some visits here to see what you were doing for the war effort.

Huntington has the advantage of a great many cities. Huntington has a great river port, and when you have a great river port, you can always make those fellows behave on freight rates.

One of the chief difficulties now is high prices and inflation. The farmers are getting good prices for their products, the laboringmen are getting good wages, but the special interests were very careful to see to it that we did not get the necessary laws to control inflation. So, those increased wages and increased prices are usually eaten up by

the inflationary prices for the things you have to buy.

I did my best to get things stopped, but I had no luck with this 80th "do-nothing" Congress. For the last 2 years I have tried to get this Republican 80th Congress to do something about high prices, but they refused to consider my demands because the Republican Party is not interested in the welfare of the people as a whole.

The Republican Party is a special interest party, and it always has been. I do not need to tell you, and I certainly do not need to tell you housewives, that prices are going up, and up, and up. And these Republicans don't care how high they go, so long as they can get their rakeoff on them, these special interest fellows.

Since the second half of 1946, prices have been going up faster than the wages of most people in the country. But the Republicans have been trying to cut down the living standards of workers even more. They have been trying to weaken labor unions so that unions no longer can fight for better wages and working conditions for their members.

That is why the Republican 80th Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act. Don't let anybody tell you that the Taft-Hartley Act was passed to protect union members against their own people. The Taft-Hartley Act was passed to strengthen the hands of the employers and to weaken the unions.

Senator Taft, one of the authors of that act, and the Republican leader in the Senate, says so himself. He said, and I quote Senator Taft: "This bill is not a milk-toast bill. It covers about ¾ of the things pressed on us very strenuously by the employers."

I vetoed the Taft-Hartley Act, and I shall do everything in my power to get this vicious, antilabor legislation wiped off the statute books. That is a part of the Democratic platform.

During the last 16 years of Democratic administrations, labor has made tremendous strides in this country. After 12 years of Republican rule, from 1920 to 1932, we had over 12 million unemployed. Today we have 61 million people in jobs, the greatest in the history of the world for any country.

In 1932 the average hourly wage was 47 cents in all industries, and 52 cents in coal mining. Last July it was $1.33 in manufacturing, and $1.85 in coal mining.

In 1932 only 2½ million workers were members of unions. Today there are 16 million workers who are members of labor unions.

Under Democratic administrations, and with Democratic majorities in Congress, the American worker has marched forward towards a better and richer life. The farmer has done the same thing. They march side by side. Don't let anybody tell you that the farmer's and the laborer's interests are not exactly the same. When the farms are prosperous, industries are prosperous. When labor has good jobs, the farmers are prosperous. They go along together, and that is what makes our country great, because they do march side by side.

In the last 2 years, since the Republicans took over the Congress, labor has lost many of its gains, and the farmers are about to lose their bill of rights, also.

You people will determine on election day what kind of government you will have for the next 4 years.

In November 1946 two-thirds of you stayed at home, and you got just exactly what you deserved. You got the 80th "do-nothing" Republican Congress, because you stayed at home and did not vote. The Democratic Party wants to continue the forward march for the whole country. We are not interested in any one class, we are interested in all the people, and we want to see

all the people have what is fair, and what is coming to them. You are the Government. You people are the Government. When you do like you did in 1946, you are shirking your duty. When only one-third of the people in the country vote, there is something radically wrong. You must exercise that privilege, because when you do exercise it, things are right; and when you don't, you get this 80th Republican "do-nothing" Congress.

The Republicans are not interested in the welfare of the whole people. They are only interested in special privilege, they are only interested in helping the rich. It is a policy of the Republican Party that the big fellows ought to get all the big money, and let just a little of it trickle down to the everyday fellow in the street.

That is not the Democratic way. We believe in beginning at the bottom, and letting the good things go up. If a man has got ability and brains and energy, I am glad to see him get to the top, and get a big salary, and have everything that is coming to him; but I want the common everyday fellow to have his fair share of the good things in life. That is the reason I am a Democrat. I have made that fight in the Senate for 10 long years, and I am making it now as President of the United States.

Now, do this for me. If you believe in what I am trying to preach—and I am making a crusade across the country, trying to tell the people what the situation is in this country—go out on election day, every one of you, go out early and go to the polls, and so as not to make any mistake, just vote that Democratic ticket straight; and if you do that, you will have a Democratic bunch of Representatives and Senators in the House and in the Senate, and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage, I will still live in the White House for another 4 years.

[10.] CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA (Address, 8:30 p.m., see Item 223)

[11.] MONTGOMERY, WEST VIRGINIA (Rear platform, 10:43 p.m.)

I never expected to see a crowd like this at this time of night. I'll tell you what I want. I want one of you expert photographers to come up here and take a picture of this crowd, because this picture ought to go in all the newspapers of the country.

I have been all over the United States—I say that advisedly—from one end to the other, time after time. I started just 2 weeks ago today from Washington to make a preliminary campaign tour of the United States. I have been in a great number of States, and I want to say to you that the reception in every State has been just like West Virginia's reception—a most cordial one.

At Huntington this afternoon I thought I had seen everybody in West Virginia, but you have more people here tonight than there were at Huntington this afternoon.

I sincerely hope—I sincerely hope that all of you heard what I had to say at Charleston tonight. I explained just how important this election is to the people. You know, there's just one real issue in this campaign, but it has several ramifications. That issue is the people against special interests. The Democratic Party has always represented the people. The Republican Party has always represented special interests.

In this tour around the country I have been very careful to describe the differences between the stands of the Republican Party and the Democratic Party on the main issues that have come before the people. And you'll always find the Republicans on the side of special interests. When you understand just what the Republican Party has

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done to labor and to the housewife and to the farmer and what it intends to do, if it gets a chance, you can't do anything else but support the Democratic ticket from top to bottom.

You know, in 1946 two-thirds of you stayed at home, and one-third of the people who were interested enough to go out and vote elected this 80th "do-nothing" Republican Congress. And that Congress set out to do three things: it set out to repeal the Wagner Act and take the liberties away from labor by passing the Taft-Hartley Act; and I vetoed it. And I wish you would read my veto on that. Then you would understand just exactly how I feel on the subject. Then they passed a law to undermine the farmers. And when the farmers are not prosperous and when labor is not receiving good wages we are in what the Republicans like to call a depression—a recession is a more kindly word that they use sometimes. We now are facing a situation which, if you do not go out and do your duty on election day, will bring about a boom and bust period, just like you had in the twenties. I'm sure you don't want that. I'm sure you don't want that. Let me urge you with everything I have, now, to vote—not necessarily for me—vote for yourselves. When you vote for yourselves you're voting in the public interest, and when you vote for yourselves you'll vote for me for President, and you'll vote for a Democratic Senator from West Virginia, and you'll vote for a Democratic Congressman for this district in West Virginia—and then maybe I can do some business. I can't, with another 80th Congress.

And when you do that, that will mean that I'll stay in the White House another 4 years, and I won't be troubled with the housing problem.

Voice: You won't have to worry about this county.

I'm not going to worry about this county, but I want every one of you to vote. That's the thing I want you to do. If you vote, West Virginia will have the necessary majority. Be sure, be sure that you elect Okey Patteson Governor.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on October 1 the President referred to Representative Frank L. Chelf, Representative Virgil Chapman, Democratic candidate for Senator, Democratic candidate for Representative Thomas R. Underwood, Dr. Benjamin Winslow Dudley, Judge John Stevenson, Representative Joe B. Bates, and Governor Earle C. Clements, all of Kentucky; Senator Harley M. Kilgore, Democratic candidate for Senator Matthew M. Neely, and Democratic candidate for Governor Okey L. Patteson, all of West Virginia; Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio; and Representative Fred A. Hartley, Jr., of New Jersey.

223 Address in Charleston, West Virginia. *October* 1, 1948

Mr. Chairman, Governor of West Virginia, distinguished guests:

For the past 2 weeks I have been visiting the people of this country.

I have met thousands of people and spoken to hundreds of thousands. I think I have been seen by at least 2½ million people in this country.

I have a vital message to bring to the people of the United States, and tonight I want to bring that message to you.

The heart of my message is this: The national election this fall will decide matters of grave importance to every man, woman, and child in the United States. It will affect the security of your jobs, your homes, and your future.

You have a choice between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. Within the memory of most of us here, a clear rec-

ord has been written that shows how much difference that choice can make.

The Republicans wrote part of their record from 1921 to 1933. They led the country to depression, poverty, and despair.

It is easy to forget what the black days of the depression were like. Let us recall a few, just a few of the bitter facts.

In 1932, after 12 years of Republican bungling, more than 12 million men and women were unemployed.

In 1932 the average worker in manufacturing industries was making 45 cents an hour—if he was lucky enough to have a job. In coal mining, the most hazardous of all occupations, miners were making 52 cents an hour—if they were lucky enough to have jobs.

The workingmen and women in this country could not do much to help themselves, because the strength of their unions had been broken by the reactionary labor policies of the Republican administration.

The Republican bubble burst in 1929, and when it burst:

—There was no minimum wage to cushion the blow.

—There was no unemployment compensation to carry the workingman's family along.

—There was no work relief program to help people through the crisis.

—But the party of privilege was ready to carry big business through the crisis. It created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for that purpose. The banks, the railways, the insurance companies—they got relief, but not the American people.

—For the unemployed, it was Hoovervilles and soup kitchens. Veterans were encouraged to go into business for themselves—selling apples.

That is the Republican record. Most of us well remember it.

The Democratic part of the record begins in 1933, when the Democratic Party began to build prosperity for business, labor, and agriculture.

We wrote into law the right of the workingmen and women to organize in unions of their own choice, and to bargain collectively.

We put a floor under wages.

We outlawed child labor.

We created a great insurance system to protect workingmen and women against the hazards of unemployment and old age.

We wrote into law a system of price supports for farm products, so that the bottom would not drop from under the farmer's income the way it did in the 1920's.

We put a curb on Wall Street speculation, and stopped the money changers from gambling with people's savings.

With these reforms and many others, the Democratic Party brought the country to the greatest period of prosperity ever known in the history of the world.

Things are far different now from what they were in 1932.

The average farm income of the farmer in 1947 was $725 per person, nearly ten times as great. In 1932 it was $74 per person.

The coal miner who got 52 cents an hour in 1932, gets $1.94 an hour in 1948. He deserves every cent of it, too; and I'm glad to see him get it.

And business hasn't suffered too much under the New Deal! Corporations had a loss of $4 billion in 1932. But in 1947 they had a profit of $17 billion, after taxes.

These same corporations—these same corporations now claim the Democrats are hostile to business. If I were in their shoes, I would want some more of that kind of hostility.

Today, signs of prosperity are all over the country. I have been all over the country, and I know what I am talking about!

Farm production is greater than it ever

was. Industrial production is greater than it every was. Everybody who wants a job can get one.

That's the way America is today. The real question facing us in this election is whether or not we are going to keep it that way.

For all this did not come about by accident. Some people would like to make you think it did. The leaders of the Republican Party would like you to believe that the country just drifted into the great depression, and that it just drifted out again into prosperity. They would like you to believe that the Democratic New Deal had nothing to do with recovery—and that the Republicans had nothing to do with the Hoover panic.

That is not true and the people know it is not true.

The country was driven into depression by the policies of a Republican administration and a Republican Congress that served the selfish interests of the rich and powerful business groups.

The country was brought out of the depression by the intelligent foresight and planning of the Democratic Party—and above all by following the fundamental belief of the Democratic Party that the true road to prosperity begins with looking after the little fellow. The Republicans believe in taking care of big business first and letting the little fellow take care of himself.

The Republicans would like you to forget these fundamental differences between the two parties. But during the past 2 years we have been given a sharp warning that these differences still exist, and these differences are wide and deep. That has been made completely clear by the record of this Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress.

No matter what the Republicans do or say, the Republicans cannot escape responsibility for that black record.

I know, of course, that there are many fine people throughout the United States, who from habit or choice are members of the Republican Party. To them I say that the national leadership of their party has failed them miserably.

I know, too, that among the Republicans of the 80th Congress there were a few liberal men who joined the battle against special privilege. You can pick these men out by their votes. They voted with the Democrats in the Congress more often than they did with their own Republican leadership. When these men went to their party caucuses they must have felt very lonesome.

The record of the 80th Congress was made by the forces that dominate the Republican Party.

I thank God that the men who held positions of leadership in dealing with foreign affairs were of a character which made it possible for us to work together in carrying out our foreign policy on a bipartisan basis.

But on domestic issues it was a different matter. The Republican leadership started out to follow the same policies that nearly wrecked the country under Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover.

Some people have accused me of failing to cooperate with the Republican leadership in carrying out those policies. Now, I must confess to you that I am going to plead guilty to that charge. Of course, I did not cooperate in carrying out policies that I knew would bring disaster on the American people.

But I will tell you how you can get some cooperation in carrying out those policies—if that's what you want. I will tell you how you can achieve unity in a headlong dash toward another depression. Just elect a Republican President to go along with a Republican Congress.

Just elect a man who said—and I quote: "I am proud of the record of my party and

of the 80th Congress."

Just elect a man who said: "The 80th Congress delivered as no other Congress ever did for the future of our country."

Apparently he will be glad to help deliver a lot more of the same kind of blows you got from the 80th Congress. But bigger blows—and faster and more of them.

What did this Republican Congress deliver for the future of the country?

For one thing, it delivered a body blow at labor in the form of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The fundamental purpose of the Taft-Hartley Act is to weaken organized labor. Its supporters want management to have the upper hand in collective bargaining. Do you know why? They want management to have the upper hand so that wages can be driven down.

What else did the Republican Congress deliver for the future of our country?

It delivered a body blow at nearly a million workers by taking away their social security rights.

It delivered a body blow at millions of our veterans by refusing to provide a decent housing program.

It delivered a blow at every family in the Nation by failing to act on high prices.

What else did the Republican Congress deliver for the future of our country? It delivered a whole long list of blows at every foundation of our present prosperity and at our hopes for progress in the future. I can't cover them all tonight, but I will tell you about just one more.

That is the rich man's tax relief bill.

The Republican Congress passed a tax bill that reduced the revenues of the Government by more than $5 billion. That Congress passed it three times and I vetoed it every time. But on the third try, they passed it over my veto.

I believed that the safety of our national finances required that we make large payments on the public debt in times of prosperity. I still think so. But the Republican rich man's tax relief bill has brought us face to face with the prospect of going into the red again.

I believed that when the wartime taxes were reduced, the poor man should be relieved first and most. I still think so. But the Republican tax bill doesn't work that way.

I warned that the tax reduction bill would add to the inflationary pressures and make prices go even higher. And it did.

For most of you, the tax bill hasn't helped a bit. If you make $60 a week, your taxes were reduced about $1.50 a week. But since May, when that $1.50 began to show up in your pay envelope, prices have gone up so much that the $1.50 is already wiped out.

The rich man fared much better under the tax bill. A married couple with an income of $100,000 a year got a tax cut of $16,725 a year—$16,725 a year! That's about $12,000 more than my net salary as President of the United States.

Of course, prices haven't gone up for them any more than they have for you. So I would say that they came out pretty well.

Is it any wonder that we call this a rich man's tax relief bill?

That's typical of the way the Republican 80th Congress delivered for the future of the country. Some time later, I am going to elaborate on just exactly what they did with the budget this year. And it fits in with this rich man's tax relief bill. It's outrageous what they did to the country on that.

That Congress delivered for the interests that had their lobbyists swarming all over the Capital. It delivered for special privilege groups that put up the big money at election time.

They are doing that right now in this elec-

tion. That same bunch of lobbyists and people whom they represent are paying for the Republican campaign right this minute.

Now, they passed a great many bills, which I vetoed. There is only one President who has a greater veto record than I have, in the short time that I have been President, and that is Grover Cleveland; and I am proud of that veto record, because I was standing there working for the people, when I was signing those vetoes.

But they passed a great many—not a great many, but several—among them this tax relief bill and the Taft-Hartley bill. They passed those bills over my veto.

But when a bill becomes the law of the land, the President of the United States has sworn to enforce the law, and as President of the United States, I have lived up to that oath which I took to support the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

But if you want these bad things remedied, you had better give me a Congress for the next 4 years that is working for the people and not for the special interests.

Now, if you want unity and harmony and sweetness and light in getting more deliveries of the kind I have been describing, just shut your eyes and vote Republican.

But if you want something delivered for labor, if you want something delivered for the farmers, and if you want something delivered for the small businessmen, and for the white-collar worker—there is just one way you can make your vote count. Vote the Democratic ticket.

Today, the Democratic Party is the party of the American people. It was the party of the people under Jefferson and Jackson. It was the party of the people under Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt.

Today, we of the Democratic Party express the will of the American people to move forward, under liberty, yielding neither to communism nor to reaction.

Today, the Democratic Party stands before the country a living force for peace and freedom.

Today, we are rallying our forces for the greatest struggle in our history. In that struggle, I ask your support.

Just give us the votes on election day, and we will do the job.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:30 p.m. in the Municipal Auditorium in Charleston. In his opening words he referred to Clarence W. Meadows, Governor of West Virginia. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

224 Telegram to the President of Israel. *October* 2, 1948

ON THIS your first New Year's Eve as President of the Provisional Council of the State of Israel I send you warm personal greetings and congratulations. May the New Year bring peace to Israel and to its citizens the opportunity to dedicate themselves in tranquillity to furthering the prosperity of their country.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[His Excellency, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the Provisional Council of State, Tel Aviv]

225 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. *October 6, 1948*

[1.] WILMINGTON, DELAWARE (Rear platform, 10:45 a.m.)

Mr. Chairman:

I am certainly highly pleased at this wonderful reception. This reception reminds me of those I have been receiving all over the United States. It shows that the people are interested in the issues in this campaign, and they are coming out to learn about them.

This is my first stop in Delaware for a speech. This is a crusade I am carrying to the people. I have many wonderful friends in this great State—former Senator Hughes served with me in the Senate, and of course, your great man, Jim Tunnell, who is fighting for the same cause I am. It was a great blow to the people of Delaware when you stayed at home in 1946 and let Jim Tunnell get beaten. I don't want you to do that any more. You have got a chance to undo that this year.

This year, the country has awakened, I think. I have seen it on my trips through the West, and I know that on election day you are going to send Allen Frear to the Senate and Carl McGuigan to the House. Last year, I am told, he was named the man of the year in Delaware. This year, all Delaware is going to name him the man of 1948. Carl McGuigan is proud that Wilmington is his hometown, and we of the Democratic Party are proud of his great labor background. This will be mighty helpful to us when we come to write some of the decent Democratic labor legislation in Washington.

Mr. McGuigan and Mr. Allen Frear tell me that some of the people who work here in Wilmington are forced to find a place to live way over in Pennsylvania. I say that is wrong. I say they ought to do something about it, and I say they can do something about it. You all know about FHA and low-rent public housing, and slum clearance and other great housing programs enacted by President Roosevelt's administration. During the war we were too busy building guns and tanks to build houses. When the war ended, it became clear that we were going to have a housing shortage, so I submitted to Congress a comprehensive housing program to take care of that shortage. We called it the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. It would have enabled every American family, whatever that family's income, to have a decent place to live. The Republicans and the powerful real estate lobby fought that bill tooth-and-toenail.

I proposed this great housing program to the 80th "do-nothing" Congress. I told that Republican 80th Congress that we needed 20 million more homes by 1960. I explained to them that if we continue at the present rate of construction, we would hardly have more than half that many by 1960.

The House of Representatives refused to act, so I called the special session of Congress in, just to deal with this housing, and high prices.

Republicans and Democrats had to stand up before the people and be counted. Seventy percent of the Democrats in the Senate stood up and said they were in favor of providing low-cost housing for the people of America. Seventy percent of the Republicans who controlled the leaders in the Congress stood up and said they don't want to provide the people of America with low-cost housing.

The record stands. The Congressional Record will show you just exactly how the two parties divided on that proposition.

You remember back in Hoover's campaign, the slogan was: "Two cars in every garage." Apparently, the Republican candidate is running on a slogan of two families in every garage.

You can break up the housing shortage, if you want to. You can get lower prices, more social security, health insurance for your family, fair labor laws, and all the others you want and you need. You won't have any trouble getting them, but you can only get them by coming out and voting on the 2d of November. You can only do that by going to the polls early, and making no mistake. Just vote the Democratic ticket straight and elect every one of your State officers, and the President of the United States. If you do that, I won't have any trouble with the housing shortage myself, I will still have a place to live.

I am sorry to have to inform you this morning that my daughter couldn't come with me on this trip. She had to make an engagement in the city of St. Louis before this trip was organized, and she had to go to St. Louis; but how would you like to meet Mrs. Truman?

[2.] PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA (At the Richard Allen Housing Project, 3:45 p.m.)

I am very highly appreciative of the fact that you have shown me some of the housing conditions here in Philadelphia.

For your information, I had seen them before. I have been all over these projects on a number of occasions, and I want to say to you that it is not the fault of your President or the Democratic minority that you haven't the funds to operate here.

The housing bill died in the House of Representatives. It passed the Senate twice. I sincerely hope that eventually we will get that housing bill through, so we can promote projects like this. They are not a burden on the taxpayer. They eventually pay themselves out.

I cannot, for the life of me, understand why the real estate lobby insists on preventing our doing just such projects as this.

Thank you very much.

[3.] CAMDEN, NEW JERSEY (City Hall, 4:25 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen, and fellow Democrats of Camden and South Jersey:

It is a very great pleasure for me to be here today, and to be welcomed so cordially by the citizens and the officials of the great city of Camden. I have been here in times past. When I was Chairman of the Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program, I made several tours of your shipyards here and in Philadelphia, and I know something about the contribution that you made to win the war, not only in construction, but in the young men who went to war.

I just talked to a gentleman now who told me that he had six boys in the service, and three of them are disabled. You cannot make a greater sacrifice than that, my friends, for this great country—and you cannot make too great a sacrifice for this great country, I will say that to you, too.

You are faced now with one of the most important campaigns in the history of this great United States. This is a campaign, the issue of which is the people against the special interests. That is the issue in this campaign, and if you want to meet that issue, you will not fail to study just exactly what the Republican Party stands for and what the Republican candidate is preaching.

The Republican candidate was nominated over here across the river in Phila-

delphia, and they wrote a platform over there, and that platform is the most hypocritical document that I ever read in my life. When I read that platform, I decided I would go out and tell the people just how many lies it contained; and when I read that platform I decided I would call them back into special session and see whether they meant it or not.

They didn't mean a word of that platform, as they showed in the special session.

I asked them for price control. I asked them for housing. I asked them for several things in which you are vitally interested. And then, you will remember, that Republican Congress who claimed to have been the friend of the people, wrote that terrible Taft-Hartley Act which took the liberties away from labor.

But, they were very careful to write a rich man's tax bill, which took care of their friends, all right.

Camden is vitally interested in housing. When I first became an occupant of the White House, I asked the Congress for a housing bill which would help meet the situation with which you are faced right here, and with which they are faced over across the river in Philadelphia. But did they do anything about it? They did not. That last session of the 80th "do-nothing" Republican Congress passed a fake housing bill, and are now trying to make you believe that they passed a housing bill. That bill is not worth the paper it's written on, so far as the welfare of the people is concerned, the real estate lobby has seen to that.

I wish I had time to stand here this afternoon and discuss with you all the issues in this campaign, but it would take me all night to do it. I am going to discuss some of them over in Philadelphia tonight, and I hope you will listen to what I have to say, because it is of vital interest to you and to the country.

Now then, in order for you to do your duty, you must get out early on election day, and you must elect a Democratic Senator from New Jersey — Archie Alexander. Don't forget that now.

And you must elect a Democratic Congressman from this district—John Dungess. Don't forget that.

If you are patriotic citizens, you will be sure, on the morning of November the 2d to get up early, and go to that polling place, ask for a straight Democratic ticket and put it in the box, and go home satisfied that you have done something for the welfare of the country.

Not only will you have done something for the welfare of the country as a whole, but you will be voting for yourselves. When you cast that ballot, you will be voting for your best interests.

Study the issues in this campaign. Then elect a Democratic Senator and a Democratic Congressman—and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage, I will still stay in the White House.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on October 6 the President referred to former Senators James H. Hughes and James M. Tunnell, Democratic candidate for Senator J. Allen Frear, Jr., and Democratic candidate for Representative J. Carl McGuigan, all of Delaware; and Mayor George E. Brunner of Camden, Democratic candidate for Senator Archibald S. Alexander, and Democratic candidate for Representative John Dungess, all of New Jersey.

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226 Address at Convention Hall in Philadelphia. *October 6, 1948*

Senator Myers, and fellow Democrats of Pennsylvania:

I am certainly glad to be here tonight and to have this opportunity to discuss with you some of the issues in this campaign. I was here one night not long ago and discussed some of them with you at 2 o'clock in the morning.

I am going to discuss some of the real issues—and discuss them in plain language—just as I have been doing all over the country.

A national election is a great event in the life of a free people. It gives them a chance to decide their own national destiny. In making this decision, they are entitled to know where the opposing parties and the opposing candidates stand on the vital issues.

They are entitled to hear something more than sweet lullabies, which is all they are getting from the Republican candidates.

In this election, I know very well why the Republicans want to stick to vague generalities and stay away from specific issues. It is because—on the issues that count with the people, the Republican Party is wrong, and the Democratic Party is right.

But we will take care of that. We will tell the people where the Democratic Party stands. And, since the Republicans are ashamed to tell where they stand, we will tell the people about where they stand, too.

There was a time a few years ago, when the Republicans would come out—even at election time—and openly attack the Democratic Party's New Deal. But that didn't work so well. They lost too many elections that way. So they changed their tune.

Then they began coming around at election time with a theme song entitled, "Me, too, but I can do it better." They lost a few elections that way, too, but they're still trying.

They tell you, "We know the Democrats took you out of the great depression that we created, but they didn't do it very well. We can do it better."

The Republicans tell you, "We are all for labor's right to collective bargaining, which the Democrats gave you, but we know how to make it work better."

They say to the farmer, "We know you are better off than you ever have been before, and the Democratic farm program is so good that we are not against it any more, but we could run it a lot better."

They don't talk much at election time about how they fought against these great progressive measures tooth and toenail. They just say, "Turn all these Democratic programs over to us, and we will take care of everything. Just leave everything up to the Republican Party and you won't have anything to worry about."

Do you know what that sounds like to me? It sounds like a "company union." It sounds like one of these generous employers who say to the men and women who work for them, "You don't need to form a union. I'll do it for you—and the union I give you will be better than yours, because we won't be fighting with each other."

That's what the Republicans are trying to do now. They want to take the industrial workers and the white-collar workers, and the farmers, and all the other plain people in this country, and roll them all together in one big company union, and run it for the benefit of the National Association of Manufacturers.

They have all their promises wrapped up in a package called "unity," which they guarantee to cure more ills than any patent medicine man ever saw. They won't tell you any more about what's in that package

than a quack doctor will tell you about what's in his magic cure-all.

I don't believe the American people will be taken in by that kind of quackery.

Now, all of us believe in unity, of course. You believe in it and I believe in it.

But we believe in unity of free men. We believe in unity in great causes.

We don't believe in unity of slaves, or the unity of sheep being led to slaughter. We don't believe in unity under the rule of big business—we will fight it to the end.

Now, some of these Republican campaign orators have been going around trying to sell the idea that their kind of unity would strengthen our voice in world affairs. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The United States is the hope of the world, because we are a free people and because we are prosperous. When these freedoms begin to be cut down, and when our great prosperity begins to wane, under the dead hand of reaction, then our chances of leading the world to peace will surely be weakened.

Peace, my friends, is the goal of my public life. I'd rather have a lasting peace in the world than to be President of the United States. I wish for peace, I work for peace, and I pray for peace continually.

Now, there is another carefully cultivated line of propaganda going around to the effect that the Democratic Party ought to be turned out of office, just because it has been in power for 16 years. I regard that as a very strange and fallacious argument.

Some things get better with age. That is true of the liberal principles which were given new life and meaning under that great American—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Are you ready to desert those liberal principles now? I am sure you don't! I think you know how much they mean to you and to the Nation and to the world. I don't think you've forgotten the depths of despair from which the Democratic Party rescued this country in 1932.

I don't think you've forgotten the steady climb to new confidence and prosperity that has taken place since then.

And now when this country is enjoying the greatest prosperity it has ever known, I don't think you will throw it away by returning to the party of special privilege.

The Republican Party doesn't like to be referred to as the party of special privilege. They want you to think that the elephant's got a "new look."

I know that there are enlightened and liberal elements in the Republican Party. But they do not control it. Any liberal who wants to make his vote count in this election must vote for the Democratic Party.

If there ever was any doubt about this, it has now been dispelled. The leadership of the Republican Party stands foursquare upon the record made by that party in the 80th Congress—the "do-nothing" Congress—as far as the welfare of the people is concerned.

They have achieved unity—but it is not based on the benefits or beliefs of Theodore Roosevelt or George Norris or Bob Lafollette. They have based their unity on the record of the Tabers and the Tafts, and the Martins and the Wherrys, and the Hartleys and the Hallecks.

Is that the kind of unity you want? I am sure you don't!

Let's take a look at the record of the 80th Congress they're so proud of. I call it the "notorious, do-nothing, Republican 80th Congress." Maybe I ought to leave out the "do-nothing" part of it, because it did do some things—most of them bad.

What did the 80th Congress do to labor?

It passed the Taft-Hartley law. I want to tell you what kind of law that was, but just so I won't be accused of making a partisan statement, I'll quote from a Republican Senator—one who has had more experience

in labor matters than any other Republican in the Senate.

This is what Republican Senator Wayne Morse said about the Taft-Hartley Act, and I quote from the Congressional Record. This is what he said: "This bill is a device for making unions so weak they cannot carry on effective collective bargaining." That's a real indictment.

That Taft-Hartley Act was passed over my veto.

It ought to be repealed.

The Democratic Party platform, made right here in this hall, calls for its repeal.

But the Republican platform brags about the Taft-Hartley Act; and we are informed that the Republicans are preparing even more repressive legislation for the next Congress.

I don't believe that labor unions ought to be destroyed. I don't believe the American people think so, either. And on November the 2d, I believe the American people will repudiate the enemies of labor at the ballot box.

Now, let's get back to that famous 80th Congress.

I am not attacking the institution of the Congress. I served in Congress for 10 years and I am proud of that service. The Congress is one of the great bulwarks of our liberties. That is why I am unhappy when the control of Congress falls into bad hands.

I am not attacking all the individual members of the 80th Congress. For many of them were fine, forward-looking men—doing all they could for the people. I might add that those fine, forward-looking men were Democrats.

The 80th Congress was controlled by its Republican leadership. That is the same leadership that would control the next Congress, if the Republicans were in the majority. That is the leadership that made the record that tells you what you can expect from the Republican Party.

It was an unholy alliance between the Republican Party and big business that actually created the most pressing domestic problem facing the country today—the high cost of living.

Let me tell you some history.

During the war, such a large part of our national production was required for war purposes that we were not able to meet all the civilian demands at home. Of course, when the demand for goods greatly exceeds the supply, prices naturally go up.

To prevent this, President Roosevelt proposed, and a Democratic Congress adopted, price controls. We made sure that the goods which were available would be sold at a fair price, and would be fairly distributed. We made sure that the wages and salaries we were earning would not lose their purchasing power during the wartime.

From the time of President Roosevelt's "hold-the-line" order in May 1943 until the Republicans killed effective price control in 1946, prices remained almost unchanged. They increased only 6½ percent. This was the greatest job of stabilizing a wartime economy any country ever did.

There was no good reason why prices could not have been held down after the war ended—until supply caught up with demand.

Our Democratic administration had a careful plan for keeping controls on goods in short supply, and gradually taking them off as supply caught up with demand. Under that plan, the country would have gone forward steadily and firmly to a peacetime economy.

But the unholy alliance of big business and the Republican Party did not want it that way. Big business wanted to make more money. Corporate profits, even under price control, were more than double what they had been before the war. But that wasn't

enough for big business.

So the biggest corporations in the country chipped in $3 million to one organization to convince the American people that price control was bad. This $3 million campaign was a huge success. The National Association of Manufacturers actually boasted about it. They said that when NAM started the campaign against OPA, a survey showed 85 percent of the people believed that OPA was absolutely necessary. They said in November 1946, after the NAM campaign, only 26 percent of the people believed that OPA was vital. You see how that organization misled everybody in the country.

Once public support was destroyed, it was not too hard to get the law changed. The Republican leaders in Congress were ready, willing, and able. They killed OPA by amending it to death.

They were so proud of their accomplishment that Senator Wherry, the Republican whip, stated to the lumber manufacturers, and I quote Senator Wherry, who is the Republican whip in the Senate: "It was the Republican leadership in the Senate and the House that was responsible for ending OPA."

That, of course, is not the story they tell you now. They blame high prices on everything and everybody, except the Republican Party and excessive business profits.

They're using the farmer as their whipping boy in the cities, and labor as their whipping boy on the farm. Apparently, they figure that, if they can get the city folks good and mad at the farmers, and get the farmers good and mad at the city folks, they will have unity.

I want to say somehing to you here and now—because I don't talk out of both sides of my mouth at the same time. I am just as strong for the welfare of the farmer as I am for the welfare of the city worker. I believe the prosperity of one helps the prosperity of the other. I want you to know that I am in favor of fair prices for the farmer, just as I want the farmer to know that I am in favor of good wages for labor.

Farm price supports have not caused high prices. As a matter of fact, the farm price support program is a great blessing to city people. It has resulted in such great increases in farm production that consumer prices are far lower than they would be, if we had no farm price support program.

Now, how about our workers? Since OPA was killed in 1946, workers have been on a treadmill, running as hard as they could trying to keep from falling behind. And workers have been losing the race. While weekly earnings have gone up 22 percent, prices have gone up 29 percent.

White-collar workers, retired people, disabled veterans, and others on fixed incomes have taken an even worse beating.

It could all have been easily avoided.

The Republicans will, of course, tell you that every price increase has been made necessary by wage increases.

Now, since OPA was killed, big business has made every cost-of-living wage increase the excuse for rising prices. And those price increases have paid for wage increases many times over.

Look at the steel industry, for example. It had a wage increase recently which will cost it $160 million. So it increased prices enough to bring in $600 million more—more than 3½ times as much as the industry needed to cover wage increases.

No wonder corporate profits have increased 70 percent since the end of OPA.

That's the true story of why prices are so big.

That's the story you'll never get from the big corporations.

That's the story you'll never read in the reactionary Republican papers.

That's the story you'll never hear from

Republican campaign orators.

The murder of price control is a skeleton in the Republican family closet, and they don't want to draw it out.

Now, there is no secret to this problem of controlling high prices. We did it before—during the war—and we could do it again.

I called a special session of the 80th Congress for that purpose in November 1947, when the cost of living had shot up so far that everybody could see how wrong the Republicans were with their soothing promises and prophecies of 1946. They refused to act. Prices went higher.

In the State of the Union Message this last January, I said that the high cost of living was the most urgent domestic problem before the Congress. Still the Republicans refused to act. And prices climbed still higher.

So I called this year's special session in July. And the Republican Congress again refused to act.

The directions received from Albany were to hang around a week or two and then go home. And they did just that.

The Republican attitude was summed up by Senator Taft, when he said— and I quote him: "If consumers think the price is too high today, they will wait until the price is lower. I feel that in time the law of supply and demand will bring prices into line."

There is your answer from the Republicans. If it costs too much, just wait. If you think 15 cents too much for a loaf of bread, do without it, until it comes down.

If you don't want to pay 60 cents a pound for hamburger, just don't buy any hamburger, do without it—wait!

How long will you have to wait? Well, I'll tell you.

You will never get anything done about high prices by a Republican President or a Republican Congress. Their big corporation backers don't want prices to come down.

But with a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress, the country will get action on high prices, I can guarantee that.

We Democrats believe that America is big enough and prosperous enough to produce plenty for everybody.

We believe that we Americans have it within our power to control our Nation's destiny.

That is where you can do your part. Make sure that all your friends know what the issues are.

Don't let the Republicans hide from the truth. That is what they are trying to do now.

We can take heart from a comment made by that great American heavyweight champion Joe Louis. In one fight, some time ago, he had a hard time catching up with his opponent. But Joe finally did catch up with him, and he knocked him out.

After the fight, this was what Joe said: "Well, he could run away, but he couldn't hide."

Don't let the Republicans hide the truth from you.

We can have the kind of America we want, if the people vote for it on election day.

Don't let the Republicans hide the truth. We want an America where everybody gets a decent break all the time. Now, in order to get that break, get up early on election day and go vote the Democratic ticket straight.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:35 p.m. at Convention Hall in Philadelphia. His opening words "Senator Myers" referred to Senator Francis J. Myers of Pennsylvania. Later he referred to Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, Senator Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska, and Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio.

227 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. *October 7, 1948*

[1.] BRIDGEPORT, PENNSYLVANIA (Rear platform, 9:40 a.m.)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, and fellow Democrats of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania:

I can't tell you how I appreciate this wonderful turnout in this great industrial center in Pennsylvania at this time of day. It shows to me very plainly that you are really interested in the coming campaign. It shows to me that you want to find out just exactly what the issues are, and that you want to see what your President looks like, you want to know what he stands for, and then you can go to the polls on November 2d and vote intelligently for your own interests.

Now, there are a number of issues in this campaign, but there is only one fundamental issue and that is the people against the special interests.

The Democratic Party represents the people. The Republican Party does now and always has represented the special interests.

Among the first things they did when they got control of the Congress of the United States—that awful 80th Congress which has shown conclusively that they are for the special interests—was to pass a rich man's tax bill for themselves, and to begin to take liberties away from labor.

The Democratic platform is for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, and if you will elect a Democratic Congress, send Harry Keller to Congress from this district, and that will help, because if we get a Democratic Congress we will work on that Taft-Hartley bill in your interests. If you send a Republican Congress, they will take the rest of your liberties away from you.

I have been trying to get this Congress to do something in the public interest. They met first in January 1947, and I went to them with a Message on the State of the Union asking for certain things. They didn't do anything I talked with them about. Then in November 1947 I called a special session and asked them to do certain things about prices, and in the interests of the general public. They did nothing. Then in my Message on the State of the Union in 1948, I put the same proposition up to them. They did nothing.

Then they went to Philadelphia, and they wrote the most hypocritical platform that has ever been put before the public. I called them back into session to do some of the things they said they were for. Do you know what they did? They went home without doing a single, solitary thing; and now they think they are going to fool the people.

They did nothing about prices. You know, Taft said that if we would let the price controls off, everything would level off, particularly clothing. Now, all you people who have to buy clothing for your children starting school this fall, know exactly what the situation is—that prices went up, and up, and up—went through the roof. Didn't hurt Mr. Taft or the economic royalists.

Remember those things now when you go to the polls on the 2d of November, and watch what I am saying to you people. They dare not answer me. They are afraid to get on the issues. They talk about home, and mother, what a nice country it is, "you can trust us." You can't trust 'em. The 80th Congress proved that. That Congress was a special interests Congress. It had more lobbyists around its doors than any other

Congress that has ever met in the history of the United States.

Don't send back another one like that, at the polls on the 2d of November. Just to be sure you are right, vote the straight Democratic ticket, and then you will have a State administration and a national administration that is in the interests of the people and not the special interests.

[2.] READING, PENNSYLVANIA (11:10 a.m.)

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests:

It certainly is a pleasure and a privilege for me to be back in Reading once more. I spent a most pleasant evening and day here on March 2, 1944, when I was just a plain Senator from Missouri, and I was highly entertained and shown the beauty spots of the city by Daniel Hoch, who was my host on that occasion. I addressed the Traffic Club here and explained to them something about what the accidents in this country were costing the United States.

Now, this time I've come back to Reading and I find that the Volunteer Firemen of America are meeting here. I regret exceedingly that in the town where I grew up they didn't have a volunteer fire company or I certainly would have belonged to it. But that's been remedied. Here is what I received this morning: "Mr. President: At a regular meeting of the Rainbow Fire Company No. 1 of Reading, Pennsylvania, held on the above date, the following resolution was unanimously passed: 'Resolved that Harry S. Truman, the honorable and worthy President of the United States of America, be made an honorary member of the Rainbow Fire Company No. 1 of the City of Reading, Pennsylvania.' "

Now, I—with another honor which was conferred upon me—can claim, I think, citizenship in Reading. I received a gold card at the station from the America's Club, which Samuel J. Tilden came here to address when he was running for President back in the seventies. Now, I'm a member of the America's Democratic Club, the oldest one in the country, and I am a member of the Volunteer Firemen's Association of the Reading Fire Company No. 1, which puts me in the National Association of Firemen. I think now I can proceed on a firefighting, whirlwind campaign, just like I have been in all along.

This is a wonderful reception from a wonderful town. I am more than glad that I decided to get off the train and come up here. I don't believe they could have gotten all these thousands and thousands of people around that station. It looks to me—measuring the people by the acre—it looks to me like there are 5 or 6 acres of people here this morning. I am glad so many of you want to see the President, to hear him tell the truth about the issues in this campaign.

I want to congratulate the Democrats on having out-registered the Republicans here two to one. That sure is a record. It's no good, though, if you don't get out on election day.

Some fine people come from this part of the country. One of my good friends was born near here, General Tooey Spaatz, who commanded the greatest air force that was ever assembled in the history of the world. Because of that, the Government of the United States made him a four-star General for life with full pay. That's a very great honor, and General Spaatz deserved it.

Then you have another very able man from this district, George Rhodes over here. And I'm sure you're going to send him to Congress from this district so that when Congress meets in January, we can eradicate some of the terrible things that that awful 80th Congress did to us.

There's one big issue in this campaign. That's whether the country is going to be run for the benefit of all the people by the Democrats, or whether it's going to be run for just a few special interest groups by the Republicans.

The Democrats believe we can keep our prosperity and have it fairly equally distributed.

You know, at this time the farmers have the greatest income in the history of the world. The farmers are getting a fair share of the income of this country. Last year we had an income of $217 billion in this country, and it was reasonably fairly distributed. The farmers got their share, the workingman got his share. Everybody—small business, big business, and all the businesses, all the white-collar people and everybody else got a reasonably fair share of that income.

Now, if the Republicans would have listened to me, it would have been much more fairly distributed. But they didn't, as I'll tell you a little bit more about later on.

I've been fighting for laws to curb high prices and see that everybody gets what he needs at prices he can afford to pay.

The Republicans don't want any price control for one very simple reason: the higher the prices go up, the bigger the profits for the corporations.

Just think of this: the profits of corporations have gone up 70 percent since the Republicans killed OPA. When we had price control in 1943 and 1944 the corporations earned twice what they did before the war, and in 1947 they had the greatest income, after taxes, in the history of the country. And that income is much greater this year. Last year it was $17 billion and it is estimated to be over $20 billion this year.

I think the American people are more interested in lower prices than they are in big profits, and I'm going to continue the fight for price control from here on.

Now we have another situation. Take a look at the record of the Republicans on minimum wage laws. I believe that minimum wages should be raised to at least 75 cents an hour. But the Republicans say $16 a week is enough, and in the 80th Congress they wouldn't touch the 40 cent minimum wage, although I asked them time and again to raise that minimum wage. The Republicans were too busy in the 80th Congress even to consider raising wages, but they weren't too busy to pass the Taft-Hartley law.

I want to raise minimum wages because it will help workers who are just barely getting along under today's Republican high prices. But I want to raise the minimum wages because it will also help the people all over the country, and particularly here in Reading. It will end the unfair competition that you are now getting from low-wage areas.

Let's take a quick look at another issue in this campaign. I wish I had time to thrash them all out for you but this is another in which you are interested: that is, housing.

The Democrats believe the Federal Government ought to step in and meet the acute housing shortage that exists all over the country. But the Republicans don't want to do anything to help clear the slums, build more rural housing, or build low-rent city housing. Now, those things are absolutely necessary for the welfare of this country, and that doesn't mean that that is going to cost the taxpayers more money because those are investments, and over a long period of time, the investment of the Federal Government can be amortized in such a way that everybody will benefit—everybody but the real estate lobbies who have been trying to get away from that sort of thing.

There's one thing for you to do if you want to get some help on high prices and housing

and on minimum wage laws and other things that are needed. That is to be sure that on the morning of November 2d, you get out to the polls and you vote early, and vote a straight Democratic ticket, and then the country will be in safe hands and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage—I can still stay in the White House another 4 years if you do that.

I can't thank you enough for this wonderful turnout. As I say, I wish I wasn't on such a tight schedule. I would like to stay here all day. Thank you very much.

[3.] ALLENTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA (Rear platform, 1 p.m.)

Thank you very, very much. I certainly do appreciate most highly this wonderful turnout here in Allentown. I think every time I go into a town that I will never see another turnout like it, yet the next one is just as great or better than the one before. Isn't that wonderful!

I want to compliment this great city. This is the first time I have been met by a mounted color guard. I appreciate it most highly. You know, when I met your Mayor this morning, I had some detailed information about Allentown, and it made the statement at the head of the information, that Allentown is 254 feet above sea level. Immediately, there began an argument between the Mayor of Pittsburgh and the Mayor of Allentown as to which town was the higher. I don't know which won, but the Mayor fell out with me when I said Allentown had only 92,000 people and he said there were 125,000 people in Allentown. Well, of course, that is the Mayor's privilege. I imagine he is right.

I'm awfully glad to be able to talk with you just a few minutes about the issues in this campaign. You know, you never get a chance to hear those issues unless you listen to the remarks of the Democratic side of the program, because the press is very careful to make you believe there are no issues in this campaign.

The Democrats in this campaign are fighting for continued prosperity for all the people, but the Republican Party believes in the trickle down theory. They think that if a few people on the top of the heap are well off, some prosperity may trickle down to you and me. Now that is what Joe Grundy preaches all the time. That is what he believes in. That is why he is such a power in the Republican Party. He is one of the pillars of that great organization—I call it great because they might, like they did in the 80th Congress, get control of this Republic and then where would the common people be?

The Democratic Party since the days of Jefferson has always believed in and fought for all the people; and if you want to be sure that these policies are carried out in the interests of the people, you had better send Wynn James, Jr. to the Congress from this district—and I believe that is what you are going to do.

I would like to tell you about the fights the Democrats are making for more houses, lower prices, better labor laws, and many others; but unfortunately there isn't time for all that. I will just tell you about one of those issues, and then I hope you will get interested in it and inform yourselves on the facts about the others.

I want to tell you about the battle the Democrats have been fighting for a decent minimum wage. The minimum wage law in our history was put through under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 protects nearly 20 million workers. Twenty million men and women know there is a 40-cent floor below which their Government will not permit their wages to fall. Even when the

law was being passed, the Republicans fought it tooth and toenail. Sixty-one percent of the House Republicans and 87 percent of the Senate Republicans voted against it; but the Democrats voted for it by an overwhelming majority and it passed both Houses.

By the end of the war, increases in the cost of living had made the 40 cent minimum wage obsolete. Now that is only $16 a week—40 cents an hour is only $16 a week. I wonder how many of you—if you are single—could live on $16 a week? Yet, the Republicans think you ought to live on $16 a week and support a family.

I asked for an increase to protect the standard of living of 5 million workers at the bottom of the economic ladder, and ever since then I have been fighting for at least a minimum wage of 75 cents an hour; but the Republicans and their big business allies are still fighting against the minimum wage—94 percent of them voted against increasing even to 60 cents an hour when it came before the Senate last year.

Maybe the Republicans think $24 a week is too good a wage for the average man. That is what 60 cents an hour would mean—they think $24 a week is too much for the ordinary fellow to get.

You people of Allentown are going to have to decide on November 2d whether or not you want a higher minimum wage law that will help everybody. It would help these people at the bottom who are having a hard time getting along, and it would help the high wage areas to stay away from unfair competition with the cheap wage areas. You are going to decide whether or not you want a decent housing program. You know, I made a recommendation for a housing program for this great country of ours to meet the situation, and which would require about 20 million houses between now and 1960—20 million dwellings, I will say, not houses, we want low-rent houses as well as dwellings. The Republicans have said that that is a socialistic approach, although it is an approach which would give us the necessary housing to meet our terrible shortage. Joe Grundy says that that is socialistic, and Mr. Taft had his name on that bill and I understand Joe Grundy turned him down because he said Taft was sponsoring a socialistic housing bill. Taft came back to the Senate and voted against his own bill.

You are going to have to decide whether or not you want to bring prices down. We have all learned from experience that a Republican President and a Republican Congress won't do anything on any of these matters.

Now, if you want to protect yourselves and vote for your own interest, let me advise you what to do on November 2d. Get out there to the polls early in the morning and vote the straight Democratic ticket, and you will be voting for yourselves and your own interest—and you will put me in the position where I won't be up against the housing shortage, I can stay in the White House another 4 years.

[4.] BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA (At the railroad station, 1:40 p.m.)

Congressman Walter, and fellow Democrats of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania:

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this wonderful welcome. I think every time I stop, I've seen the biggest crowd, and they get bigger and bigger and bigger. The people of Pennsylvania apparently are just as much interested in the issues in this campaign as the people of every other State.

I was told, when I started for Pennsylvania, that people would not be interested in seeing and hearing the President. What a mistake that was!

Tad Walter told me what wonderful

people he had here in Bethlehem. I can well believe it. If you send him back to the Congress for the 9th term, it will be proof that you're not only fine people, but that you know what's good for you as well.

I have seen a lot of this country in the last 3 weeks and it looks exceedingly prosperous. More people have jobs than ever before in the history of our country. Over 61 million people are working now. Here in eastern Pennsylvania I understand there is even a labor shortage. There are more jobs than there are people to fill them. That's a record.

Compare that with 1932 when half your population didn't have jobs, and then see whether you want to go back to that or not. That's what 16 years of Democratic administrations have done for the whole country.

It wasn't that way in 1932 after 12 years of Republican rule. And yet there are a few people who seem to want to let the Republicans wreck the country again.

Well, two-thirds of you stayed at home—you didn't, here—but two-thirds of the people of the United States stayed at home in 1946 and they put in the Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress that has already done as much wrecking as it possibly can. Don't let that happen again.

I know you're not going to let it happen because you were not in that two-thirds. You sent Tad Walter back to the Congress—the right sort of a man.

High prices are a real threat to every one of us because if they aren't checked, they will lead straight to another bust, like we had under Herbert Hoover. But the Republicans absolutely refuse to act. The Democratic program of price control during the war kept a ceiling on prices. Everybody got what he needed at a fair price, and he got his share of what was to be distributed. The Republicans killed price control and they refused to do anything to help slow down the fantastic increases in the cost of living. I even called two special sessions of that 80th Republican Congress and asked for price control laws. Both times I asked for price control each year in the Message on the State of the Union.

My great running-mate, Alben Barkley, forced a showdown in the special session last July. He put my price control program directly before the Senate. He forced the Republicans to stand up and be named if they were going to vote against this bill to keep prices down. Believe it or not, 98 percent of the Republicans in Congress stood up and voted against controlling prices.

You here will determine on election day what kind of government you're going to have during the next 4 years. If you want to, you can turn your Government over to those who like inflation and high prices because they are thinking of making more money at your expense. Or, you can send an administration and a Congress to Washington that will extend social security, keep down the cost of living and not kick labor unions in the face, but help them move forward to greater things.

All I ask you and all your friends and neighbors is just to look at the record. If you look at the record, you can't help but go to the polls on election day, as you have usually done here in this district, only do it with a more overwhelming majority this time. Vote the straight Democratic ticket and let us have a Government that believes in the welfare of the people, and not a Government that believes in the welfare of special interests.

It's a wonderful thing, a wonderful thing to have you turn out like this at this time of day. It shows that you are interested in the issues in this campaign. It shows that the Republicans are not fooling you a bit, and I'm glad of that.

[5.] EASTON, PENNSYLVANIA (2:15 p.m.)

Congressman Walter, and fellow Democrats of Easton, Pennsylvania:

It has been a very great privilege to me to travel through Pennsylvania this morning, and to receive such a warm and cordial welcome. Everywhere I have been, it has been just like this, and I appreciate it more than I can tell you.

I want to say to you, also, incidentally, that it is a great surprise to some people.

I have been getting welcomes similar to this all over the United States. All over the United States—everywhere I have been—people have displayed interest in the issues that are now before the country, and I have been trying to place those interests before the people in such a manner that they can understand that there is just one big issue, and that is the people against special privilege. When you analyze the whole thing, that is the issue. I am on a crusade now from one end of the country to the other to let people know just exactly what that means to them.

This is your interest. This is your interest in this campaign. This is the most important campaign that we will have in the next 25 or 30 years, and it will have repercussions for just that long.

You must weigh your interests in the balance and decide whether you want to vote for yourselves and for the welfare of the country, or whether you want to vote for special privilege and send back another Congress that will be just as "no account" as the 80th Congress has been. That Congress, in my opinion, from a domestic standpoint has done the country almost irreparable injury; and if you endorse that program, the one they tried to put through, you will certainly do the country an injury from which it will be a long time recovering.

The Democrats, now, came into office in 1933 when Franklin D. Roosevelt was sworn in as President of the United States. That administration and all the Democratic administrations since that time have been putting legislation on the books in the interests of the people as a whole.

In 1932, the farmers were all broke. One hundred and twenty-three thousand of them were moved off their farms because they couldn't pay the interest on their mortgages. Last year, the farmers had the biggest income they ever had in their history, and there were less than 800 foreclosures in 1947.

In 1932, there were between 12 and 15 million people out of work. In 1947 and 1948, there are more than 61 million people at work. I think that is the best answer to this Republican program, that we ought to change it back to the 1920's. Is that what you want to do?

I say you can't afford to do that. I say your own interest is the interest of this country. We are endeavoring now to assume the leadership which we should have assumed in world affairs in 1920; and a prosperous economy in the United States of America is necessary for world peace and world leadership.

I have spent the whole 3 years since I have been President of the United States in trying to attain a peaceful world. The United Nations is the background and the backbone of that peaceful world. I have given it every support I possibly can. I was present at San Francisco when the charter was signed. I have made the appointments of delegates in the United Nations on a bipartisan basis, and we are supporting a bipartisan foreign policy, which means the welfare of the world as a whole. That bipartisan foreign policy was inaugurated by President Roosevelt and a Democratic

administration.

Don't let anybody tell you anything different on that.

I am urging you—I am urging you to come out on the second day of November and show the world that you believe in the welfare of the United States and in the welfare of the world; and you can do that by sending Tad Walter back to Congress with the biggest majority he ever had, and by voting a Democratic ticket straight in Pennsylvania.

Now if you do that, a lot of people are troubled with the housing shortage, and I have been trying to remedy that. But the Republicans would not agree to it. If you go out and vote the Democratic ticket straight, your President won't be troubled with the housing shortage, he will still be in the White House for another 4 years.

Now, I am very sorry to inform you that my daughter had to go to Missouri, and she cannot appear at this time. I hope sometime she can come up here and see you, but she made some engagements before this trip was planned and organized and she had to keep her engagements. She is just as sorry as her mother and I are that she is not here today.

I appreciate again your cordial welcome and the wonderful reception I have received in this great State of Pennsylvania. I believe that Pennsylvania is going to wake up at last and go Democratic.

Thank you.

[6.] ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY (5:10 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, and Democrats of Elizabeth, New Jersey:

I appreciate very much this very cordial welcome which you have accorded me. This is my first stop in the great State of New Jersey, and it is right in line with the other first stops. In every State, through which I have been, they were all just like this. People want to see their President, they want to hear what their President has to say; and I can't tell you how very much I thank you for that interest.

You are here because you are interested in the issues of this campaign. You know, as all the citizens of this great country know, that the election is not all over but the shouting. That is what they would like to have you believe, but it isn't so—it isn't so at all. The Republicans are trying to hide the truth from you in a great many ways. They don't want you to know the truth about the issues in this campaign. The big fundamental issue in this campaign is the people against the special interests. The Democratic Party stands for the people. The Republican Party stands, and always has stood, for special interests. They have proved that conclusively in the record that they made in this "do-nothing" Congress.

The Republican Party candidates are going around talking to you in high-sounding platitudes trying to make you believe that they themselves are the best people to run the Government. Well now, you have had experience with them running the Government. In 1920 to 1932, they had complete control of the Government. Look what they did to it!

They started again in 1946, when two-thirds of the people in the United States stayed at home and allowed a third of the people to send that Congress which we now have down to Washington. They immediately began to try to undo all the good things that the Democrats have been doing for you for the last 14 years.

You get the truth if you listen to your candidates—Archie Alexander, one of the finest youn men I know, is going all over this State telling you the facts. You ought to send him to the Senate. He is the Democratic candidate for the Senate from this

great State, and he is so good that the Republican paper, the New York Herald Tribune, said about Mr. Alexander, that he possesses superior qualifications.

Of course, I think all the candidates on the Democratic ticket always do have superior qualifications, or they wouldn't be on the Democratic ticket. This country is enjoying the greatest prosperity it has ever known because we have been following for 16 years the policies inaugurated by Franklin D. Roosevelt. Everybody benefited from these policies—labor, the farmer, businessmen, and white-collar workers.

We want to keep that prosperity. We cannot keep that if we don't lick the biggest problem facing us today, and that is high prices.

I have been trying to get the Republicans to do something about high prices and housing ever since they came to Washington. They are responsible for that situation, because they killed price control, and they killed the housing bill. That Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress absolutely refused to give any relief whatever in either one of those categories.

What do you suppose the Republicans think you ought to do about high prices?

Senator Taft, one of the leaders in the Republican Congress, said, "If consumers think the price is too high today, they will wait until the price is lower. I feel that in time the law of supply and demand will bring prices into line."

There is the Republican answer to the high cost of living.

If it costs too much, just wait.

If you think 15 cents is too much for a loaf of bread, just do without it and wait until you can afford to pay 15 cents for it.

If you don't want to pay 60 cents a pound for hamburger, just wait.

That is what the Republican Congress thought you ought to do, and that is the same Congress that the Republican candidate for President said did a good job.

Some people say I ought not to talk so much about the Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress in this campaign. I will tell you why I will talk about it. If two-thirds of the people stay at home again on election day as they did in 1946, and if we get another Republican Congress like the 80th Congress, it will be controlled by the same men who controlled that 80th Congress—the Tabers, and the Tafts, the Martins and the Hallecks would be the bosses. The same men would be the bosses the same as those who passed the Taft-Hartley Act, and passed the rich man's tax bill, and took social security away from a million workers.

Do you want that kind of administration? I don't believe you do—I don't believe you do.

I don't believe you would be out here interested in listening to my outline of what the Republicans are trying to do to you if you intended to put them back in there.

When a bunch of Republican reactionaries are in control of the Congress, then the people get reactionary laws. The only way you can get the kind of Government you need is by going to the polls and voting the straight Democratic ticket on November 2d. Then you will get a Democratic Congress and I will get a Congress that will work with me. Then we will get good housing at prices we can afford to pay; and repeal of that vicious Taft-Hartley Act; and more social security coverage; and prices that will be fair to everybody; and we can go on and keep 61 million people at work; we can have an income of more than $217 billion, and that income will be distributed so that the farmer, the workingman, the white-collar worker, and the businessman get their fair share of that income.

That is what I stand for.

That is what the Democratic Party stands for.

Vote for that, and you will be safe!

[7.] NEWARK, NEW JERSEY (At the Mosque, 9:06 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Chairman, Monsignor Kelly, distinguished guests, and fellow Democrats of this great city of Newark:

You have given me a wonderful reception, the kind of reception I knew I would get here in this great city. I have been here before and I had a reception that a Senator is entitled to, but nothing like this.

I have heard rumors down in Washington that the Democratic Party is going to get this same kind of a turnout at the polls on November 2d. Am I right?

Remember, now, keep that promise. That means that the next United States Senator from New Jersey is going to be Archie Alexander. That means that here in Newark you're going to send Peter Rodino to the Congress, and Hugh Addonizio and Harry Dudkin to the House of Representatives. Every one of these men deserves your support. They will fight your battle in Washington, and how that fight needs to be made nobody knows better than I do. They will fight your battle there, and men like them all over the Nation will be fighting that battle—and will win that battle if you're behind us—the battle for the people, a fight which started with Jefferson, continued with Jackson, was won by Franklin Roosevelt in 1934.

There was a sad thing in connection with that: two-thirds of the voters of the United States stayed at home in 1946, and the Republicans who slipped in on that minority vote have started to turn the clock back to the 1920's—and further, if you let them do it. I don't believe you're going to let them do it.

I've seen in this country on my recent trip the most prosperous that the sun has ever shone upon. Well, if the voters do their duty we can continue that situation in this country and keep on working, and I hope successfully, for peace in the world.

I would rather have peace in the world than to be President of the United States. I've spent all my time working for peace in this world, and I shall continue to do just that. That's the most important thing with which we are faced.

Now, I'm in this fight because it is in the nature of a crusade. This is a fight for the people against special interests, and if the people support me in that fight—and I believe they're going to do it—the Government of the United States will continue to be in the hands of the people, where it belongs.

Now, one of the basic propositions is our welfare as a Nation, and our prosperity as a Nation. When someone asks, "Why can't we keep our prosperity under the Republicans?" the answer to that question should be obvious. But in case there is still any doubt in anyone's mind let me speak just a little plainly tonight and try to set you straight.

The Republicans are committed to a program that benefits special interests, the powers of big business and monopoly. The only people who have prosperity under the Republicans are those who live on the fat profits made by exploiting the workers, farmers, and the common, everyday citizen. Need I remind you of what was going on here in this great city back in the Republican Hoover depression? You know what was going on. People were walking up and down the streets hunting for jobs. People were being evicted from their homes. Farmers were being thrown off their farms. Factories were closed. They gave you breadlines instead of pay lines. Remember that. That's what you're faced with now, if you let these

special privilege fellows get control of ours.

The fundamental difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties is clear, and the record is there for all to see. Look at the record in the field of labor. The Democratic Party wrote the Wagner Labor Relations Act on the law books of our country in 1935, and I was there to help put it through the Senate. Every real American has been proud of the record labor has made under the provisions of this monumental labor law.

Back before the Wagner Act the union membership in this country was only about 3 million. Today nearly 17 million industrious, patriotic, hard-working Americans are proud of their membership in the AF of L and CIO and many independent unions.

The average wage of workers in this country is three times what it was before the Wagner Act became a law. The high wages earned by our people are a tremendous factor in maintaining prosperity. High wages mean great purchasing power, and great purchasing power means that our factories and our farms will run at full production—and that's what the Democratic Party stands for.

Now, what is the Republican attitude toward labor? One of the first acts of the Republican 80th Congress was to take steps to destroy the Wagner Act. The Republicans in Congress did this by passing the Taft-Hartley Act. The Taft-Hartley Act was passed for one main reason—to weaken the strength of our labor unions so that ultimately wages could be forced down. That's the theory of big business, which controls the Republican Party. Big business operates on a policy that if you can force wages down you can increase the already tremendous corporation profits—and that's what the Republican Party is interested in.

I reject this Republican policy of trying to force wages down as a fallacy. I shall fight with all my strength not only to keep wages up but to increase them.

Now, the old elephant never seems to learn anything. He has fixed ideas. He's trying to make you believe he has the new look, but he hasn't. That Republican policy of forcing wages down causes the purchasing power of our workers to drop. This leads to distress on farms and it closes factories and puts people out of work in the city.

To maintain high wages, to keep our prosperity, to look ahead to an even higher standard of living you must vote the Democratic ticket. Don't forget that.

I wish I could stand here all evening and discuss the differences between the Democratic policy and the Republican policy. There is another issue, however, between the Democrats and the Republicans that I would like to discuss for just a little bit, and that's the housing issue.

You have a serious housing shortage here in Newark. The same problem exists in practically every community in this country. The need is so great that private industry and the States cannot handle it. In this audience are veterans with wives and children. They need decent homes for their families but they can't find them. I've received letters from all over the country asking for help in finding homes. I went to the 80th Congress and told them the story. I asked for a law which would permit the Federal Government to give aid in building low-cost rental housing, the kind of housing that would contain decent living quarters for $50 or $60 a month. Now, that "do-nothing" Republican 80th Congress just laughed at me.

The Republican leadership wouldn't give the American people the kind of housing they need because the rich real estate lobby opposed it.

The Hoover slogan, if you remember, back in 1929 and 1930 was, "Two cars in

every garage." The Republican slogan today is, "Two families in every garage."

That terrible real estate lobby is made up of the wealthy interests who are perfectly satisfied with the housing shortage because it keeps rents up and profits higher. The Republican leadership had a clear choice between the need of the people and the greed of the lobby. They failed the people—and our housing shortage continued.

But you can correct it. If the people elect a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress we'll break that housing shortage in spite of the real estate lobby. And we'll do a lot of other things that are in the interest and the welfare of the people as a whole.

This is a decision that will affect several generations to come if you make the wrong decision. We are the leaders of the world, this great country of ours—the greatest republic that the sun has ever shone upon—and the reason for its greatness is because the power of government is reposed in you. You are the Government if you exercise your privilege. You folks are going to determine on election day what kind of government we'll have in Washington.

You want a government with a positive program, an administration and a Congress devoted to the people's interests and not to special interests. You want a government concerned with human rights and health and education and housing and the cost of living of this great people of ours.

In 1946 two-thirds of you stayed at home and didn't vote. We got that awful 80th Congress as a result. And you got just what you deserved because you didn't exercise your rights. A man who doesn't exercise the privilege of franchise on election day is a shirker and he has no right to kick about the sort of government he gets if he doesn't vote himself.

Now, you can't afford to shirk your duty as a citizen this time. You have a privilege under the Constitution to participate in your Government. You owe it to yourself to exercise that privilege in your own self-interest.

When you go to the polls and vote the Democratic ticket on the second of November you're not only voting for me for President and for all those good men for public office but you're voting for yourselves and your own interests. Just keep that in mind.

Now, if you do that and do your duty we won't appease the special interests. We'll be in a position so that the special interests will have to go along with the people and take up their fair share, just as the people will get their fair share. That won't be the case if you let the Republicans in.

We have got a fight to make, as I said in the beginning. We will fight for our rights as decent, patriotic, God-fearing men and women who want security and peace and freedom for now and for all time. That's the issue with which you are faced.

[8.] JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY (To State party representatives and labor leaders, 10 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, Congressman Hart, the city Mayor, Mayor Hague, Senator Moore, the candidate for Governor:

I don't think there's any doubt but what New Jersey will stay where it belongs—in the Democratic column. New Jersey has never deserved anything but a Democratic administration because the Democrats stand for the people.

I hope that you will send a congressional delegation to Washington this time with whom I can work. You've got one man there that I can work with all right, but you've got one or two I can't work with.

I am highly pleased, highly honored, and it has been one of the grandest days I have had on the whole tour. Every time I go into

a State I say, "Well, this one can't be as good as the other one." Then each one gets better. There is a buildup my friends.

We are going to win this election because we're right and they're wrong.

[9.] JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY (At Lincoln High School, 10:37 p.m.)

Thank you very much. I can't tell you, I can't even begin to express my appreciation for this Jersey City reception, and I want to pay my tribute to you, Mayor, and my good friend, Frank Hague, who got this thing up in so good a fashion. This is something to write home about. I have been in Rio de Janeiro, I have been in Mexico City, I have been in New York City, and in Los Angeles and San Francisco and Seattle and Denver. Call the roll of all the great cities in the country, and this tops them all. And, in each instance, I thought the next one could never be outdone, but here it is.

Your enthusiasm shows that you take your politics seriously. That's the way it ought to be, because politics is your business. Politics is government, and you are the Government if you exercise the privilege delegated to you in this great Republic of ours. If you don't take an interest in your Government and elect the right people, you have nobody to blame but yourselves.

Now, in 1946 only one-third of the people of the United States who had the right, exercised that privilege to vote. And look what you got. And you didn't deserve a bit of sympathy for getting it because you did it to yourselves. You can't do that this year. I am warning you, the people of the United States, that the voters are not going to make the same mistake this year that they made in 1946. This time you are going to come out and vote.

The registration is up in almost every State in the country. Labor has been doing great work towards getting out the vote. The workers know that they are in a fight to protect their basic rights.

This is everybody's fight. It's not labor's fight alone. It's also the fight of the white-collar worker, the professional man, the farmer, and all the people in the United States—the fight to preserve the gains made since 1933, when President Roosevelt took office. It's a fight to buildup a greater future for all the people of the United States.

We are going to win that fight. We must win that fight. Too much is at stake in this election, my friends, to be indifferent about it. Don't make the mistake of thinking it makes no difference to you whether the Democrats or the Republicans are in control of the National Government—and don't let any of your friends make that mistake. Remember what the last Republican administration did to you in 12 years: depression, unemployment, foreclosures and evictions, bank failures, veterans selling apples. They were told that they were going to be put into business. Well, they went into business—at the street corner selling apples. We have tried to profit from that experience in this Democratic administration.

And what did the Republicans do to help it? Did the Republican leaders care what happened to you in the depression? Did the Republican administration provide the jobs you needed? Did they save your homes or protect your bank deposits? They either didn't care what happened to you or they didn't know what to do about it. They just sat and waited for prosperity to come from around the corner.

The Democrats took action. Prosperity couldn't get around the corner until it had some help. It took a government that cared about the people, that had faith in the people. It took a government that was willing to try new ideas. It took a government that put human rights above property rights. You

got that kind of government when you elected Franklin Roosevelt.

There is a basic difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties. The difference between the Republican way of meeting a depression and the Democratic way of meeting a depression is typical of the fundamental differences between the two parties. The Democratic Party has always been the party of progress and liberalism, the party that puts human rights first. The Republican Party has always been dominated by the forces of reaction. They want to go back to their own peculiar concept of government, even though it is completely out of line with modern conditions.

The people of this country can hope to get forward-looking government only through the Democratic Party.

The best way to decide how to vote is on the record: first, I want to emphasize again that what the Government does makes a great difference to you in your everyday life. It touches every individual in this Nation; two, you can do more for yourselves by going to the polls to vote on election day than you can possibly do any other way.

This is your fight. I am only waking you up to the fact that it is your fight. You better get out and help me win this fight or you're going to be the loser, not I. If you vote the Democratic ticket, you vote for yourselves and you vote for your best interest, and you want to be sure to vote the way that will do you the most good for yourselves and for the country. The only intelligent way to vote is on the basis of the record. I want to see it done that way because I know that our party has the best record.

The record shows a clear pattern. You hear a lot of speeches that try to confuse the record, but the main outline of the record is clear. The Republican Party has consistently worked for big business. The Democratic Party has consistently worked for all the people.

Now, let us take the question of high prices. I don't need to tell you how big a problem high prices are and how much they hurt you. During the war, when it was a harder job than it is now, the Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress stabilized prices. The Democrats protected you against excessive prices until the Republicans in Congress led a successful fight to destroy price control. That Republican 80th Congress has repeatedly refused to restore the power to hold down prices. They have protected the excessive profits for big business but they haven't protected the buying power of your wages and salaries.

The record is clearest of all a little further along. Republican favoritism for big business is shown most clearly by repeated attacks on the workers. This affects all workers, whether or not they are members of unions. Big business wants to keep wages low.

For years the Republican Party has been the ally of big business. The workingmen and women have turned to the Democratic Party, which has always been the workingman's friend.

Labor suffered under Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. The false prosperity of the 1920's crumbled because workers, along with farmers, were getting the little end of the stick. The Republicans would like to give the farmers and the workers the little end of the stick again. If you are fool enough to accept that little end again, you ought to have it.

That era of the 1920's was the era of the open shop and the yellow-dog contract; and the reckless use of labor injunctions. The strength of labor unions was reduced to less than 3 million members. Sweat shops abounded and child labor was the order of

the day. When the crash came, labor suffered the brunt of it.

In 1932, more than 12 million men and women were unemployed. Wages—for those lucky enough to have jobs—were about 45 cents an hour.

In 1933, this Government got a President and a Congress with a heart. They cared something about labor. They cared something about the farmers. They cared something about the people—more than they did about money.

The Democratic Party set out to do something for the people and did it. We did something for labor, not at the expense of anybody else but to round out a program for the good of all the people. We gave real protection to the right of workers to join together in their own unions. We gave national recognition to the right of collective bargaining. We established a minimum wage and outlawed the sweat shops. We saved homes from foreclosures and helped to provide new homes on terms that workers could afford.

If you remember, back in 1932, 123,000 farmers were kicked off their farms. Last year, there were less than 800 who couldn't pay the interest on their mortgage. People were pushed out of their homes so fast that when the Democrats came in, they had to form the great Home Owners Loan Corporation which saved millions of homes for millions of people. The Republicans didn't do anything about it.

We provided protection against the loss of earnings due to old age and death.

The Democratic Party gave the country a New Deal. And that New Deal paid off too. It was good for the country. It was good for labor. It was good for the farmer. It was good for every citizen in the United States.

There is this difference: We have 61 million, nearly 62 million people at work in this country today. There is nobody walking the streets, hunting for a job. If a man wants a job, he has the opportunity. The farmers are in the most prosperous condition they have ever been in in the history of the world—and they are not in that condition at the expense of the country. Farmers and labor go along side by side, and when they are both prosperous the whole country is prosperous and everybody profits by it. The big corporations that they talk so much about have made more money in the last three than they ever made before in history—and that's money made after taxes. And yet they cry about it and say that we are trying to hold them down. Why, they are in better condition now than they have ever been in history.

Now, when a man does work these days, his hourly pay is about three times as much as it was in 1932. Now, labor unions have 16 million members, and that's a good thing for the whole country. Some people have complained that the Democratic Party paid too much attention to the things that labor wanted. I'm going to confess something to you; I've gotten a lot of advice from labor leaders, and most of it has been good advice. When it wasn't good, I didn't take it. They have the welfare of the country at heart just as much as anybody—and I will say, a great deal more than a lot of people. And I intend to keep getting advice like that for the next 4 years.

One of the worst things that ever happened was the election of that 80th Congress. That interrupted our progress.

I have talked a lot about this Republican, "do-nothing" 80th Congress, and there is a very good reason for my talking about them. That Congress has shown clearly what we can expect from the Republican Party. That's the reason I've been going after them hammer and tongs.

So far as labor is concerned, the Republi-

cans made this very clear. They passed the Taft-Hartley to weaken the strength of labor unions. They refused to increase the minimum wage above 40 cents an hour, although 40 cents will only buy about as much as 23 cents would buy when the minimum wage law was first passed. They wrecked the Labor Department. This tells you what to expect from them in the future.

They have done the same thing to the farmer. They started in to wreck the farmer, just as they have tried to wreck the laborer.

And the record of the 80th Congress is the handwriting on the wall—"MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN." They better beware.

Do you want an even stronger labor legislation than the Taft-Hartley law? Do you? Then you better not vote the Republican ticket. Do you want to return to sweat shop wages in the United States? All right—vote Democratic. Do you want your social security benefits endangered? Well then, you better not vote Republican. Do you want to play second fiddle to big business? All right—vote the Democratic ticket on the second of November.

The Democratic Party offers you another choice. You can apply the same test to the Democratic Party that you apply to the Republican Party. What does the Democratic Party promise you, and does its past performance back up those promises? The record of the Democratic Party is a record of performance. All we ask is that you look at the record. The record shows that you can count on the Democratic Party because it is your party, the people's party.

What do you want your Government to do? Do you think the minimum wage ought to be more than 40 cents an hour? All right—vote the Democratic ticket. Do you think the Taft-Hartley Act ought to be replaced by a law that gives labor a fair deal? All right, remember—vote the Democratic ticket on the second of November. Do you feel that social security benefits ought to be increased? Vote Democratic. Do you believe in a government that puts people ahead of property, that thinks the little fellow has just as many rights as the big fellow? All right—then you better vote the Democratic ticket.

Now, this, my friends, is a great Nation. This is the greatest Nation in the history of the world, the greatest Republic the sun has ever shown upon, and we got that way because we have a government of and by and for the people.

This Government believes in ideals that are an inspiration to people all over the world. Our great economic strength is the bulwark of democracy through the whole world. Our opportunities and our obligations extend far beyond our own shores. We can contribute as no other nation ever could to building a peaceful world. And, my friends, peace in the world comes before everything else.

I wish to repeat: I work for peace and I pray for peace because it's much more important to have peace in this world than for me to be President of the United States. But, we can make our full contribution to peace only if we maintain a strong and vigorous democracy at home. To do that, we must fight for the great causes in which we so deeply believe—for equal treatment and equal opportunity for all the people. A return to reactionary government in the United States would be a tragedy not only for this country but for the whole world and every person in the world.

My friends, we just can't let that happen. It will not happen if the people of America turn out in full force on election day. That, my friends, is your sacred duty. You owe that to the country.

Remember, the second of November is the day of destiny. Be sure you vote on that

day and send this country down the right road.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on October 7 the President referred to Democratic candidates for Representative Harry Keller, George M. Rhodes, and Wynn James, Jr., Mayor John F. Davis of Reading, former Representative Daniel K. Hoch, Mayor Donald V. Hock of Allentown, Mayor David L. Lawrence of Pittsburgh, former Senator Joseph R. Grundy, and Representative Francis E. Walter, all of Pennsylvania; Democratic candidates for Representative Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Hugh J. Addonizio, and Harry Dudkin, Mayor James T. Kirk of Elizabeth, Democratic candidate for Senator Archibald S. Alexander, Mayor Vincent J. Murphy of Newark, Representative Edward J. Hart, Mayor Frank H. Eggers of Jersey City, former Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, former Senator A. Harry Moore, and Democratic candidate for Governor Elmer Wene, all of New Jersey; Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio; Representative John Taber of New York; Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., of Massachusetts; and Representative Charles A. Halleck of Indiana.

228 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in New York. *October* 8, 1948

[1.] ALBANY, NEW YORK (Rear platform, 8:25 a.m.)

Thank you, Mr. Mayor, for that introduction, I appreciate it most highly. I am very glad to be in Albany this morning, and I want to say to you that this is the first real Democratic day we have had on this trip.

I am more than happy to have your Mayor, your Congressman William T. Byrne and State Senator Peter Dalesandro here on the platform with me. The Mayor of Baltimore has almost that same name, and I always have trouble saying it.

I understand that Peter Dalesandro owns the Congressional Medal of Honor for valor in combat against the enemies of the United States. I hung that medal around his neck at the White House about 2 years ago, and I told him at that time that I would much rather have that Medal of Honor than to be President, and I feel the same way about it today. That is the greatest honor that can come to any man. That means that he is willing, and has been willing, to do things outside the line of duty in the service of his country. Since I have been President of the United States, it has been my privilege to present that medal to more heroes than it has ever been presented to before. I have had some wonderful conversations with these men about their ideas and what they believe about the welfare of the world and their country. Every one of them is a solid citizen of the United States, and believes in what this Government stands for—and that is a wonderful thing.

I have been told that Albany is a very prosperous city. You know, the main issue in this campaign is simple. Are we going to keep on the high road to prosperity together, or are we going to let ourselves be bamboozled into another depression.

Here in New York State, the Republican Party has been forced to take a few steps along progressive lines, laid down by Alfred E. Smith, Herbert Lehman and Franklin D. Roosevelt. They had to go along whether they wanted to or not. But the Republican Party still stands for the old policies of taking care of the rich and letting the rest of us shift for ourselves.

The people of Albany know the difference between a Republican administration and a Democratic administration. You know it, because you have been voting for Democratic candidates in your city for a long, long time. I know that most of you will recall the difference in prosperity under the Republicans and the Democrats.

In 1946, under a Democratic administration, and before the Republicans killed our price control bill and brought on high prices, the total personal income of New York residents amounted to nearly $23 billion. In 1932 it amounted to $8 billion. You are getting three times as much income now in the State of New York as you did under the Republicans.

Do you want to go back to that situation? All right then, you had better vote the Democratic ticket!

The total national income is now $217 billion. Sixty-one million people have jobs—more people at work than ever before in the history of the country.

The farmers are more prosperous, the businessmen are more prosperous. Why in the world do you want to upset the apple cart now and throw the administration out that brought on this situation?

The total national income of $217 billion is the greatest in the history of all the world, and that income is distributed on a fair basis, everybody gets his fair share of that income. It is not a special privilege distribution. That is the reason the Republicans don't like it.

We also believe in making investments for peace. The Democratic Party has taken the lead in working to create conditions of peace throughout the world. The first requirements of peace are sound and prosperous free nations all over the world. We are rebuilding war-torn countries, and strengthening the free nations against communism by such programs as the policy in Greece and Turkey, the Marshall plan, and the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements. The Republicans at this last session tried to hamstring the Reciprocal Trade Agreements. That is just the first step back to isolationism. They haven't changed a bit in their policies, and you cannot afford to take a chance on this situation now.

We are faced with the greatest campaign so far as the people are concerned, in the history of this country for a long, long time. This is merely a campaign in the interests of the people against the special interests—and that is your interest.

I am not asking you to vote for me, particularly, on election day. I am asking you to go out and vote for yourselves. Vote for the interests of the United States. Vote for the interests of the people of the United States. And when you do that you will just walk into that booth early in the morning of November 2d, and vote a straight Democratic ticket, and then you will be safe and sound.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate your willingness to turn out at this time of day on a morning like this. It shows that you are really interested in the welfare of this country. Keep it up, now, until November 2d.

[2.] Schenectady, New York (10 a.m.)

Thank you very much. I appreciate this welcome more than I can tell you. I appreciate the high compliment that your good Mayor has paid to me, and I hope that I can live up to it for the next 4 years. I think I can.

You know, I have been going up and down these United States of America, meeting people, talking to people, and telling the people just what the issues are in this campaign, and telling them in very plain language just where I stand on those issues. I think you are entitled to know what those issues are. This is one of the most important campaigns in the history of the country. You are going to make a decision on election day as to whether you want your Government operated for special privilege or whether you want it operated in the interests of the people, as it has been for the last 16 years.

I base those statements on facts which have taken place as a result of two-thirds of you staying at home in 1946 and electing this awful 80th Congress which has tried its best to give the country back to the special interests. If I had not been standing there with the veto, they would have succeeded in it.

One of the first things they did was to pass a law putting a halter on labor. Then they passed that awful Taft-Hartley bill which takes some of the liberties away from labor—it's a step in the direction in which they want to go.

You see, when the Democrats got control of the Government in 1933, one of the first things that they did was to pass a bill of rights for labor, known as the Wagner Labor Act—Senator Wagner of New York sponsored that bill. That bill has been in effect for 16 years, and it has made the workingman prosperous. When that bill went into effect, there were 3 million members of labor unions. Today there are nearly 17 million men in labor unions that are working for the benefit of the country.

The next thing that they attempted to do was to put the farmers out of business. Now, the farmer's interests and the laboringman's interests and the small businessman's interests are all the same. When farmers and laborers are prosperous, the country is prosperous. In 1932 we had 15 million people walking the streets trying to find someplace to work. We now have 61 million people at work, and any man who wants a job can have it, and his rights are protected under the laws put on the books by the Democratic administration during the last 16 years.

I understand you have a very fine college here in this town, and that you have got a very able professor running for Congress. I want to say a word or two to you about the educational situation in this country.

The educational plant in this country has become, to some extent, obsolete, because there are so many more people interested in education now than ever before in the history of the country. Young people have found out that there is one thing that cannot be taken away from them and that is the brains they have in their heads. If they organize those brains and educate them as they should, their outlook on life is much better for the country and for themselves.

Well now, the educational plant of the country and the pay of teachers is below what it ought to be for a country as rich and prosperous as we are. But we inaugurated the Federal aid to education bill, and that bill passed the Senate but the Republicans killed it in the House. They don't want Federal aid to education. I am anxious to see that educational bill become the law, so that every young man and young woman in this country who wants it may have an education that will fit him for his future in life.

That is the best safeguard there is against communism. When you have an educated people, communism hasn't a chance in the world.

So, let's go to work, and get that educational bill. Let's protect the farmer, let's protect the laboringman, and in order to do that you must get yourselves registered now and get on the books. You have got today and tomorrow to do that in this part of New York. Get on the books because if you are not you cannot vote.

I don't want to see the electorate stay at home this time. Your responsibility is the Government of the United States, and if you exercise that responsibility you are bound to have good government.

I can't begin to tell you how very much I appreciate this turnout in this great city. I have been here on several occasions, inspecting plants during the war when I was chair-

man of the committee to examine the national defense program. I always had a welcome here. Way back in 1935 when I first went to the Senate, I came here to Schenectady and made a farm speech. That farm speech is just as good today as the day I made it. If the farmers look after their own interests, they will still be for the man who made that speech here in Schenectady in 1935.

I could stand here and discuss with you the issues in this campaign from now until noon, but I haven't got time and there are several things I have not mentioned, but I want you to get your book out and study these issues and then make up your mind in your own interest.

When you go to the polls, you are not voting for me. When you vote the Democratic ticket, you are voting for yourselves—you are voting for your own best interests. Just think that one over.

If you do that—there are a lot of things I could have talked to you about—if you do that, I won't be troubled with the housing shortage, I will stay in the White House for another 4 years.

[3.] AMSTERDAM, NEW YORK (Rear platform, 10:30 a.m.)

Ladies and gentlemen:

You know, I certainly do highly appreciate this turnout. I thank Mayor Carter most sincerely for that fine introduction, and I hope he is a good prophet, that I will be the next President of the United States—and I think he is right.

This is a very happy day for me to be in your city of Amsterdam. During the war, it was my business as chairman of the special Senate committee investigating the defense program to become somewhat familiar with your factories here in this city. You made a great contribution to the war effort. You turned your factories over from warwork to peace work and you did it expeditiously. I want to express my appreciation as President of the United States for the contribution that you made.

Now, this campaign that I am making up and down the country is a campaign in the interests of the people. This is a campaign in which I am trying to explain to you that it is your own interest that you vote for on November 2d. It is not necessarily me you are electing President, you are voting for your own interests—for this campaign is a campaign of the people against the special interests. The Republican Congress conclusively proved that, as soon as they got control.

What was the first thing they did when they got control of the Congress of the United States? They immediately began to tear up labor's bill of rights. The first thing they did was to try and amend the Wagner Labor Act so it would no longer work in the interests of labor, but would work in the interests of special privilege.

I vetoed that, and I hope every one of you will read that veto message, because it strikes at the fundamental foundation of the Democratic plan to make the Government for all the people.

The next thing they did was to try to tear up the farm program. They tried to leave the farmer out on a limb so he could no longer have a floor under his prices, and they are trying to tell the people that that floor under prices to the farmers is causing the high cost of living. That is not true. You cannot tell how much the price support program has been worth to this great country of ours, because the farmer was willing to go out and raise tremendous crops that have been necessary to feed the world and to keep enough in this country so that prices would not go sky high.

If these people had been willing to give me

the necessary controls for allocation of these things, everybody would have had his fair share, and prices would not have been out of sight.

I want you to weigh these things. I want you to consider very carefully the record of the Congressman in this district, then I think you will want to vote for Professor Murphy for Congressman from this district, who knows what these issues are and has been trying to tell you what they are.

The best interests are the people's interests—in voting for a government that is of the people and for the people.

Now, you are the Government. You are yourselves the Government, when you exercise your rights to vote. When you do not exercise that right to vote, you are shirking your duty.

In 1946 two-thirds of the people of the United States who were entitled to vote stayed away from the polls—and look what they received as a result of that! They got a Congress that immediately began working for special privilege. There were more lobbyists and more higher paid lobbyists around this 80th Congress than ever before in the history of the country. And those lobbyists got just what they wanted. The real estate lobby kept the housing bill from going through. The big corporation lobbyists got the Taft-Hartley bill through. Mr. Taft said that he wrote that bill for the benefit of employers. I don't think that is anything to brag about.

I want you to study all the things for special privilege that would have gone through if I had not been standing there in the interests of the people with the veto. Why, I vetoed more bills than any other President since Grover Cleveland, and I am proud of that record because I was working in the interests of the everyday man in this country.

Now, let me give you just a good piece of advice. I understand that today and tomorrow are the last days for registration. I want to get every voter who is entitled to the privilege on the books, then I want him on the 2d of November to get up very early in the morning to go to the polls and vote the Democratic ticket straight—then the country will be safe for another 4 years and I won't have a housing problem myself.

[4.] LITTLE FALLS, NEW YORK (Rear platform, 11:25 a.m.)

Thank you. Thank you very, very much. You know, it is very, very encouraging when people are willing to come out on a morning like this to get information on what the issues are in this political campaign. In nearly every place we have been this morning, the weather has been just like this, yet it looks as if everybody in the surrounding territory had come out to look at their President, to see what he looks like, and hear what he has to say. That is most encouraging.

You know, this is quite a community. I was in the Senate for about 10 years. A long time ago, you used to make a lot of good cheese here. The Senator from Wisconsin—his name was Ryan Duffy—brought a cheese down to the Senate that was about that high, and about as big around as a wagon wheel—weighed 300 pounds; and the Senator from New York who at that time was Dr. Royal Copeland, said he knew a place in New York where he could get a better cheese and that he would get it on his next trip back—and he did. But you make other things here now. Naturally, the world moves along.

That is what I am trying to get over to you in this campaign. We don't want to turn the clock back, and go back—go back. We want to go forward—go forward. But you can't go forward when you have a legislative body that is made up of a lot of pull-backs

as that 80th Congress is.

Please don't send another Congress to Washington like that, because if you do, you will get just what you deserve. You know, some two-thirds of the people of the United States stayed away from the polls on election day in 1946, and they sent that Congress there by a one-third vote of the United States. That Congress immediately began to turn the clock back. You can't turn the clock back. In the 1920's, we tried our best to turn the clock back, and go back into our shells, go back to 1908. It didn't work.

Now we are faced with another situation where it is necessary to have that clock move forward and in order to have that clock move forward you must have people in charge of the Government who have a forward-looking outlook.

Just as soon as this 80th Congress got to Washington, it began to tear up the labor laws, it tried to tie the hands of labor again so they could not collectively bargain effectively with industry. The Wagner Act, as you know, was named after Senator Wagner of New York which gave labor its bill of rights. That bill of rights has been successful over this 10-year period.

In 1932 there were just about 3 million men who were organized. There are 17 million now. In 1932 there were some 12 to 15 million people who didn't have any jobs. There isn't anybody now that hasn't a job if he wants it. There are 61,200,000 people at work in this country—the greatest labor force in the history of the world; and that doesn't include the military, or anything like that, that means people who are working productively for the welfare of this country.

Now, I want to keep that going. I want to keep the clock running forward, I don't want to turn it back.

This 80th Congress was not satisfied with trying to cut the throat of labor, it went to work on the farmer. The farmers were in an awful fix in 1932. One hundred and twenty-three thousand of them were kicked off their farms because they couldn't pay the interest on the mortgages. Do you know how many farmers lost their farms last year for that reason? Less than 800. The farmers' income at that time, in 1932, was $4,500 million. You know what it was last year? It was $18 billion.

The income of the whole Nation in 1947 was $217 billion—the greatest income any country ever had in the history of the world; and that income has been reasonably distributed. That income has been distributed so that labor had its fair share, so that the farmer had his fair share, so that small business had its fair share, and so that big business had its fair share—but it wants more than its fair share now.

You know, the profits of big business in 1939 were about $5 billion—they were $8 billion in 1943—they were $17 billion in 1947, and they are going to run over 20 billions now. They will try to run that up at the expense of the farmers and the laboring people. They will use a Congress like the 80th Congress to do that. You can't afford to let that happen to you.

When you go to the polls on the second of November, you ought to elect this good man who is running on the Democratic ticket here in your district because he will go along with me for the next 4 years and work for the people.

Vote for yourselves on election day—that's all you need to do. You not only vote for me but you vote for yourselves. Don't forget that now.

Get yourselves registered in these last 2 days and then go out on election day and vote for your own interests. When you do that, you will vote the Democratic ticket straight.

Thank you very much.

[5.] UTICA, NEW YORK (Rear platform, 12:10 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, and fellow Democrats of Utica:

This is certainly heartening and encouraging, when the citizens of this great country are interested enough in the views of the President of the United States, to turn out at this time of day and on a day like this—although this is Democratic weather.

I have been most agreeably surprised and heartened at the way the people have turned out since I started to tour the United States and instruct them on just what the issues are in this campaign. They are very grave issues, and you must study them very carefully—and then I want to urge you to vote in your own interest. If you know what your interests are, and if you know what the issues are, you can't help but do just one thing on election day, and that is to vote for yourselves—and if you do that, you will vote the Democratic ticket.

Over the last 15 to 16 years, the Democratic Party has been in control of the Government, and we took some very forward-looking steps while we had control of the Congress. We passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, better known as the Wagner Labor Relations Act. That act was labor's Magna Carta, that act gave labor certain rights and privileges. Then, in addition to that, we abolished child labor—we put a floor under wages—we passed the farm program which has caused the farmers to become more prosperous than they ever were in the history of the world.

We so arranged things and passed laws to prevent monopolies from taking over the entire business of the country. Well now, in 1946, about one-third of the people exercised that privilege to vote. You are a shirker when you don't exercise your voting privilege, because you are the Government. When you exercise that voting privilege, you run the Government. When you don't exercise it, you get just what you got in 1946—you got this backward-looking Congress, the 80th Congress, which has been going to turn the clock back ever since they met in January 1947.

The very first thing they did was to hog-tie labor by passing the Taft-Hartley Act which I vetoed. I wish you would read that veto message, you would find out just exactly—I haven't the time to tell you—exactly what that Taft-Hartley Act did to labor's rights.

Now, under the Republicans, up to 1932, we had about 3 million people organized. Under the policies pursued by the Democratic administration, there are some 16 million people organized. At that time, in 1932, there were about 12 to 15 million men who weren't working at all, and when the Democrats came in, we began to put measures into effect which abolished that idleness of labor. Now there are 61 million people at work in this country and any man who wants a job can get one now at reasonably fair pay. There were only 3 million people in 1932—12 to 15 million walking the streets, trying to get a job.

Now, the income of the man who worked in 1932 was less than a third of what it is now. People who work are receiving somewhere in the neighborhood of $134 billion in income. It was less than 31 billions in 1932.

The farmers in 1932 received about 4½ billions in income. Now they are receiving 18 billion, and they are not afraid that they are going to get kicked off their farms the next day. There have been fewer farm foreclosures in 1947 than ever before in the history of the country.

There are fewer people now out of work than ever before in the history of the country, and your lifetime savings are guaranteed.

We haven't had a bank failure in this country in 3 years. Back in 1932, you were afraid to go into a bank for fear it would blow up in your face. That doesn't happen any more.

Now, I want you to weigh all these things and consider that the Republican policies haven't changed one little bit. They immediately began to show what they thought as soon as they went in there. They began to want to turn the clock back. You can't turn the clock back. We have got to go forward with progress, or we have got to go backward into the ditch.

Now, it is to your interests to study all these issues, and I know you are interested in them or you wouldn't be out here to listen to me this morning. Study those issues, and then as I said before, vote for yourselves—vote in your own interest.

When you do that you will send Jack Davies to Congress and you will send a whole Democratic Congress there for the next 4 years, and I won't have the trouble I have had in the last 2 years.

Why, I had to exercise my power of veto oftener than any other President of the United States except Grover Cleveland. I did that in the public interest. If somebody hadn't been standing there looking out for the interest of the people, you wouldn't have any by this time, for that good-for-nothing 80th Congress, I can tell you that.

Now, just you get on the books. I understand that today and tomorrow are the last days for registration in this great part of the State of New York. If you are not on the books, you haven't any right to quarrel with the Government if you don't vote. It is your fault if the Government goes wrong and you stayed at home on election day.

Now, get out there first thing on election morning and be sure you're right by just voting the Democratic ticket straight—the country will be safe for another 4 years, and I won't have any housing problem.

[6.] Rome, New York (Rear platform, 12:43 p.m.)

Thank you very much. Thank you very much.

I was discussing where we were awhile ago in this great State of New York and somebody said we would be in Rome in 20 minutes, and I said, "That's mighty quick—to be in Rome in 20 minutes." And he said, "Oh, I mean Rome, N.Y." But I want to say to you that we are living in an age where that would not be beyond the bounds of possibility for the simple reason that we have gone forward at a terrific rate in the last decade, and in the last 30 years so much that you cannot recognize the same country when you go into it.

I was out in Iowa at the beginning of this tour I have been taking around the United States, and they were having a plowing contest, and there were 100,000 farmers at that meeting. And I asked them if there was any possibility of my having a chance to drive a four-mule team to a two-gang plow, and they said, "No, that's obsolete. You're living in a past age. We have no mules on the place. You'll have to go to Missouri to get one." I said, "All right, I'm not one to turn the clock back." I wouldn't attempt to do that because when we try to turn the clock back we never profit by that procedure.

And from 1933 until the present day we have been turning the clock forward. We have been doing things for the welfare of the people as a whole. We gave labor a bill of rights. We gave the farmer a farm program which has made him more prosperous than he has ever been in his history. We so arranged things that the distribution of the income of this country is on a fair basis for

everybody. Now, I want to keep that condition going forward.

But in 1946 a great many of the voters of this great country, and one-third of the people entitled to vote, elected a Congress that wants to turn the clock back. The first thing that 80th Congress did when it got in was to try to put a halter on labor. They wanted to repeal labor's bill of rights, the Fair Labor Standards Act—or the Wagner Act, as it is commonly known. The first thing they did was to pass the Taft-Hartley Act just as quickly as they could get to it, and they said they passed it so as to put labor in its place. Now, I think labor is in its place when labor is prosperous, along with industry and along with the farmers.

There were only 3 million people in labor organizations in 1932. There are about 16 million in those organizations now and they are getting about three times the pay they did in that day. The farmer is getting more income this year than he ever got in his history. They only received about 4½ billion in 1932. Last year they had 18 billion—and they weren't expecting to be sold out every minute either.

You know, there were 123,000 farmers taken off their farms in 1932. There were less than 800 in last year. The farm debt has been reduced. Labor is in a better condition than it has ever been in the history of the country. There are 61 million people at work in this country. Nearly anybody who wants a job can get one in this day and age. There were some 12 or 15 million people walking the streets back in 1932, wondering where the next breadcrumb was going to come from, that they could live on.

The Republicans, I think, would like to take you back to that condition, and I don't want to do it, and if you have your own interests at heart, you won't let them do it. You'll turn out on election day and you'll see that there is a Democratic administration returned to office to continue forward and not turn the clock back. That's in your own personal interest.

I have been most happily and agreeably surprised in coming across this great State of New York this morning. I thought that with the weather in the condition it is nobody would be interested in hearing what the President had to say about the issues. But I am here to tell you that the turnouts this morning have been equal to any on this trip. People are interested in the welfare of this country. They want to know what the issues are, and I'm sure they are going to use their God-given intelligence in their own interests.

When you vote on election day you are voting for yourselves if you do your duty, because you are the Government; and if you vote the Democratic ticket you will do yourselves just as much good as you will me—and if you do that I'll still stay in the White House for another 4 years and won't have to go out house hunting, and that will be a very fine thing.

I want to thank you very much for this wonderful turnout. It is a compliment to the President, and I appreciate it. I want to thank our Legion friends over here for coming out here this morning. I am going to go down to Miami on the 17th and see the whole gang. I have been going to Legion Conventions for the last—well, I hate to say how long—30 years, I guess.

[7.] ONEIDA, NEW YORK (Rear platform, 1:10 p.m.)

Thank you, Mr. Abbott. It certainly is exhilarating and uplifting to see the people come out because they are interested in the welfare of this great Nation of ours. I don't think you would come out here on a day

like this to listen to the President unless you were interested in the welfare of the country and interested in what is happening to the country.

I have been going all over the United States, from one end to the other—east and west and north and south—telling the people just exactly what the issues are in this campaign.

There is one big issue—and that issue is the people against special interests. That issue can be met if you people do your duty on election day. And you can do your duty very easily if you get yourself registered and on the books in these 2 days that are set aside for that purpose, and then get up early in the morning on election day and go down to the polls and just vote a straight Democratic ticket. Then you will be voting in your own interest.

There are a great many issues in this campaign. I wish I were in a position and had time to discuss all of them with you, but it would take all afternoon if I would start in to tell you just exactly what happens when forward-looking people are in charge of the Government and what happens when backward-looking people are in charge of the Government.

Your Government is the government of the people. You are the Government if you exercise the privilege that the Constitution gives you. But if you do like you did in 1946 and are too indifferent to get out and vote on election day and one-third of the backward-looking people elect a Congress that tries to turn the clock back, you have nobody to blame but yourself for the conditions that we are now faced with. I want all of you to vote this time, and then I know that the country will be in safe hands, because when the people are aroused and when the people know what the issues are we have never had any difficulty making this Government run in the interests of the people, for the people, and by the people. I am going all up and down this country telling you that your interests and my interests and the interests of all the people are at stake in this campaign.

Now, this Republican Congress—this 80th Congress, this backward-looking Congress—made an attempt to turn the clock back. And if you hadn't had an advocate in the White House looking after your interests, who was perfectly willing to use the veto power which the Constitution gives him, then there is no telling what would have happened in the last 2 years.

They tried to put a halter on labor. They tried to undermine the farm program, and they have tried with everything at their command to turn the country over to the special interests. I hope you won't let that happen, really. I hope you, here in this great progressive community, will study these issues. I hope you will carefully fill your minds with the facts. Then I don't have to fear what the result will be.

You know, what pleases me most at these meetings is to see so many young people, young men and young women, out here listening and gauging the situation. That's a healthy sign because this country is going to be in your hands in the next generation, and if you are well informed I will be perfectly willing to turn it over to you because I know you'll go forward and not back.

We can't go backwards. We tried it in 1920. This Republican Congress tried it again in 1947, but it didn't work because they couldn't carry out their program. They tried their level best.

I hope you will profit by that example. And remember, if you want to go forward with forward-looking people, you'll go to the polls on election day and vote a straight Democratic ticket.

[8.] SYRACUSE, NEW YORK (1:50 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Chairman, and fellow Democrats of Syracuse, New York:

If you will bear with me, I will try not to keep you in this rain but a few minutes. I appreciate most highly your willingness to come out here and stand in this downpour in order to see and hear your President, but I will be as quick and as fast as I can in getting this thing over, but I want you to listen to me for just a little while.

I am glad to be in this great industrial city which is surrounded on all sides by wonderfully prosperous farm country. I know that the farmers around here and the city people here in Syracuse are pulling together as a team to provide this country with the greatest prosperity it has ever known.

The Democratic Party believes in that kind of teamwork—in that kind of unity. I want to see farmers and workers prosper side by side. There are some Republicans, however, who talk unity out of one side of their mouth, then do their best to set the people in the cities against the people on the farms. That is one of the things they are trying to do in this campaign. You must listen to the facts and not allow that to happen, because your interests are mutual. Whatever makes the farmer prosperous makes you prosper. What makes the everyday man prosperous makes the farmer prosper. It is mutual.

They are telling the city people that we have high prices because the farmer is getting too much for his crop and then they go out and tell the farmers that prices are high because workers are getting too much money in wages.

That is not the truth. It is a very peculiar brand of unity. It is not my brand.

I believe that the farmers can be prosperous only when workers in the cities are getting good wages, and I believe that you people in the cities will be prosperous only when the people out on the farms have enough money to buy what you have to sell.

I wish I could talk to you about all the issues in this campaign. I have been on a crusade, going around the country, telling the people just exactly what the Democratic Party stands for, and where I stand.

I would like you to get the Republicans to tell you where they stand on that subject. You just can't find out where the Republicans stand, for they won't tell you. They just talk in platitudes and not in facts.

I do not have time to talk about all the issues, but there is one I want to discuss here in this city which is famous for its great educational institutions—Syracuse University and LeMoyne College.

I might say right here that I am exceedingly happy to see so many of you young people out here from these schools for the simple reason that that shows you are interested in your Government and in the welfare of this country. If you will inform yourselves, you will make better future citizens, and you can also do something for your country by preventing it from going backward.

Now, the issue I want to discuss with you today is the issue of Federal aid to education. Schools all over the country are terribly crowded. There is a shortage of teachers. Teachers are so badly underpaid in many places that they are having to leave school and get other jobs. I consider that a tragedy; for the future welfare of the country depends on the education that you young people get.

I believe that every American, regardless of race or creed, color or national origin, or whether he lives in a poor area or a rich area should be entitled to and should get an education.

I believe that the Federal Government should provide generous assistance to States to help them improve their educational systems. I have repeatedly asked the Congress to provide Federal aid to States. In my last budget, I asked for $300 million to be provided for that purpose. But the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives killed that bill. They saw to it that the Federal aid to education bill did not even come to a vote in the House. They wouldn't let the House vote on it, because the House would have passed it, I think.

What do you think would happen to our schools if the Republicans got complete control of the Government next January? Let me read you what the Democratic Party platform says on that subject. This is the Democratic platform: "We advocate Federal aid for education administered by and under control of the State. We vigorously support the authorization which was so shockingly ignored by the Republican 80th Congress for the appropriation of $300 million as a beginning of Federal aid to the States, to assist them in meeting the present educational needs. We insist upon the right of every American child to obtain a good education."

Now, now, I want you to listen to the Republican platform. Listen to this Republican platform and see if you get anything out of it: "We favor equality of educational opportunity, and the improvement of education and educational facilities."

That's all they say. They don't say much, or how to do it or how they will do it, or what they will do. They just make a lot of platitudes just like they have in their campaigns. The Republican Party ducked the issue. I do not see any hope of Federal aid to the State for education if the Republican Party gets control of the Government.

You know that the present Republican leadership of your great State of New York claims to have done wonders for your New York schools since 1942. They even said that State assistance for schools has been increased by 80 percent since 1942. I am afraid that is not quite an accurate statement. State aid to schools in New York last year represented an actual payment increase of only 28 percent over the year the present Governor took office. It seems to me there is a big difference between 80 percent and 28 percent. Educational experts have compiled figures which show that this great State of New York is now trailing in 37th place in the adjustment for pupil expenditures to the rising costs between 1940 and 1947.

Now, New York State shouldn't do that. If New York State had a forward-looking Governor, it wouldn't do that. New York State aid to schools, in proportion to local support, has actually dropped since 1940. The true facts are that even the State of New York under Republican rule has not provided additional funds for education sufficient to meet increased costs. When you see what has been happening in so prosperous a State as yours, I am sure you can understand why the Democratic Party believes that Federal aid to education is vitally necessary.

I wish I could talk to you about more of these issues which you are faced with in this campaign—about extending social security, raising minimum wages, providing a national health program, and our needs for comprehensive housing laws which would give us better housing at prices people can afford to pay.

I want you to study the record on each one of these issues. You will find that the Republican Party stands for those policies which would unify us under the rule of big business and special privilege. But the Democratic Party stands for progress—for programs which will unify our people in the

interests of the whole Nation and the whole world.

Now, you have got one great privilege in this country, and that is the privilege of controlling your Government. The way to control your Government is to do your duty on election day and vote.

In 1946, just one-third of the voters in this country exercised that privilege—the greatest of all privileges—participating in that Government. They didn't vote, two-thirds of them didn't—and look what you got, you got this 80th Congress. You got just what you deserved because you didn't do your duty.

Now, don't do that this time. Get yourselves registered in the books, and on the 2d day of November get up early and go to the polls, vote the Democratic ticket straight, and the country will be in safe hands—and I won't have a housing shortage myself.

[9.] AUBURN, NEW YORK (Rear platform, 3:21 p.m.)

I understand that you need rain. I'm sincerely sorry that this shower could not have held off for another 5 minutes, and I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this courtesy which you have extended to me on a day like this. It's just simply wonderful, and I'll try to be as brief and as fast as I possibly can so you won't have to stand here and get wet.

I am making a crusade over the country in the interests of the common, everyday man. I am trying to win this election because I think it's in the public interest.

On my way to Auburn I noticed with a great deal of pleasure the soil conservation measures taken by the farmers of this great county. I'm always interested in farms because I'm a Missouri farmer myself. I understand that soil conservation plans have developed on more than 200 farms in this county totaling about 30,000 acres.

You have my sympathy. I'm glad I am not out there.

You know, the Republicans have opposed every law that has been in the public interest, and I'm sorry to say that your Congressman from this district has used a butcher knife and a sabre and a meat-axe on the appropriations that have been in the public interest both for the farmers, for rural electrification, and for every other forward-looking program that has come before the Congress. I saw a cartoon the other day called "The Sabre Dance," in which they showed a big man with a sabre cutting the heads off all the appropriation for the Interior Department and the Department of Agriculture. Well, I have a better name than that. I named it "The Taber Dance."

Now, this district will be given a choice in November. You can elect a man who doesn't care about the welfare of the people, or you can elect a man who does care about the welfare of the people, if you elect Francis J. Souhan, who will work for the benefit of the farmer and the worker alike.

I wish I could stand here on a clear, sunshiny day and discuss with you all the issues in this campaign, but obviously I can't do that because if I keep you standing here in this rain any longer you will be against anything I want, and I wouldn't blame you. But I understand that you need the rain worse than you need to listen to any Presidential speech.

It is awfully nice for you to come out here. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate it, and I hope you'll turn out just like this on election day and vote the Democratic ticket straight.

I appreciate all these Posts that have turned out in my honor today. I wish I could come down and shake hands with every one of

them, but if I could get down there I couldn't get back up, and I might get wet myself and then I couldn't finish this program.

[At this point the President was presented with an honorary membership card from American Legion Posts and Veterans of Foreign Wars Posts in Auburn. He then resumed speaking.]

Well, thank you very much. I appreciate this very much. I've been a member of the Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars ever since 1919, 30 years. That's a long, long time. And I'm glad to have this honorary membership in the Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars here in Auburn, and I'll treasure it all the rest of my life; and I hope that sometime all of you will come and visit me at my Post No. 35 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, named after the 35th Division, and Post No. 21, Independence, Mo., of the American Legion.

[At this point the President was presented with an honorary membership card in the Italian American Veterans of Auburn. He then resumed speaking.]

Thank you very much. I appreciate that very highly. You know, we have been doing a great deal for the Italian people since this war ended. In fact, we have been spending a billion a year, this Government has, so that the Italians could recover. And you know, that is something new in the history of the world—when a victorious nation spends its time and its money and its effort to see that their former enemies get a fair deal in the world.

[10.] SENECA FALLS, NEW YORK (Rear platform, 4:06 p.m.)

Thank you very much. I certainly appreciate most highly this cordial reception which you have accorded to me as your President. I believe it indicates that you are vitally interested in the welfare of this great country of ours and that you are interested in knowing what the issues in this campaign are. I have been trying to tell the citizens of New York all day long, ever since we started out at Albany this morning, just what I think the issues are and how important I think it is that you become, yourself, familiar with those issues.

Now, I have heard of this city of Seneca Falls all my life. I heard that this is the town where they invented bloomers; and that this is the town, the first town, where the woman suffrage movement really got its kickoff to a successful conclusion, when the women got the vote. I think that is a great thing and I think that is a great thing for Seneca Falls, to be a starting point for a great movement like that. Now, I want you to be the starting point in New York for a great movement toward the Democratic Party. I think New York needs the Democratic Party and the principles of the Democratic Party.

You are in the center of a great farming community here, and the welfare of the farmer has been fundamental with the Democratic Party. In 1932 all the farmers in the country were going broke. They were losing their farms so fast that the courts really didn't have the time to act on them. One hundred and twenty-three thousand farmers were dispossessed in 1932. Now, last year there were less than 800 farmers who lost their farms because they couldn't pay the interest on their mortgages. And those mortgages have been reduced by more than 50 percent. The farmer's income has been increased from $4,500 million to $18 billion in 1947—and he will have a greater income this year because he has a bigger crop and is getting a fair price for it. The Republicans would like to tear that price support program down if they could, and

they made every effort to do that in this Congress.

Now, there are a number of issues in this campaign that I would like to discuss with you, but I want to say just a word or two, in addition to what I have said about the farmer, about the servicemen.

The Democratic administration assured our servicemen and women as early as 1943 that they would not get the treatment that the veterans of World War I received from the Republican administration. The Veterans Bureau in the early 1920's was unfortunately used as an opportunity for grafters and shysters to get rich. Dishonesty in the Veterans Bureau in the 1920's cost the Government $200 million, and several officials went to jail. The head of the Veterans Bureau went to jail in the 1920's.

This time the story has been different. President Roosevelt and I have assured the veterans of their rights, and we have had outstanding men handling the largest administrative job in the world. The Veterans Bureau is the largest administrative job in this country.

The Democratic program for veterans is a 4-point program which has proved an outstanding success. Veterans received mustering-out pay and readjustment allowances to help fit them back into civilian life; and second, there has been an excellent medical care program for the wounded and the sick. Third, the veterans have received educational and vocational training so that they may be prepared for the best possible jobs—and you know, we had a terrible time getting that educational program implemented. The heads of colleges in this country decided that the veteran wouldn't be a good student, that he would be a nuisance, that he would cause them trouble because in a lot of cases he was married and he would have to have his family at school with him. But that has been entirely disproven. The best students at our universities right now are those veterans who are profiting by that educational program instituted by the Democratic Party. And of course, veterans receive financial help for establishing homes, launching businesses, and beginning new careers.

That is the kind of program that the Democratic Party believes in—one that will help the people of this country. We do not believe that the Government exists just to serve one class—big business. We think every segment of the population ought to have equal service from their Government. And it is your Government. It will be your Government if you exercise the privilege of voting, as you should. You didn't do that in 1946. You stayed at home. Two-thirds of you stayed at home, and you elected a Congress that has been trying to turn the clock back ever since January 3, 1947. And if you hadn't had a President in the White House who was looking after the interests of the people, and who exercised his veto powers to the limit, there is no telling what would have happened in this Congress. They had more lobbyists there than there ever have been in Washington in the history of the country, and that Congress obeyed the button pressure that those lobbies put upon them.

I want you to profit by that experience. I want you to study these issues, and I don't want you to stay at home this time. Let's all three-thirds of you go to the polls this time and exercise the privilege that you have of running your Government.

Study these issues. If you study the issues you will go to the polls and vote for yourself, and when you vote for yourself you will elect a Congress that is the exact opposite of this 80th Congress—and you'll leave me in the

White House for another 4 years, and I myself won't be troubled with the housing problem then.

[11.] GENEVA, NEW YORK (Rear platform, 4:45 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman:

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this wonderful turnout here in this great city of Geneva. I have been here many a time, and I like the place. They have some wonderful scenery around here, with some wonderful farms, but you have other things here that are important to the welfare of this great Nation.

The people around here, at this time, are all apparently very well off, and a lot of them seem not to be interested in the election this year. You know, that is usually the case when people become prosperous—they think the country will go along, anyway, without their taking any interest in things. But that is not the case, that is what you did in 1946—and look what you got. You got the 80th Republican "do-nothing" Congress, because you stayed at home and didn't vote.

Now, I am on a crusade through this country to wake the people up and make them see what they have at stake in this election. You have everything at stake in this election. Your own welfare is at stake, and if you let it go by default, there won't be anybody to blame but yourself, because when you exercise your right to vote you control your Government. That makes you the Government. When you don't exercise your right to vote, a minority controls the Government, and you can expect things that are in the interests of the minority. And that is what happened in 1946.

The newspapers and the million dollar propagandists misrepresent the President. They are trying to keep you from knowing the issues in this campaign. They are trying to tell you that I don't know what I am talking about, but I am going to prove to you before I get through with this campaign that I do know what I am talking about. I think the majority of the people will know it, too, when I get through in spite of all the propaganda they can put out. That is why I have come to see you. That is why I am trying to give you a chance to know the truth. I want you to analyze these issues and then make up your own mind. I am throwing some light on the fog of Republican propaganda.

In spite of the bad weather today we have had the finest turnouts that I have ever seen anywhere, and I appreciate it. It shows you are interested, or you wouldn't come out in weather like this to hear anybody at all. You are interested in the welfare of this country or you wouldn't be here today. And that is what pleases me to death, because if you get interested you can't help but do the right thing for your own interests.

The Republican leaders like to keep you in the dark. Democratic administrations believe in bringing light to the people.

A good example, take this Rural Electrification Administration. You have electric lines financed by REA, in operation right here in your own county. You know that REA means light for farmers, that 93 percent of the farmers of New York now have electricity. Less than one-third of the farmers had electricity in 1935.

Who created the Rural Electrification Administration? A Democratic Congress acting on the recommendation of Franklin Roosevelt.

Now, who fought the REA, who fought the efforts of the REA cooperatives to give you back those areas that private power companies would not serve? It was the power lobby, and they fought that rural electrification through the Republican Party.

Let me give you some facts and figures

about REA in this great State. REA has approved loans totaling nearly $5 million in New York to borrowers, for construction of more than 4,000 miles of line.

If you want that kind of government, the kind of government that developed REA and all these other forward-looking things that have taken place in the last 16 years, you can't help but go to the polls on election day and vote for yourselves.

If you vote for yourselves, you will vote the straight Democratic ticket, and that will leave me in the White House for another 4 years.

[12.] ROCHESTER, NEW YORK (6:40 p.m.)

Thank you very much. I am very glad to be with you this evening. I have been here before. I came here before with Burton K. Wheeler and tried to explain to the Chamber of Commerce of Rochester what the Transportation Act of 1940 stood for. I helped to write that act. But I don't think they ever did understand it. I don't know whether that was my fault or theirs.

I wish I could stay here and discuss all the issues of the campaign, but I know that's not possible.

I have been traveling all over the country, telling people the truth about this coming election, and the truth needs to be told. You see, there is a great propaganda machine in this country trying to tell you people something that isn't so about this election. Therefore, your President had to get out and exert himself to see that you do know the issues, and that is what I am doing now. What they are telling you is just as far from the truth as it can be. The men who pretend that there aren't any issues are trying to hide the truth from you. You don't want to let them do that. It is most important that you know the facts in this campaign.

The future prosperity of the country is at stake, and your future is at stake. This election will decide whether the Government is going to be run by the people themselves, or whether it is going to be run by the lobbies of the special interests, as they ran this good-for-nothing 80th Congress.

The whole country is prosperous after 16 years under the Democrats. That's because the Democratic policies have been designed to promote the welfare of all groups of citizens—factory workers, farmers, small businessmen, and white-collar workers. Now, everybody has had a fair share of the national income in this country under the Democrats. Last year, we had the greatest income in the history of any Nation in the history of the world—$217 billion—and every segment of the population, no matter what class, got his fair share of that income. That has never happened before. But there are people who believe that the Government should be run for special interests, and they had control of this 80th Congress I have been talking about.

Let me tell you all about some of the things that Congress did. Then I think you will understand what I mean when I talk about the danger to your future if a Republican administration is elected in this coming November. Then you will understand what I mean when I say that the Republican Party is the party of special privilege.

That Republican Congress refused to take action against high prices because high prices benefited most of their big business lobbies—and they told them what to do.

That Republican Congress refused to pass a health bill to provide for more hospitals, more doctors, more medical research, because there was a lobby there working on these fellows to keep that bill from passing.

The Republican Congress buried a bill to provide Federal aid to States in meeting their educational problems, because a few narrow-minded lobbies opposed that bill. And you know, I've got a notion in the back

of my head that education is the most important thing in the life of our citizens. That's the reason I am so happy that at all these speeches I see college boys and young people out, because they are interested in the welfare of this country. You know, the best insurance against communism in this country is education. The Communists can't stand education.

Now, to go on a little further; this Republican Congress deprived a great many farmers of price supports in order that the grain speculators could make a killing. They couldn't come out, you know, and take price supports away publicly. But when they wrote a new charter for the Commodity Credit Corporation, they prevented the Commodity Credit Corporation from furnishing storage for grain on which they were making loans. And corn now in the Middle West is selling for 47 cents under the support price, and the speculators are getting the difference between that and the price way above the support price that corn is bringing on the farm market.

That Republican Congress crippled our electrical program for the benefit of the power lobby. You know, there are certain great developments in this country. The St. Lawrence Waterway is one of those great developments that I would like to see carried to its proper conclusion. But there are great developments all over this country which furnish public power to municipalities at the cost at the dam by having power lines to take that power to those municipalities. This Republican Congress cut all the appropriations to build those power lines. They did that because the power lobby was working on that.

My veto stopped the Republican Congress from passing the tidelands oil bill for the benefit of the oil lobby. You know, there has been a great deal of talk about these tidelands. You know what the tidelands are? Tidelands are the lands from high tide to low tide, and nobody has ever made the contention that the tidelands did not belong to the States—that is, from high tide to low tide. But the people of the United States own the resources under the land outside that low tide, and it ought to go to all the people and not to a few oil millionaires. That's what I'm fighting for. Now, this Republican Congress passed a rich man's tax bill over my veto. I vetoed that bill three times. It was a terrible bill when it first came to me and it was a terrible bill the last time it came to me, but it wasn't quite as bad then as it was the first two times I vetoed it. They passed that bill for the benefit of the rich. Fellows making $100,000 a year saved $16,000 on that rich man's tax bill; and the fellow making $60 a week saved $1.50 a week—and that $1.50 a week went for high prices which they wouldn't help me control.

That Republican Congress took away, over my veto, social security benefits for a million people. And they said, in their platform of 1944, that they wanted to spread social security. That's just like the platform they wrote in Philadelphia—that hypocritical platform that I gave them a chance to carry out in that special session, which they didn't do.

I have told you now what they have done to the taxpayer and what they have done to the farmer. The next crack they took was at labor.

You see, we passed a labor act in 1935 known as the Magna Carta of labor. That's the Fair Labor Standards Act, better known as the Wagner Labor Act. Well, you know what they did. They passed the Taft-Hartley law which put a halter on labor, which tied labor up. Mr. Taft himself said he did everything that the employers wanted.

Now, that Wagner Act has helped to create the prosperity in this country, just as the Farm Support Act helped to create

prosperity among the farmers. In 1932 there were 3 million people who were organized. Last year there were 16 million people who were organized, and they were getting three times the pay they got in 1932—and if you remember, there were 12 million people walking in the streets trying to get jobs, and they couldn't get them. Now we have got 61 million people at work, and nobody has to do without a job. If he wants to work, he can get it.

Now, that's a condition that never has been in this country before, to my memory, and it happened under a Democratic administration.

Well, I told you part of the record of that 80th Congress. I wish I had time to stand here all night and tell you all about it. It would take me all night to do it. They didn't do a thing in your favor—I can tell you that.

Now, it is your duty to go to the polls in November and elect a Congress that will be genuinely interested in legislation for the welfare of the country as a whole, and not for just a few people. Legislation ought to be for the whole people—the whole 145 million of you—and not for just a few fellows who want to exploit the rest of you. That is the sort of thing you'll get if you stay at home, as you did in 1946. Right here in this town you stayed at home in 1946, and if you hadn't stayed at home, you might still have Rogers in Congress and have some representation that will work for your benefit.

I have the figures here, and I'm going to assure you that I know exactly what I was talking about when I said that two-thirds of the people stayed away from the polls. These are the figures: In 1944, this town cast 90,000 votes—this town cast 93,369 votes for the Democrats and 88,762 for the Republicans. In 1946, because you were fat and lazy and didn't think it would make any difference, 55,531 Democrats voted and 84,862 Republicans voted. Now, there were 4,000 fewer Republicans who voted in 1946 than voted in 1944, but there were 45,000 Democrats who didn't vote. And they got just exactly what they deserved—they got the 80th "do-nothing" Congress.

Now, when you do go to the polls in November, I want to tell you what you ought to vote for. You ought to vote for a party that believes in holding down prices to a fair level, and vote for a party that believes in providing Federal aid to education. That is the best antidote to communism I know of. Vote for extending social security instead of cutting it down. Vote for permanent farm legislation to insure farm prosperity, because unless the farmers and laborers and small business and white-collar people are prosperous the country can't be prosperous if just one of them exploits the other. That's what the Democratic Party stands for. The Democratic Party stands for the people. The Democratic Party is your party. It is the party of the everyday man. Its interest is in the whole people and not just one segment of the population.

When you go to the polls, vote for yourself. Vote for yourself, and if you vote for yourself, you'll vote the Democratic ticket—and I'll stay in the White House another 4 years, and won't be troubled with the housing shortage.

[13.] BATAVIA, NEW YORK (Rear platform, 7:40 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman:

Thank you very much. It certainly is uplifting to come out here and see all these good people who have come out to find out just exactly what the President looks like, and what he believes, and what he is trying to do. I have had a most pleasant day across this great State of New York today.

The weather has not been what it should be, in nearly every place except Rochester and here it has been pouring down rain every time the train stopped, yet people came out in spite of the rain because they are interested in the issues in this campaign, and they want to find out just what their President thinks. I think they want to find out what he looks like and I think they want to find out whether all this propaganda that has been put out—about the President not being able to do his job—is true or not.

Now, what I want you to do is to study the issues in this campaign. The Republicans say there are no issues and they are talking platitudes about home, about home and mother, and what a wonderful thing unity is, and a lot of other things that have nothing whatever to do with the issues in this campaign. You see, they are ashamed of that 80th Congress, they don't like to talk about its record, so they talk about something else.

I don't. I talk about the record of that 80th Congress, and I talk about the record of the Democratic Party. I like the people to know where I stand. See if you can find out where the other fellow stands. I bet you can't. I bet he won't answer any questions that you put to him on the issues in this campaign.

When you come out this way, I know that you are interested in the welfare of this Nation. You are interested in whether this Government is run by those who believe in special privilege, or whether it is run in the interest of the people; and that is the issue in this campaign—the people against special privilege. That has been the issue right along between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. The Democrats have always stood for the people. They still stand for the people, and it has been conclusively proven by the actions of this last Congress.

You know, for 16 years—it will be 16 years on the 20th of January—the first Monday in March, because President Roosevelt was sworn in under the old law—in March it will be 16 years that the Democrats have been in control of this Government. They took it over when things were at their very lowest. There were 12 million unemployed. Farmers were losing their farms wholesale. Banks were closing so fast that you were afraid to go into one for fear it would blow up in your face. That was true all down the line.

When the Democrats took over in March 1933, they began immediately to put legislation on the books which would cure all those ills. One of the first things they did was to pass a farm support act. That farm act took the farmers out of their doldrums. Instead of 123 thousand farmers losing their farms as they did in 1932, last year less than 800 farms were foreclosed. The farmers' income in 1932 was about $4½ billion. Last year it was $18 billion. There were 12 million unemployed. There were 3 million members in labor unions in 1932. Last year there were 16 million members in labor unions. This year there are 61 million people employed, and if a fellow wants a job he doesn't have to walk the streets, he can get one. That was not true in 1932.

Now, these people are asking you to go back to that situation. These people who have been in control of the 80th Congress want to turn the clock back. The clock won't run backwards, it runs forwards, and you want to go forward with the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party is the forward-looking party, it is the party that looks after the people. It is the party that you should vote for, because you will be voting for your own interests when you do that. You won't be voting for me, you will be voting for yourself.

Go to the polls and vote to keep the for-

ward-looking party in control of your Government for another 4 years. I think that is just exactly what you are going to do, or you wouldn't be turning out this way.

You won't find out the facts from Republican platitudes, you won't find out the facts from Republican press, because they don't want you to know the facts. They know that you will do the right thing if you know the facts and vote the Democratic ticket. Now, be sure and go to the polls on the 2d of November and vote for yourself and your own interest, and then I will stay in the White House another 4 years and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage.

Again, I can't tell you how very much I appreciate your interest in the welfare of this country. I think that is what the turnouts mean. I think you are interested in the welfare of the country. I am particularly interested when I see young people here, because the young people are going to run this country in the next 20 or 30 years. I wish I were 14 instead of 64 so I could see the next 50 years of development in this country. I think we are facing the greatest age in history, and if you don't turn things back to those people who want to turn the clock back, you will see the greatest age in history.

Of course, if you want to go backwards, go on backward, but you won't go that way long. Go to the polls, now, on November 2d, and vote for yourself. Vote the straight Democratic ticket, and the country will be safe for another 4 years, I can assure you of that.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on October 8 the President referred to Mayor Erastus Corning of Albany, Representative William T. Byrne, State Senator Peter Dalesandro, former Governors Alfred E. Smith and Herbert Lehman, Mayor Owen Begley of Schenectady, Senator Robert F. Wagner, Mayor Arthur Carter of Amsterdam, Democratic candidates for Representative William M. Murphy, John C. Davies, and Francis J. Souhan, former Senator Royal S. Copeland, Mayor Boyd E. Golder of Utica, Oneida County Chairman Arthur J. Abbott, Mayor Frank Costello of Syracuse, and Representative John Taber, all of New York; Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro of Baltimore, Md.; former Senator F. Ryan Duffy of Wisconsin; former Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana; and Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio.

229 Address in Buffalo. *October* 8, 1948

Mr. Chairman:

In less than a month, you will have the responsibility of choosing a government for the next 4 years, 1949 to 1953.

These are likely to be critical years in American history, and in world history. They are years which are likely to hold the answer to two great questions in the hearts of most of us today.

These questions I can briefly sum up as: (1) war or peace? (2) hard times or prosperity?

Now, as to the first question, war or peace.

I know that every right-thinking American wants peace.

I believe that our prayers will be answered and that we will have peace. No one wants peace in the world more than I do. I have said time and again that I would rather have peace in the world than to be President of the United States.

Of course, present world conditions are of grave concern to all of us. Because of these conditions, I have found it necessary to cancel visits I had planned to make to a number of cities tomorrow. I must return to Washington to meet with Secretary of State Marshall, who is flying back from Paris to confer with me. I shall discuss with Secretary Marshall means for working out

constructive and peaceful solutions to our problems abroad, within the framework of our basic American principles, and within the framework of the United Nations.

I am sorry to disappoint so many of my friends whom I had expected to see tomorrow. But I know that they will forgive me.

Now, tonight I am going to talk to you about the second great question I mentioned—hard times or prosperity. The election in November clearly presents that question to the people of the United States.

Of course, there is no open argument on this question. Nobody wants hard times. Everybody wants prosperity. The Republicans are quite sincere in saying that they want prosperity just as much as the Democrats. I believe they do. Who doesn't?

But the leaders who now control the Republican Party want prosperity for special privilege groups first, and for other people, if they can get it. They want high profits for their campaign contributors, and high prices for special interest lobbies.

In the mad scramble to get that selfish kind of prosperity, they forget about the rest of the country. They forget about the needs of the farmer, and labor, and small business. They forget about housewives struggling with their budgets, and families using up their savings to meet the high cost of living. They forget about the prosperity of the consumers and wage earners of this country.

Then, of course, their own prosperity goes to smash under those circumstances, and they are all in depression together.

Real prosperity is based on justice. Real prosperity depends on fair treatment for all groups of our society. That's a rule as old as the Bible. That's what the Bible means when it says, and I quote: "We are . . . . every one members, one of another." That is the very thing the economists have found out about our economy, after 50 years of studying booms and depressions.

We judge people and parties by what they do, not by what they say. We judge the Democratic Party by its record of achievement over the last 16 years.

We judge the Republican Party by its record of the last 2 years in the Congress where it has had absolute control of the legislative branch of the Government, and complete responsibility for that branch.

If we look at that record, we can see that the Republican leadership has changed very little in its policies since the days of Hoover. And we can see that the Republican Party is following the same fatal course—privileges for the few, neglect of the many—that led us into the disaster of 1929.

I know that this kind of talk is very painful to Republican leaders. I can't help that.

The Republicans say I ought not to talk about the past. They would like us to forget the period from 1929 to 1932.

They would like to forget it themselves, I am sure.

Let me assure you that when I talk about the Republican past, I do so with regret. I wish with all my heart that the Republican Party no longer had anything in common with the party that produced the depression of the 1930's.

But it is important for the people of this country to recognize that time has not changed the fundamental outlook of the Republican Party since it was last in power.

The leopard has not changed his spots; he has merely hired some public relations experts. They have taught him to wear sheep's clothing, and to purr sweet nothings about unity in a soothing voice.

But it's the same old leopard.

The Republican strategy in this campaign is increasingly clear. The Republicans have carefully appraised their assets and liabilities and have reached the conclusion that they have one main liability and one main asset.

The liability is the issues in this campaign.

They have concluded that their record is so bad on the important issues of the day, that they can't even discuss them.

The problems that affect the welfare of every person in this country are completely ignored by the Republican orators.

Now the main asset of the Republicans is the tremendous financial support they are receiving.

Much of it is being utilized to conduct a widespread propaganda campaign designed to fool you into believing that the result of this coming election is a foregone conclusion. How wrong they are!

I believe that the American people will not be fooled by this insidious propaganda.

I believe that the American people—and not the propagandists for special interests—will decide in whose hands their government will be placed.

Now let us look at some of the issues in this campaign.

I do not claim that all Democrats are perfect or that all Democratic Congressmen are wise. But in general, most Democrats vote for the people, and most Republicans vote for special interests.

Just take, as an example, my proposals for the control of high prices. In 1947, in the Senate, 90 percent of the Democrats voted for these proposals, and 10 percent of the Democrats against them; but only 5 percent of the Republicans voted for them, and 95 percent of the Republicans voted against those proposals. In 1948, 81 percent of the Democrats voted for these proposals to hold prices down, and 98 percent of the Republicans voted against them.

I want you to realize that when I speak of the actions of the Republican 80th Congress, I am speaking of actions which represent the prevailing views of those who control the Republican Party. That Congress was merely a symbol and instrument of Republican Party policy.

Lately there has been talk by Republicans that while the 80th Congress might have been pretty bad—and I say it is more than pretty bad—that has nothing to do with the Republican leaders. They are attempting to build up the illusion that a Republican Congress and the Republican candidate for President do not stand for the same policies. Can you beat that?

Well, the Republican candidate has now dispelled that illusion. He has indorsed the 80th Congress. He said, and I quote: "The 80th Congress delivered as no other Congress ever did for the future of the country." How they delivered!

Make no mistake: When we talk of the failures of the 80th Congress, we are talking of the policies of the Republican candidates, as well as most of the Republican Congressmen and Senators. They are tarred with the same brush—that brush that big business uses to brush off the needs and the claims of the people.

Now the point I want to drive home to you and to all the people of the United States is this: Your prosperity is endangered by the Republican policies.

I want you to look at the facts, think about them, and be guided by them.

And I am not asking you to vote for the Democratic Party, just because during the past 16 years, Democratic policies turned hard times into good times. What I want you to do is to look at the present Democratic policies, as they affect you and your family in the years ahead.

Let's take a specific example.

Let's take the struggle to get sufficient housing in this country.

This year, in the United States of America, 5 million families are living in slums and fire traps. Another 4 million families are living in houses that will soon become slums unless something is done to prevent it. Three million families, including many fami-

lies of war veterans, are living doubled up with other families.

And things are getting worse. There are twice as many couples getting married each year as there are homes being built.

This housing situation is intolerable and inexcusable. A great, rich country like ours can afford decent homes for its citizens.

We must do three things: We must build more houses, we must build homes that people—particularly young people—can afford, and we must clear out and rebuild the slums.

Houses are being built—by private enterprise, as they should be. But they aren't being built in sufficient numbers, or at low enough prices. And without Government help, they can't be. Without Government help, cities are not financially able to wipe out their slums.

So the Government has a big and important role to play in housing, not in conflict or competition with private enterprise, but supplementing it.

In my postwar message to the Congress, I urged early action by the Congress to enact a real housing program to meet these needs. That was in September 1945—3 years ago. My Message on the State of the Union, September 26, with 21 points in it, had one on housing.

A splendid bill for this purpose was introduced. It was sponsored by two Democratic Senators and one Republican. One of the Democrats was your own fighting, great liberal—Bob Wagner.

The other Democratic Senator was Senator Ellender of Louisiana, and the Republican was Senator Taft of Ohio.

I was hopeful that we could start helping our people with their housing problems. But I did not reckon with the influence of the real estate lobby.

The real estate people have one of the most powerful, best organized, and most brazen lobbies in Washington. And the Republican Party has proved to be its faithful servant.

The Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill passed the Senate in 1946, but was blocked by the Republican members of a House committee in the House of Representatives.

In 1947, we had the Republican 80th Congress—and you got that by staying at home and not doing your duty—and the housing bill was introduced again. The Republican leadership in the Senate stalled for time.

Do you know what they did?

They set up a joint committee to find out if there was a housing shortage.

I sent a message to Congress asking them please to hurry up and do something. Housing conditions were getting worse and worse, and are getting worse and worse.

Thereupon, the Senate passed the bill for a second time and it went to the House. There were enough favorable votes in the House to pass it, if it ever came to a vote. So the Republican leadership decided to keep it from coming to a vote. They pulled every trick in the parliamentary book, and some that had never been heard of before; and they were successful in keeping that housing bill from passing. It was a most shameful performance.

The Democrats tried again and again, in both the Senate and House, to get that bill through.

But they were blocked at every turn by the Republicans. And the sad truth is that the Republican leadership in the Congress murdered that housing bill.

Congress adjourned shortly after that, and the Republicans went to their convention in Philadelphia, and they drafted a platform plank on housing. And what do you think that plank said? Don't be surprised now. It announced the stern determination of the Republican Party to provide Federal housing

aid for local slum clearance and low-rent housing programs—the very provisions they have been fighting against so hard for 3 years.

Beat that, if you can! That wasn't all the tommyrot they put in that platform, they put a lot of things in that platform that they had been fighting me on ever since I came to the Presidency.

And then I got a glimmer of hope—not much, but a little. I thought they really wouldn't dare go back on their own platform—at least, not until the ink was dry on it—and that they might now pass the legislation they promised to the people. And I called them into special session, you remember, when I made that acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention.

Well, you remember what happened.

I called the Congress back into special session. I pointed out that unless it acted on housing, the next Congress would have to begin all over again, and there would be another year's delay. I asked the Congress again to pass the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. You see, they turned it around. In the beginning it was the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, and they turned it around and called it the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill.

Were the Republicans grateful for the chance to prove they meant what they said? Not a bit! They accused me of playing politics.

Now, we come to the end of this sorry story of Republican trickery.

Senator Taft himself—one of the sponsors of the bill—turned against it, and asked the Senate to kill it—to kill his own bill.

Also very interesting is the fact that one of your Senators from New York—who is close to the Republican candidate for President—had the chance to take a position on the housing bill.

And Senator Ives voted against the bill.

So the Senate killed the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, and the Congress passed a bill, which does nothing about low-cost public housing, nothing about slum clearance, nothing about rural housing—nothing, in short, that they said they would do for the people in their platform.

One of the aims of my administration has been to give all our people a chance to have decent housing. Our major effort has been to enlarge the effective field of private enterprise and to give public support only to housing for those low-income families that private enterprise cannot serve.

The Republican Congress flatly refused to aid those low-income families.

What was the result of this great Republican runaround? The real estate lobby won. And the people of the United States lost—lost homes they could have had—lost years of health and happiness in decent surroundings that might have been theirs.

I have gone into this story at length because it shows the way in which the Republican Party has thwarted the will of the people.

Republican policies are depriving millions of families of the housing they need. Republican policies are keeping up prices of much of the food you eat, and the clothing you buy.

And worst of all, these Republican policies, by permitting inflation to continue without proper curbs, are threatening the very foundations of our prosperity. They are not only injuring American living standards by high prices—they are also pushing the country into the terrible risk of another crash and another depression.

That is why I must say to you that a Republican victory in November would be a victory for a policy that makes for hard times.

The Democratic Party is not perfect, but its leadership, its policies, and the great majority of the Democratic Members of Congress stand squarely behind a policy aimed to preserve the prosperity of the people.

That, my friends, is the major issue in this campaign.

That is why I feel justified tonight in asking you to cast your votes, on election day, for a Democratic administration that has faith in the people, and that plays fair with the people.

And we shall need a Democratic Congress this time. We need a Democratic Congress to protect your pocketbooks, your homes, your futures, and the happiness of your children.

Ever since I started out in this campaign, I have urged the people to exercise their rights in the Government. The Government is yours, if you are willing to accept the responsibility, and when you accept that responsibility, you will go to the polls on election day and vote your sentiments. I have been urging everybody in these United States to be sure to go to the polls on November 2d, and to vote for themselves, vote for their own interests, vote for the people's interest. And when you do that, you can't do but one thing, and that is to vote the Democratic ticket straight.

A Democratic administration is what this country needs—what we all need. And it's very easy to get.

All we have to do is to go to the polls and get it—if you do your duty.

I am urging you with everything I have now—don't shirk your duty this time, as you did in 1946. You will get something worse than the 80th Congress, if you do!

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:05 p.m. at Eagles Hall in Buffalo. During his address he referred to Senators Robert F. Wagner and Irving M. Ives of New York, Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, and Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio.

230 Statement by the President Following General Marshall's Return From Paris. *October 9, 1948*

GENERAL MARSHALL has returned to Washington at my request to report to me on the progress of the work of the various United Nations bodies in Paris. I had a long talk with him this morning, and again this afternoon. He gave me a detailed picture of what has been taking place in Paris, and we discussed questions relating to the future course of this Government in the various matters at issue.

With regard to the report published in this morning's press concerning a possible journey of Chief Justice Vinson to Moscow, the facts are as follows: On last Tuesday, when I communicated with Secretary Marshall, I told him of my continuing great desire to see peace firmly established in the world, and of my particular concern at this time over the attitude taken by the Soviet representatives regarding the atomic problem. I said that I was wondering whether their attitude did not reflect a misunderstanding in the minds of the Soviet leaders so serious, from the standpoint of world peace in general, that we would be remiss if we left undone anything that might conceivably serve to dispel it. I asked the Secretary whether he felt that a useful purpose would be served by sending to Moscow Chief Justice Vinson, in an effort to make the Soviet leaders understand the seriousness and sincerity of the feelings of the people of the United States about these matters. Secretary Marshall described to me the situation which we faced in Paris, and, in the light of his report and the possibilities of misunderstanding to which any unilateral action, however desirable otherwise, could lead at present, I decided not to take this step.

My talk with Secretary Marshall has been

gratifying to me. I was glad to hear his report of the unity which has prevailed between ourselves and the French and British representatives in Paris in all phases of the handling of the Berlin crisis, and of the earnest efforts being made by the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations to find solutions to many of the other problems which have been troubling people everywhere. I was glad to be able to assure him of the determination with which people in this country are supporting our efforts to find the road to peace.

NOTE: A statement by Secretary Marshall following his meeting with the President is printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 19, p. 483).

231 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Ohio. *October* 11, 1948

[1.] CINCINNATI, OHIO (Breakfast in the Netherlands-Plaza Hotel, 8:35 a.m.)

I appreciate that most highly, Mr. Mayor. I appreciate that reception more than I can tell you, and I would, of course, like to have it continued, but you know this radio time is paid for—we want the full benefit from our investment.

I cannot come anywhere near expressing my appreciation for the cordiality of the welcome I have received in Cincinnati this morning. I have had that sort of welcome all over the United States. I was most agreeably surprised, last Friday, when we landed in Albany, N.Y., and it was raining just as it is here this morning. It rained from one end of New York to the other all the way to Buffalo, yet people turned out in immense numbers and stood in the rain. That makes me believe that people are really interested in this campaign with which we are faced. I think people are interested in knowing what the facts are.

In staid, old Philadelphia, that town turned out to see us and there were 800,000 people on the streets. There were 16,000 came to the Convention Hall where I was nominated for President, to hear the issues, and there were radio stations and television setups. So you know people must be interested in the issues when they will do that.

You have a great city here on the banks of this Ohio River, and one of the reasons why I think so is that you now have a Democratic Mayor. He tells me he is the first Democrat that has been Mayor of Cincinnati for 35 years. That is certainly something to be proud of, and I think it shows what the people are thinking and the way the trends are going. I think the whole country knows how you organized the city charter movement here in Cincinnati in the early 1920's, when local Republican leaders had just about wrecked the city. A short time after that, I think it was in 1930, I paid a visit to Hamilton County, Ohio, because you had an assessment system here that seemed to me to be a just one. I tried to get that system implemented in Jackson County, Mo., when I was head of the government there in Jackson, but I didn't have any luck; but I still think you have a great assessment system. I didn't know whether it is still in effect or not, but it seemed to be the most just one in the country.

Now, some Republican leaders in the 80th Congress, which I call the notorious, "do-nothing" Republican Congress, almost wrecked our chances for keeping prosperity. They did wreck the hopes of the American people for fair labor laws, good housing legislation, and all the other progressive measures which we need so badly now.

We are in the middle of an election campaign right now. The Republican candidate for President has made a good many headlines with clever talk about unity. He claims that if he is elected there will be unity. I don't know what he means by that. I am going to try to analyze it the best I can. Of course, we don't know what he means by unity because he won't tell the country where he stands on any of the issues in which the American people are so deeply interested.

Since he won't tell us, we will have to look at the record of the men who run the party—the men who would be in power if the Republicans are elected.

I think you here in Cincinnati are in a good position to know just what Republican unity would mean. I think, in fact, you know better than people anywhere else in the country.

Now, let's take a look at that record. It shows just what the preachers of unity believe in.

Republicans led the fight to destroy price control in 1946. They have led the fight ever since to prevent the restoration of controls which are so badly needed by the American people to prevent runaway inflation. They took the lead in putting handcuffs on labor. The Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 was a deliberate effort to weaken labor unions for the benefit of employers.

In that Taft-Hartley bill, Senator Taft said about that bill, and I quote him: "This bill is not a milk-toast bill. It covers about three-fourths of the things pressed on us very strenuously by the employers." I don't think labor was very carefully listened to when that bill was passed. I wish everyone of you could read the veto message which I sent to Congress on that bill.

Under Republican leadership, Senators consistently refused to provide Federal funds to help States meet the crisis in education. You know, we have an educational crisis right in this country. There are thousands and thousands of young men and young women who are thirsting for an education, and there are thousands and thousands of children in the grade schools who are not getting the proper education because one teacher cannot do very well when she has 50 or 60 or 70 pupils, as some of them have to do.

We urged a Federal program under the direction of the States which would help meet that situation. The Republicans killed that bill in the House. They are not interested in that phase of the educational situation.

The Republicans supported a measure that took social security away from at least a million people in this country, yet their platform of 1944 made it very plain that they were for an increased base for social security. But their acts in the 80th Congress did not prove that they meant what they said in that platform.

You remember, I called a special session, on the basis of the Republican platform at Philadelphia, which said they were for a lot of things, which they had turned down in the regular session of Congress, and they could turn them down even in the special session.

They have consistently opposed a sound national health program. This is only a part of the recent record of the Republican Party, but it is enough to show us what Republican unity would mean in terms of backward-looking laws, and narrowminded class legislation.

There are, of course, some rank and file members of the Republican Party who hold liberal views. I am sure that they would like to take some of the Republican campaign oratory at its face value. But the frank statements of my friend Bob Taft ought to dispel any hope they may have

that the Republican Party may follow a liberal course if its candidates are elected.

Now, I served in the Senate with Bob, and I like him personally. There is one thing I do like about him: You know where he stands; that is more than you can say of some of the Republican candidates. Bob is frankly—he is frankly conservative. He believes in the welfare of the top ahead of the welfare of the bottom. But he is frank about it, and I can understand that. While he and I are personally on the friendliest of terms, we are as far apart as the poles on what we think is best for the welfare of the people of this country.

When the Republican candidate for Vice President made a campaign speech that contained a few liberal phrases, Bob had this to say, and I quote him, "You know that is contrary to everything I stand for." He was talking about Governor Warren when he said that. Well, there you have it. The Republicans don't even have unity in their campaign oratory. The only kind of unity they would have in office would be the kind we don't want: that oppressive unity forced on us by the big bosses of the Republican Party.

Don't let anybody fool you, if they send a Republican Congress back there it won't be a bit different from the 80th Congress, it will be run by exactly the same men, it will put through exactly the same program—and I don't care what the man in the White House will do about it, he will be just as helpless to do anything about it as I have been in the last 2 years. All I could do was exercise my veto power, but vetoing pays, to a very great extent, against that kind of thing.

All of you probably know that I made a good many critical remarks about this 80th Congress. I think that is putting it rather mildly, but I admit that in one way we are very lucky to have had the 80th Congress. It taught us a lesson. It taught us a lesson before it was too late. The 80th Congress taught us what to expect from the Republican Party. We found out what Republican campaign promises really mean. We find out that they do not mean a thing. They are not worth the paper they are written on.

If you will examine the Republican Party's platform of 1944, and then see the hypocritical document they wrote in Philadelphia this year, you can understand what I mean when I say Republican campaign promises are not worth the paper they are written on.

Now, I stand on the record. You know where I stand. I have taken a stand on every one of the issues that are before the country today. You know what I stand for.

But, just try to find out where the other fellow stands! We would be hopelessly committed to an old-fashioned Republican boom-and-bust cycle if we turn the whole Government over to the Republicans.

This is not the kind of unity I want to see. The kind of unity we need is unity for lower prices, unity for good housing at prices our people can afford, unity for better labor-management laws, unity for strengthened and extended social security, unity for a national health program—unity, in other words, for a prosperous and progressive United States.

I don't know whether you have analyzed the situation or not, but there are more than 61 million people at work in this country today; and everybody is prosperous, to some extent—that is, there is a distribution of the national income which was $217 billion last year and it will be greater this year—there has been an evenly fair distribution of that income. The farmer has his fair share, labor has received good wages—three times what it was back in 1932. At that time there were less than 31 million people at work, and there were 12 or 15 million people walking the streets who couldn't find jobs.

Now, I think it is much better to have a government whose interest is the whole people than to have a government whose interest is only for the people at the top of the heap. That is why I am convinced that the 81st Congress will be a Democratic Congress. I am convinced that you are going to elect Edward J. Breen from the First District, and Edward J. Gardner from the Second District. I am convinced that you are going to elect one of the most progressive Governors Ohio ever had—Frank Lausche.

I am going up and down this country, and I think I am on a crusade for the welfare of the people; and I think the people are beginning to find out that their interests are the interests that I am fighting for.

I think that these fellows are going to have the greatest surprise they ever had in their lives on the 3d day of November when the vote is in.

Now, I usually take my greatest assets around the country with me. How would you like to meet my family? I will present Mrs. Truman first—she runs me and the White House. Now I have the privilege of presenting my baby, my daughter Margaret.

Thank you all very much.

[2.] HAMILTON, OHIO (Rear platform, 10:17 a.m.)

Thank you, thank you very much.

I have just been over in Cincinnati. I understand that you call Cincinnati a suburb of Hamilton; is that correct? I live in Independence, Mo., and we call Kansas City a suburb of Independence, and I suppose you do that same thing here of Cincinnati.

The Cincinnati people turned out at 7 o'clock this morning, to greet the President. I had a fine reception there, and I certainly appreciate this wonderful reception here. It shows that you are interested in the issues before the country and that you want to find out just exactly what they are.

I want to congratulate the people of Hamilton on their fine wartime record. You made a wonderful production record. I believe that fewer man-hours were lost here due to work stoppages than in any other similar area in the country; and I visited Hamilton during the wartime to investigate that very situation and to find out how you did it. I was at that time chairman of the committee in the Senate that was investigating the war effort.

I want to talk to you about the crusade I am making around this country to get people to realize what this election means to them—and it is a crusade. I have to come out and face the people personally and individually and tell them just what the issues are, or they won't find out—and that's what I am doing. My Republican opponents talk about sweet nothings. They don't discuss the issues, and if I didn't come out and face you people and tell you what those issues are, and bring them to your minds, you would never know anything about them. It means a lot to me but it means more to you.

I am going to repeat that: this election means a great deal to me but it means much more to you.

I am speaking to you plainly and honestly. I think you know that my opponents in this campaign are not speaking plainly or honestly. They haven't got it in them. They are afraid to face these issues because they know there can be but one result. The candidates who do not speak honestly and clearly are trying to make you believe that there aren't any real issues in this campaign. My friends, nothing could be further from the truth. There are great problems facing this country today, and this is no time for soothing syrup. This is no time for candi-

dates who are afraid to tell the people where they stand.

In my crusade I have found that most of us have three big things in our minds: peace, prices, and places to live.

Now, those things are all tied together. To keep the peace in the world, the United States must remain prosperous and strong. To be prosperous and strong, we must keep our country from going through another boom and bust. To be prosperous and strong and to win the peace, we must have decent places for our people to live.

I am proud of the record of my administration on peace, the record on prices, the record on trying to get places for people to live at costs they can afford to pay. My administration has fought communism at home and abroad so vigorously that the Russian radio hurls slanders at me everyday in the week. We have been building up the United Nations, helping small countries like Greece and Turkey keep their independence, and helping wartime European nations get back on their feet and become self-supporting again. That's why and that's the way I have been working for peace.

I would much rather have peace in this country than to be President of the United States. I would much rather have peace in the world than to be President of the United States—and I have said that time and again all over the country, and I mean every word of it.

I have been working just as hard to bring down the cost of living. I have fought for a strong price control law. In 1946 and in 1947, and in 1948 I called the 80th Republican Congress back into special session twice, in an effort to get these backward-looking men to pass a price control bill. They wouldn't do it. So prices keep going up and up and up. I have done all our present laws permit, but that's not nearly enough to stop inflation. We need the kind of laws that the 80th Congress refused to pass, or we are headed straight for another bust.

As soon as the war ended, we began converting war construction into temporary homes for veterans and others, but that was not enough. I have urged the Congress over and over again to pass a comprehensive housing law that would clear slums, build rural housing, and provide low-rent public housing. The Republican Party isn't interested—and its leaders killed the housing bill the last days of the special session. They did that with malice aforethought, and they did it for the real estate lobby.

You know, that Congress has had more lobbies and more powerful lobbies than any other Congress in the history of the country—and that 80th Congress has stepped every time they stuck out a finger at them.

I match the record of my administration with the Republican record. I leave the decision to you. All I ask is for you to go to the polls in November. I want to see you elect a Democratic Congressman from this district, Congressman Breen. He is a good man.

You know, I am happy to be in the district that was represented at one time by Governor Cox before he ran for President of the United States, and I am going to visit Governor Cox this morning in Dayton and have a fine time with him. He is still the same good Democrat he always was.

My friends, it is up to you now to decide whether you want to vote for yourselves, vote for your own interests, or whether you want to vote for special interests who have nothing in common with your problem. If you really mean what you say, go to the polls on election day and vote for yourselves. Vote a straight Democratic ticket—and if you do that, you'll have Frank Lausche for Governor of the great State of Ohio, and I'll be

President of the United States for another 4 years and won't have to worry about the housing problem myself.

[3.] DAYTON, OHIO (At Memorial Hall, 11:50 a.m.)

Mr. Chairman—and your next Congressman, Ed Breen, who is the chairman:

I am simply overcome by the remarks of Governor Cox. I have always been a great admirer of his, and was an ardent supporter of his in 1920. I do appreciate most highly the unequivocal statement that he believes in what I am trying to do. I know I am right.

I came into Ohio this morning and was most cordially welcomed in Cincinnati and in Hamilton, but Dayton capped the climax.

I was met at the station in Cincinnati by your next Governor, Frank Lausche. I have known him a long time—I knew him when he was Governor of Ohio before. Ohio never had a better Governor—except Governor Cox—than this one right here.

I am acquainted with this great city of yours. Years and years ago, long before we had paved roads in the United States, Dayton was a center of road boosters. Since I was a road booster, and still am, I used to come to Dayton and discuss with the people here in this city the necessity for a transcontinental paved highway from Baltimore to Los Angeles. We have this highway now, and we are going to get a lot of other things too.

It was my duty, as chairman of the committee in the Senate to investigate the national defense program, to come to Dayton and visit your great airfield here on many an occasion. I have been here during that war effort in an endeavor to make a contribution toward the winning of the war. President Roosevelt said I made such a contribution.

The history of the United States would have been very different—and very much better—if the American people in 1920 had elected James M. Cox and Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Presidency and Vice Presidency of this country. We would not have had those horrible scandals of the 1920's and that boom and bust program that followed the election of a Republican candidate.

I know you do not want to stand still with the Republican Party in this election. I believe you are going to live up to your forward-looking traditions and step ahead with the Democrats.

In my crusade across the country to make the people realize what this election means to them, I have found that most of us have three big things on our minds: peace, prices, and places to live.

Since I have been President of the United States, I have been working for 3½ years to bring about a lasting peace. We have built up the United Nations. We have helped small nations stay free from communism, and we are now getting Western Europe back on its feet. This administration has been building a sound and prosperous United States. This administration's postwar economic policies have been so successful that 61 million people now have jobs, and the national income is $217 billion, the highest ever in the history of the world—and equitably distributed as the Governor stated to you.

Now, the one thing absolutely essential is peace in the world. You know, back in 1920 we shirked our duty. We turned our backs on what God Almighty intended us to do. We tried to live by ourselves, and for ourselves, in a perfectly selfish manner when the world needed us. We paid the penalty. We had to come along and meet that situation once more, which we thought we had met in 1920.

Now, this great Republic—the greatest in history, the greatest that the sun has ever

shone upon—is charged with leadership in the world for the welfare of the whole world as well as our own welfare. We can't do that unless our own welfare is at top notch in this country. And that is what I am fighting for, ladies and gentlemen!

We must ourselves be prosperous and lead the way if we expect the world to follow.

But, at the same time, we have some very serious problems which threaten our long-run prosperity. I have been concerned about them for a long time.

One of these problems is runaway prices—high prices. Another is housing.

Runaway high prices can wreck our prosperity. If inflation is allowed to continue, we shall certainly have another boom and bust, another crash—another 1929. I have done everything possible under existing law to slow down inflation, but our present laws don't begin to do the job.

I called that Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress back into special session twice, and urged them time and again to pass price control laws that would give a break to the little people in the country. But the Republicans are only interested in those few at the top that don't need help—they would like to help them all the time. But the everyday fellow can get it as best he can from any Republican organization, what he can get and when he can get it; and that isn't very much under a Republican administration.

The Republican Congress flatly refused to take any step that would cut into the fantastically high profits that corporations are now making. They refused to give us the protection we need against another crash. As a result, prices keep on going up and up and up.

You know, the Republicans said if we got rid of price control that prices would adjust themselves. Well, they have—they have gone clear off the chart.

So far as our national housing problem is concerned, it is hardly necessary for me to tell the people of Dayton how badly we need a comprehensive housing law, to provide for slum clearance, rural housing, low-rent public housing, and the like.

The real estate lobbies have tried to convince the people that they can do the job of meeting our housing needs without the help of the Federal Government. The plain facts—here in Dayton, and in every other big city in the country—show how wrong they are.

The truth is that Dayton has been growing so fast that the builders cannot keep up with the city's expansion. That is true of every other great city in this country. Your population has nearly doubled in the last 10 years. You need a Federal housing program in the city to aid your builders to clear away your slums, and produce houses for working people at prices they can pay. That is the key note—at prices they can pay!

They are selling shoddily-built houses to veterans all over this country that aren't worth a third of what the veterans have to pay for these houses.

Now, here is a statement the head of your own Municipal Housing Bureau made 1 year ago. He said—this is a quote—"In spite of new construction, Dayton's housing shortage is the worst it has ever been. A sharp rise in evictions and the condemning of insanitary dwelling units by city health inspectors have combined to increase the pressure of the housing pinch."

That situation hasn't improved one bit anywhere in the United States. That statement was made in October of 1947. Now, 1 year later, your city Plan Board Director said that there are between 12,000 and 15,000 substandard dwelling units in Dayton alone. Now if that is the case here, what is it in New York and Philadelphia and Baltimore and Cincinnati and St. Louis and Kansas

City and San Francisco and Los Angeles? It is just a duplicate of that, and proportionate to the size of the population.

Yet, the real estate lobby prevented the 80th Congress from doing anything about that situation, for their own selfish interests and nothing else.

I have been trying for over 3 years to get the Congress to pass the kind of housing law that we need. But the Republican leaders in Congress are now more interested in what the real estate lobby says than what the people of this country need. That is just as true as it can be, and that is true of a lot of other things. I hope you will listen to my broadcast tonight in Akron, I am going to take the hide off 'em from top to bottom. I hate to have to do that, but they have it coming. Just listen to the speech. When I get through that speech, they won't have any hide left.

When I called the 80th Congress back into special session last July and placed the facts before them, the Republican leaders still refused to pass a real housing bill. All the people got was a "phony" that won't result in one single additional low-cost house anywhere in the United States. That is typical of that Republican 80th Congress. That is typical of the Republican Party, which is represented by the leaders of this 80th Congress. They can't get away from that no matter how many "sweet nothings" they put out about unity and all that kind of speech, which means nothing—absolutely nothing.

I am sorry to say that is typical of the Republican candidate for President in this election. The Republican 80th Congress failed miserably in meeting its responsibilities to the American people in dealing with high prices and housing. Those weren't the only things they neglected to do. I have a long list that would keep me here from now until midnight. I wish I could explain every one of them.

Yet, the Republican Party candidate said, and I quote him—now listen to this: "I am proud of the record of my party and of the 80th Congress." I just wonder what he has got to be proud of.

And he said this, too—and I quote him again: "The 80th Congress delivered as no other Congress ever did for the future of our country."

I'll say they did! They delivered you into the hands of special interests, lock, stock, and barrel.

I say you ought to be able to decide how you are going to vote on the basis of these two statements alone.

The Republican candidate is standing squarely on the record of the Congress that refused to do anything about high prices. The Republican candidate praised a Congress that refused to do anything that would help you meet your housing problems.

Just what do you suppose the Republican candidate had in mind when he said the 80th Congress "delivered" for the future of the country? Well, it "delivered" the Taft-Hartley Act, a body blow at labor. That is one of the main "deliveries"—don't forget that. It "delivered" a body blow at more than three-quarters of a million workers by taking away their social security rights that the Republican Party said they wanted to spread the base on social security rights. That Republican Party platform is not worth the paper it is written on.

It "delivered" for the rich by passing a rich man's tax bill. The man who is getting $100,000 a year income would save $16,000 a year by that rich man's tax bill. The man who is getting $60 a week would save $1.50 a week on that tax bill. Of course, prices have now taken care of that $1.50 a week, so he is way behind.

The Republican Congress "delivered" for the railroad lobby, the oil lobby, the grain speculators, and for the private power

lobby—and I can give you a longer list than that. I wish I had time to tell you about all the laws that Republican 80th Congress "delivered" for the benefit of special interests, and all these they had to make law by passing over my veto. I vetoed more bills than any President except Grover Cleveland, and I did it in the public interest. If I hadn't been there to protect you, you would be in a very great fix by this time.

I wonder if that is the kind of Congress you want for the 81st? You had better send such fellows as these to the new Congress.

I am equally sure you don't want as President a man who won't tell you where he stands on any major issues that you are interested in. If you want to find out what he believes, you will have to look at the record of the 80th Congress. That is a Congress he said he was proud of.

I think the people of Dayton want a progressive, prosperous, advancing America. I think the people of Dayton want an administration that is working for the people and not against the people.

If that is what you want, then the only thing for you to do is to go to the polls on November the 2d and just vote the Democratic ticket straight, and the country will be in safe hands.

[4.] SIDNEY, OHIO (Rear platform, 1:10 p.m.)

Thank you, Mr. Mayor. Thank you very much.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this wonderful turnout in this great city in the center of Ohio. It is one of the finest greetings I have had during my crusade across the country to tell the people what the issues are in this campaign. And I think you want to know what the issues are. You wouldn't turn out like this if you didn't want to see the President and if you didn't want to find out what the President stands for, and the why and wherefore of this tremendous crusade I am making across the country to let you know what the issues are.

I would like to congratulate the people of this fine city on the record they made during the war. I heard a lot about Sidney when I was chairman of the special Senate committee to investigate the national defense program. I remember a Saturday Evening Post article way back in 1943 about Sidney's outstanding record in the production of war materials. I remember that the War Manpower Administrator, Paul McNutt, talked about Sidney on a nationwide broadcast, and he told me about what you had done here.

The whole country needs that kind of ingenuity and elbow-grease—and Sidney seems to have it. We need it if we are going to keep the prosperity we now have.

The Democratic administrations of the last 16 years have brought this country from the bottom of a depression to the greatest prosperity in the history of the world. The reconversion policies of the administration have resulted in more than 61 million people being at work right now. They said that was impossible. And if you remember, this same bunch of Republicans said it was impossible for us to turnout 60,000 airplanes when we needed them—but we did it. And 3 years ago a lot of people laughed when I said 60 million jobs was the goal. They said it couldn't possibly be done.

It's not going to be easy to keep this prosperity because the Republican 80th Congress refused to take any steps to meet the conditions with which we are faced today. They tried to turn the clock back. They are trying to go back to the 1920's. And I'm very, very sure that you don't want to go back to the 1920's. You want to go forward to the 1950's.

Prices can be checked. I know, because we kept prices in line during the war when

inflationary pressures were even greater than they are now. But the Republican leaders are more interested in big profits for big business right now than they are in helping you meet the rising cost of living. Time and again I asked the Republican Congress to pass laws to take care of that situation. They refused to take any action. Their only excuse to you people has been a lot of false propaganda.

They won't discuss the issues in this campaign. They are afraid to discuss the issues in this campaign because they are on the wrong side of those issues. They tell the farmer that prices are going up because people in the cities are getting too much money in wages; and they tell the people in the cities that prices are going up because the farmers are getting too much for their crops. Both of these statements are false, and you know it. The prosperity of farmers and workers goes hand-in-hand. One is prosperous only when the other is prosperous. And that has been the policy of this administration—to make a fair distribution of the income of the country so that the farmers get their share, the workers get their share, and the small businessman gets his share. That's not what the Republicans want.

I'm going into some detail tonight in Akron on just what the conditions are with which we are faced and why these Republicans are afraid to discuss the issues. I hope you will listen in on that conversation because it will be very edifying for you if you are interested in your own welfare.

The programs we need for prosperity are the programs set out by the Democrats. The Republican Party looks backward. They never look forward. They never have any remedies for conditions with which we are faced. Whenever we are in a serious condition where there is a crisis you will find that we have been taken out by the leadership of the Democrats. Remember that, now.

Don't send us another 80th Congress to tear the situation down. Elect Earl Ludwig from this district to be your Congressman. Elect Frank Lausche for Governor. You can't possibly go wrong.

You know, the best way to vote for yourself and your own interests is to get up early in the morning on November 2d and go to the polls. Vote that Democratic ticket straight and you'll be voting for yourself and your own interests, and I'll stay in the White House for another 4 years and won't have a housing problem myself.

I want to thank your Mayor most sincerely for his cordiality and courtesy to me this morning. I appreciate it most highly.

I want to thank you again for turning out this way. The people want to know the facts. In order to get those facts they've got to come out and hear what I have to say because they can't find out about it any other way. These people won't talk about these issues. They are not interested in your welfare. They are interested in obtaining power for the special interests of the country. Don't let them do it.

[5.] LIMA, OHIO (Rear platform, 2:05 p.m.)

Thank you—thank you very much. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this most cordial reception from your great city of Lima. It has been just like this all the way across Ohio. I think you are interested in the welfare of your country, or you wouldn't turn out like this to see the President and hear what he has to say.

I understand that you have got a great locomotive factory here, known all over the world. Well now, on this campaign, I have worn out about three locomotives and we'll use about three more before we get through,

so that will make it good for business here in Lima.

I am told by your former Governor, Frank Lausche, that this is the center of one of the great agricultural communities of Ohio. Then you are vitally interested in the welfare of your country—you are vitally interested in your own welfare.

You see, back in 1932 the net income of farmers was about $2½ billion; gross it was $4½ billion. In 1947, the gross income of the farmer was $31 billion; his net income was $18 billion.

Now, I wonder if the farmers have studied this situation carefully and understand just why that came about? You see, there was not a fair distribution of income in 1932. There were special privilege classes that claimed the income of the country, and then they hoped that a distribution would be made from the top down.

After the great crash of 1929, a different policy was inaugurated when we elected Franklin Roosevelt to be President of the United States in 1932. He took office in 1933, and immediately policies were established for a fair distribution of the national income, so that the farmer would get his fair share, the man who works with his hands would get his fair share, and the small businessman and white-collar worker would get his fair share. That is true of this $217 billion income we had last year—there was a fair distribution. Everybody had his fair share of that income.

Now, we inaugurated a policy—a labor policy, a farm policy, and a policy for the welfare of the United States as a whole—a forward-looking policy which goes along when the clock goes forward.

Now, these Republicans would like to turn the clock back. They had control of the Congress in 1946, because two-thirds of the people in the United States stayed at home and did not vote in 1946. They did not vote. One-third of the population in this country that was entitled to vote elected the 80th Congress.

Well, look what you got out of this 80th Congress. They immediately began to turn the clock back. They began to take privileges away from the farmers, they began to take privileges away from labor, and they began to legislate for special privilege all down the line.

I am going to discuss that in detail tonight in Akron. I hope you will listen to what I have to say. I am going to take the hide off 'em from head to toe. I am going to tell you just exactly what your interests are, and then if you stay at home and don't vote on November 2d, you won't have anybody to blame for the situation but yourself.

That farm policy inaugurated by the Democrats was one which gave the farmer parity. If you understand what parity means, it means that it is so arranged that a farmer would receive for what he sells a price that is in line with what he has to pay for what he buys. He is no longer exploited as a man outside the circle in this great Republic.

In 1932, 123,000 farmers were foreclosed in this country. Last year, less than 800 farms were foreclosed. As I said before, the farmers income was nearly 4 times as great in 1947 as it was in 1932. The general situation is entirely different now from what it was in 1932. That is the only comparison you can make—Republican administration against Democratic administration.

You were afraid to go into a bank in 1932 because you were afraid it would blow up in your face. Now, for 3 years, in this great country of ours, there hasn't been a bank failure, due to the Federal deposit law which guarantees the deposits of those depositors who have $5,000 or less in any bank. That means that small depositors are protected, and the big depositor can take care of him-

self, because the bank does not fail under the conditions under which we work now.

Don't forget all those things I am telling you on election day. Get out early on November 2d and protect yourself. Vote for yourself—and if you do that, you will vote in your own interest. You can't help but vote the Democratic ticket straight.

Elect Earl Ludwig to Congress, and Frank Lausche to be Governor of Ohio. I won't have to worry about the housing shortage, for I can still live in the White House for another 4 years.

Again I want to thank you for this wonderful turnout. It shows you are interested in the welfare of your country. Just keep up that interest, do your duty on November 2d, and I won't have anything to worry about, and neither will the country.

[6.] Ottawa, Ohio (Rear platform, 2:40 p.m.)

Thank you very much. I certainly appreciate this reception and this lovely—I judge this is the high school band. Well, it looks all right, beautiful uniforms and everything.

I have had receptions like this all the way across the great State of Ohio, beginning this morning in Cincinnati.

There is some excellent farming country around your town, so I am told by your next Governor. I grew up on a farm and I always like to see good farming country.

Judging from the crowd here today, the whole region around this city of Ottawa is sharing in the country's prosperity. I have covered most of the United States in my crusade to wake the people up in time for the November elections, and I have found prosperity everywhere I have gone. We can keep that prosperity, and if we keep the Democratic policies that have brought this country the prosperity, the country then can go along just as it has been going along for the last 16 years—in the interests of the people. We will lose it if we let the Republicans tear down those policies.

There is a great difference between the Democratic and the Republican Parties. One of the most important differences is in farm policies. Under the Republicans, the farmers don't count. The farmers are left to shift for themselves. The Republicans are interested in looking after the interests of the big manufacturers of the East. They are not very much interested in the welfare of the farmer. The Democratic leaders know that the farmers of this country are the foundation on which the welfare of the country is built, and that they must have fair prices for their products. That is the reason for the farm price support program which was carried forward by this administration.

Let me give you some facts and figures to show you the difference between the condition of the Ohio farmers under the Republicans and the prosperity in the Democratic years. In the Republican year of 1932, Ohio farmers got $180 million for their products, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Now, last year the farmers in Ohio received $1,052 million for their products in the State of Ohio. And this year the Ohio farmer's income will be well above a billion dollars.

Those figures prove that the Democratic farm policies bring benefits to farmers all over the country—and especially to Ohio farmers—benefits that mean better clothing for Ohio families, more money in the bank—and you know, that bank is safe because we haven't had a bank failure in 3 years under the policies pursued by the Democratic administration—more schooling for the children, more tractors in the fields, and more cars on the roads.

If you don't want to go backward, if you don't want to slide downhill into bankruptcy

and poverty the way you did under the Republican 12 years of rule back there in the 20's, you better get out early on election day and look after your own interests. I want you to remember that Republican leaders are attacking the farm price support program in the cities. They say that is what caused the high cost of living. And they tell the farmers that the good wages that the laboringman is getting causes the high cost of living. Neither one of these statements is true. When labor is prosperous, the farmers are prosperous. They go along together. Good prices for farmers and good wages for labor means that the general prosperity of the country goes to everybody and that a fair distribution of the wealth of the country is being made.

These Republicans keep on blaming the farmers for high prices, and then they keep on blaming labor—to the farmers—for high prices. You know, the working people can't be prosperous unless the farmers can sell their products for enough money to buy the products of the factories.

The Democrats are not trying to fool the farmers or the workers. We are telling you the truth and the facts, and I am going into some detail tonight in Akron on the facts and figures that affect this program that we are faced with now.

We are in a campaign which will go down in history as one of the most important in the history of the country. And it's your campaign. It's your welfare that is at stake. I'm asking you to exercise good judgment. Go to the polls on election day and vote for yourself. If you do that, you'll vote a straight Democratic ticket and you'll elect Dann Batt to the Congress from this district, and you'll elect Frank Lausche for Governor of Ohio—and that will be in your own interests. Don't forget that, now, because the welfare of this country is at stake. It's in your hands. You are the government. If you exercise the privileges that are yours, I'll be perfectly happy and satisfied—and I'll stay in the White House another 4 years.

[7.] DESHLER, OHIO (Rear platform, 3:10 p.m.)

Thank you very much for that welcome, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate that introduction highly. I want to thank you good people of Deshler for the warm and cordial reception which I have received. This is the sort of reception I have been receiving all the way across the great State of Ohio, and all over the United States for that matter. People are interested.

You know, I have been going all over the country on a crusade to make people realize how much they have at stake in this election. The Republican leaders hope that the voters will not wake up until it is too late. They are giving you soothing syrup, talking about unity and all that kind of business, which has nothing whatever to do with the issues in this campaign. I am waking them up, however. The Republican bosses hope that the voters will swallow the empty platitudes of the Republican candidates. I think that the Republican bosses are wrong. I don't think the people are going to do anything of the kind. I don't believe the American people want to turn their backs on the prosperity gained under a Democratic administration.

Over in Ottawa, I talked to the people about the progress Ohio farmers have made since the bad days of the Republican depression. I reminded them that the income of Ohio farmers has gone up to more than a billion dollars a year. At the height of the so-called boom in 1929, when the Republicans were bragging about prosperity in the Nation, the income of Ohio farmers was around $377 million just about a third of what it was here last year, a third of what it

is going to be this year.

In 1932 the income of Ohio farmers was only $180 million. The farmers here in Ohio have done very well because the Democrats had the foresight to establish a farm price support program. The Republicans in the 80th Congress tried to pull the props from under that program.

The Ohio farmers are doing well, because the Democrats found markets for their products through reciprocal trade treaties with other nations and through the school lunch program. And we are trying to see to it that farm prosperity in Ohio, and all over the United States, will continue.

We are helping Ohio farmers to take care of their soil and to make sure that it stays rich and productive. Under the Department of Agriculture's soil conservation program, in 1 year alone, conservation work was carried out on more than 137,000 farms in Ohio. That work covered over 9½ million acres of land—more than 70 percent of Ohio's cropland. That is the kind of practical help Ohio is getting from a Democratic administration headed by men who know the farmers' problems.

Now, what would happen to these farm programs if the Republicans win the election? The record of the 80th Congress gives us the answer to that. The Republican Congress cut down funds for the soil conservation program, and the school lunch program, and they tied our reciprocal trade treaties with other countries up into knots—tried their best to beat it. They refused to ratify the International Wheat Agreements which would have guaranteed a steady market for wheat for American farms for at least 5 years to come.

The farm price support program was attacked on the steps of the State Capitol in Albany, N.Y., by Governor Stassen just after he had had a conference with the Republican candidate for President. That candidate has expressed complete approval of what the 80th Congress did to the farmers of this country, and I quote him: "I am proud of the record of my party and of the 80th Congress."

I am going to discuss the record of that 80th Congress, to some extent, tonight in Akron. I hope you will be able to listen in and hear what I have to say about it.

You have a vital choice to make in November, whether you want to continue to make progress with the Democratic Party, or whether you are willing to go backwards with the Republicans and turn the clock back.

Turn out early on election day and vote for Dann Batt for Congress from this district and vote for Governor Lausche for Governor of the State of Ohio. In other words, vote for yourself. Go to the polls on election day and just vote the straight Democratic ticket. You will not only be voting for me, you will be voting in your own self-interest. I can prove that to you, and have been proving it all over the United States. I think the people are waking up to that fact, that the welfare of this country and of the world is at stake in the election on November 2d.

Don't fail now to vote in your own interest, and to do that vote the straight Democratic ticket, and the country will be safe for another 4 years, and I won't be troubled with the housing problem, I can live in the White House for another 4 years.

[8.] Fostoria, Ohio (Rear platform, 4:05 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of Fostoria:

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this turnout. I am delighted to be here this afternoon, and the reason I am delighted is because of your interest. When you turn

out like this in a cold breeze of this sort, I know you have got the welfare of the country at heart and you want to learn the facts.

All day long I have been riding through the finest farm land in America. Why, your farms here are almost as good as those back in Missouri.

I have had a good opportunity to talk over the problems of your State with your next Governor, Frank Lausche, and with your fine Democratic candidates for Congress, Dwight Blackmore and Andrew Durbin.

Dwight and Andrew tell me that Fostoria used to be two towns. In 1854 they united and became the prosperous community of Fostoria. Unity has helped you people here build a strong community, the kind of community that some of these Ohio Republicans call, "whistlestops." Well, I say thank God for the whistlestops of our country. They are the backbone of the Nation. They have got the people who produce the Nation's goods and the Nation's food—and they have got the people who are going to keep the Democratic administration in the White House and elect a Democratic House and a Democratic Senate in the coming election. The kind of unity that built Fostoria is something that I can go for. It is the kind of unity that helped build this Nation. It's the kind of unity that helped win the war. I can understand that and I like it. That's why I had that kind of unity in this administration. But I'll tell you frankly, I don't understand the phony unity that the Republican candidates are talking about. I expect that's just a phrase he picked up because he doesn't dare talk about anything else. He doesn't dare tell you what the real plans of the Republican Party are. He's afraid that if he says anything, he will give the whole show away. The Republican Party still is wrestling with its old problem: it has to figure out how to fool the many into voting for the interests of the few. That is why the Republican candidate is talking in generalities. That is why the leaders of this Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress have been sent off into the bushes to hide until the campaign is over. They are afraid to bring them out.

Well, I think the people have got a right to know where the candidates stand. That is why I am here today, and that is why I have been going all over the country telling the people about the issues. You are entitled to know what those issues are—and I am satisfied that if you know the issues you are going to vote in your own interests. And I am trying to tell the people as sincerely and as plainly as I know how; and I am going to tell them again tonight over the radio from Akron. I am really going to tear the mask off the Republican Congress and the Republican candidates.

We have got to have housing for our people. We have got to do something to get the price structure on a sound level so our working people can buy from the farmers and the farmers can buy from the working people without the profiteers getting in the way. We have got to keep the prosperity we have gotten under the Democratic administration.

They tell me that Seneca County is a Republican county. Well, that's all right with me. I want the Republicans of Seneca County to know what I think—and I think if they have open minds, they will vote in their interests, just the same as the Democrats will, and that will be to vote the Democratic ticket.

All I want is that the Democrats of Seneca County, and the Republicans too, have an opportunity to know what the Republican candidate thinks. And most important of all: I want you to say what you think at the polls on November 2d. And if you do that—if you get out and exercise your privilege as a citizen at the polls on the second of No-

vember—I'm not a bit in doubt as to what the result will be.

You know, in 1946 a third of the people elected the 80th Congress. Two-thirds of you stayed at home. And look what you got! You got just what you deserved. You got a good kicking around, just as soon as they had an opportunity to give it to you. Now, if you do that again, you won't have anybody to blame but yourselves.

I am asking you, in your own interests, to get out early in the morning on November the 2d and vote for your own self-interests; and if you do that, I'm not a bit doubtful of the result, and I won't be troubled with the housing problem on January 20—I'll still be living in the White House for another 4 years.

Thank you again very much for this wonderful turnout. I certainly appreciate all these young people coming out. It shows that they are interested in the future welfare of the country.

[9.] WILLARD, OHIO (Rear platform, 4:55 p.m.)

I have had a most wonderful reception in Ohio today. It has been just like this all across the State of Ohio. We started in Cincinnati and came up the western border of the State, and now we are headed for Akron, and it seems as if everybody in the neighborhood and in every city has turned out, because they are interested in what is taking place in the country today and in the world.

It is good to be here in Willard this afternoon, even for a short stop. You people here in Willard have a great tradition, a tradition set by Dan Willard many years ago when he was President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. I think it is significant that the name of Dan Willard is loved and respected all over the country, because he was the man who believed in the common people of the Nation. He liked and respected the people who worked for him, and he recognized their right to join a union and bargain collectively.

Now, Dan Willard did not sneer at the "whistlestops" of our country. He trusted people, and people trusted him. I think that is a good principle. It is a good way to run a railroad, and it is a good way to run a country. That is the way I have tried to run the country, but the Republican Congress would not cooperate, this 80th Congress.

Now, that is the way, with your help, we are going to run the country for the next 4 years.

The Republican candidate and the Republican Congress do not trust the people. They just work along at their old problem of trying to fool the people into voting for the interests of the few. They try to do it without telling you what they think. I have been out among the people now for nearly a month. I believe you have got a right to know what I think, and I have been telling you what I think.

Tonight, in Akron, I am going to talk over the radio about the Republican Taft-Hartley law. I am really going to tear the mask off the Republican Congress and the Republican candidate.

In Cincinnati this morning, at a splendid meeting, I talked about housing. I told the people there how your President had tried for 3 years to get a decent housing bill passed. At other places we stopped at in Ohio, I talked about prices. I told the people how your President had twice called Congress into special session in an effort to get something done about inflation that is picking your pockets.

Since I have been in the White House,

there has not been a moment of doubt about where I stood on issues which are of concern to the people of America today. I have always spoken out and I have taken a stand on every issue as it has come up. I don't wait for any polls to tell me what to think. That is a statement some of the Republican candidates cannot make.

You know, since I started this campaign, I have talked to over 3 million people in various communities. They have come down to the train, just as you did this afternoon, because they were interested in this election. They know that the peace of the Nation and the peace of the world depend, to a large extent, on this election. They know that the continued prosperity of our Nation depends upon this election, and they want to know where the candidates stand on the issues. And that is what I have been telling you as simply and as plainly as I know how.

There is not a single, solitary man or woman in the United States today who can't find out in two minutes where I stand on the important matters like foreign policy, labor, agriculture, social security, housing, high prices, and all the other problems we as a nation have to face.

But there is not a single, solitary man or woman in the United States who has been able, within the last 2 months, to find out where the Republican candidate stands on these issues.

I think he is going to get a shock on the second of November. He is going to get the results of one big poll that counts—that is the voice of the American people speaking at the ballot box.

And he is going to find out that the people have had enough of such fellows as the one from this district who has been helping the 80th Congress to turn the clock back. And I think you are going to elect Dwight Blackmore to Congress in his place. And I think you are going to elect Frank Lausche Governor of Ohio.

If you do that, you will be voting in your own interests, and when you vote in your own interests on the second of November, you cannot do anything else but vote the straight Democratic ticket, and I won't be troubled with the housing problem. I will live in the White House 4 more years.

Now, that will be entirely to your interests. You will have a Congress who believes in the people, and you will have a President who has shown you right along that he believes in the welfare of the country as a whole, and not in the welfare of just a few at the top.

[10.] RITTMAN, OHIO (Rear platform, 6:30 p.m.)

Thank you very much. I certainly appreciate this turnout. It has been this way all across Ohio today. You are interested in the welfare of this country and the fact that you are interested in the welfare of the country and the world is shown by the fact that you are coming out here at these meetings to hear just exactly what your President believes, and what he thinks is for the welfare of the country.

I started at Cincinnati this morning and we stopped at a number of the great cities in Ohio, and I expect to wind up at Akron tonight, where I am going to discuss a number of the issues in this campaign very frankly and very candidly, and I sincerely hope that all of you will be listening.

You know, there is just one issue in this campaign and that is the issue of the people against special interests. The Democratic Party has always stood for the welfare of the people. Ever since Jefferson, who founded the party, through Jackson, Grover

Cleveland, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, and down to date, the Democratic Party has been for the welfare of the country as a whole. It tries to make all the people happy.

The Republican Party has always stood for special interests. They still stand for special interests, and the 80th Congress conclusively proved that they still believe in special interests and let the other people hope that they will get a fair share—maybe—of the few crumbs that fall off the table.

Now, on November 2d when you go to the polls to vote, you want to be studying your own interests, you want to be studying the interests of the farmer, the workingman, the small businessman, the white-collar worker—and if you study those interests, you will go to the polls and vote for yourselves. And if you do that you will vote a straight Democratic ticket, and you'll elect these wonderful men who have been introduced to you tonight for Congressmen, you'll elect Frank Lausche to be Governor of Ohio—and you'll elect me to the White House for another 4 years, and then I won't have any housing troubles whatever for another 4 years.

I sincerely hope that you will weigh these issues carefully. You have no trouble finding out where I stand. You know what I stand for because I tell you very frankly what my position is, and I've been in a position where I have had to act—and actions speak louder than words. The Republicans so far have only talked, and when they had a chance to act in the 80th Congress, they didn't act in the interests of the people. They acted in the interests of the special few. That has been their policy ever since they have been in existence.

[*At this point the President received a gift of salt. He then resumed speaking.*]

I understand that this is a sample of the salt of this great community—and don't you think I'm not going to put it on the tail of the opposition! "The President Truman Brand of Salt"—I'm sure going to sprinkle that around where it will do the most good!

Bacon in there, too! That means we're going to bring home the bacon.

Everywhere I go, it's just like this. Everybody is interested, and I'm glad of it. I want you to know the facts, and then use your judgment.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on October 11 the President referred to Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati, Senator Robert A. Taft, Democratic candidates for Representative Edward Breen, Edward Gardner, Earl Ludwig, Dann Batt, Dwight Blackmore, and Andrew T. Durbin, former Governor James M. Cox, and Democratic candidate for Governor Frank J. Lausche, all of Ohio; Earl Warren, Governor of California and Republican candidate for Vice President of the United States; and Daniel Willard, former president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

232 Address at the Armory, Akron, Ohio. *October* 11, 1948

Mr. Chairman, fellow Democrats:

Before I say anything else, I should like to thank you people of Akron and all the people of Ohio for your tremendous registration in this crucial election. You have given the Nation magnificent proof of your good citizenship.

I want to thank you not only as the Democratic Party's candidate for President, but also as President of the United States. This is your answer to bad government—both at home and abroad.

I have had a magnificent reception in Ohio today. In every State I have been, I think

that welcome can't be equaled, but every time it is equaled, and usually bettered.

I thank all of you—Democrats and Republicans, industrial workers and farmers, professional people and small businessmen. I want to thank you for your appreciation of the rights, duties, and opportunities of American citizenship. You know, you are the Government, if you exercise your right to vote. The people are the Government in this great country, and when you don't vote, you shirk your duty as a part of the Government.

So long as this election is decided by votes of the people and not by their failure to vote, I have no fears for the future of this great country—neither have I any fears for the outcome of the election on November 2d.

This campaign is the people's crusade. Let no one tell you that the people are not interested. They are interested. They are waking up to what the Republicans propose to do to them.

I have lived a long time—64 years—and I have travelled a lot, but never before have I seen such turnouts as I have seen all over this great country of ours.

From early morning until late at night, wherever I have travelled, a welcoming crowd has greeted the train. This has been true in large cities and industrial areas and also in what Senator Taft calls "the whistle-stops."

Now, as I have said time and again, there is one basic issue in this campaign. This is it: The Democratic Party and the people against special privilege and the privileged few. That is the issue in this campaign.

The Republicans have the propaganda and the money, but we have the people, and the people have the votes.

That's why we're going to win.

The Republicans have the money because the big corporations have found out they can get what they want from the Republican Party.

We have the people because the people have found out that they can get what they want from the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party thinks in terms of doing things for the people—higher minimum wages, broader social security, protection in old age, better medical care, better schools and better homes, and a better life for the men and women who do the world's work.

That is our basic philosophy, the philosophy of the Democratic Party—service for the people—the greatest good for the greatest number. And upon that philosophy, we have erected during the past 16 years a great progressive body of laws. We call those laws—and I say it with pride—we call them the "New Deal."

The Republican politicians don't like the New Deal. They never have liked the New Deal, and they would like to get rid of it—repeal it—put it out of existence.

This is shown by their words and deeds. They have been talking for years about "cleaning up" the New Deal. Then, in 1946, the Republicans gained control of the Congress, and they began to whittle away at the New Deal laws. Now, they have tasted blood, and they are waiting eagerly for the time when they can go ahead with a Republican Congress and a Republican President and do a real hatchet job on the New Deal without any interference.

Let me remind you of some of the things the Republicans have been saying about this New Deal.

Their candidate for President has been the chief prosecutor against the New Deal. He spoke against it, he campaigned against it. He wrote a book called "The Case Against the New Deal." And now he wants to go to Washington and destroy it.

Are you going to let him do it?

One of their chief spokesmen, Senator Taft, has said, and I quote: "The Republican program must be designed primarily to cleaning away the rubble of the . . . New Deal."

The Republican leader in the House of Representatives talks of how the years of so-called Democratic misrule have conspired to strangle industry and farming.

I want you just to look at the figures with me for a moment.

The New Deal strangled industry so much that corporate profits changed from a loss—loss!—of $400 million in 1933 to a profit of $17 billion in 1947.

The New Deal strangled farming so much that farm income increased from $2½ billion in 1933 to $18 billion in 1947.

That is some job of strangulation, I would say.

Now, let's take a look at the way the Republicans launched their attack on the New Deal as soon as they gained control of the Congress.

You know, two-thirds of you stayed at home in 1946, and let the Republicans get control of the Congress. This is what they did.

First, they started out after labor. One of the cornerstones of the New Deal was the Wagner Labor Relations Act, which gave national protection to the right of collective bargaining. Under its provisions, the labor movement had grown strong and healthy. The working people of the country were beginning to have something to say about what went on in the United States.

Well, our old mossback reactionary friends didn't like that. They had always thought that the people who had the money ought to run everything and they still think so. They continue to think so to this day.

They didn't have the courage or they didn't have the votes to repeal the Wagner Act outright. The fact was they knew they didn't have the votes to pass a straight-out repeal bill over my veto.

At any rate, they decided that under the pretense of revising the Wagner Act, they would load it with provisions that would undermine the strength of the labor unions, and that's what they did. They passed, over my veto, one of the most complicated laws that anybody ever saw. That was the Taft-Hartley law.

The Taft-Hartley law converts the Wagner Act from a charter protecting the basic rights of the workers into an instrument for union busting by antilabor employers.

It outlaws union security provisions which have been the basis for stability and mutually satisfactory relationships for many industries for many years.

It compels strike-breaking by union members—sometimes against fellow members of their own local unions.

It extends the use of injunctions against labor unions, and provides preferential treatment for management in connection with such injunctions.

It burdens unions with interminable red tape.

It took the Conciliation Service away from the Labor Department. This was but another blow in the vicious attack by which the Republicans have virtually wrecked the Labor Department. They said in their platforms of 1940 and 1944 and 1948 that they wanted a strong Labor Department, but they have done everything they possibly can in this 80th Congress to tear up the Labor Department.

Having done all these things and many more—to labor and not for labor—the Taft-Hartley law clearly demonstrates its real purpose by restricting labor's right to engage in political activities. They are afraid of your votes. Having tightened the screws on the workingman, the proponents of this

scheme undertook to protect themselves from reprisal at the place where the workers of America can still make their voices count—at the ballot box.

In approaching the problems of labor and management, we should move forward, and not backward. I believe that the collective bargaining process should be used for achieving full employment and full production.

One of the great accomplishments of the Democratic administration is the Full Employment Act of 1946, which was passed by a Democratic Congress. This act provides a plan for continuing prosperity. Those old Republican mossbacks fought this bill; they called it socialistic and impracticable. But we passed it, and we now have 61 million people employed in this country.

The point I want to make is that, if we are to have full employment and full production, labor and management must work together.

That is the kind of unity the Democratic Party believes in. The unity that we have sought is a unity based upon a partnership of equals—farmer, labor and industry. This is a democracy as we understand it. This is the only way in which we believe our democratic institutions can be maintained and preserved. Any plan which seeks to weaken one group in order to establish the superior power of another is not democratic unity and threatens the basis on which our free institutions rest.

But the Taft-Hartley law is not the only attack the Republicans have made against the New Deal. And it is not the only attack in which they have been successful.

They have been hacking away at social security benefits. They passed a law—again over my veto—taking social security insurance benefits away from almost a million people.

Then in the face of that action, they went to Philadelphia and put a plank in their platform which says—and I quote it: "Consistent with the vigorous existence of our competitive economy, we urge extension of the Federal old-age and survivors insurance program and increase of benefits to a more realistic level." Now they went to Philadelphia and wrote that after they had passed a law taking a million people out from under social security.

Extension, indeed! Extension of the very thing they had just finished cutting down!

They talk about increasing benefits, too; so I promptly gave them a chance to do something about that, by calling them back into special session. And we quickly found out that we couldn't take that part of their platform seriously, either. I have never yet seen a Republican platform that you could take seriously. They talk—and the Democrats act!

Now, let me say something about what they are proposing to do to the New Deal when and if they get a Republican President to go along with a Republican Congress. Their attitude has been made clear by the record, and their plans are made clear by their spokesmen.

One of them, a Republican Congressman—Dondero by name—from Michigan, wrote an article telling about how they plan to wreck our policy concerning public power. I told the people about that in El Paso, Tex., a couple of weeks ago. And, Dondero has been squealing since that he did not mean what he said. He says that his article in the power trust magazine was not what it said, but he meant something else. That's what they always say when you catch up with them.

Now, another one of their Congressmen has been doing some writing, and I want to tell you about that. This time it is your old friend Congressman Hartley, of the Taft-

Hartley team. Congressman Hartley is one of the main architects of the Republican labor policy.

Now, Mr. Hartley has written a book.

And just to show you that the team is still working together in unity, Senator Taft wrote the foreword for it. There's the book! [*Holding it up*] In the foreword, Senator Taft said, and I quote: "This book of Mr. Hartley's and the great work which he did during his years in Congress will always be of the greatest assistance and furnish sound guidance." That is the windup sentence of Mr. Taft's foreword in Mr. Hartley's book on "Our National Labor Policy"—a most interesting book. I am going to analyze it for you just a little bit because it shows just exactly where the Republicans stand.

The title of this book is, "Our New National Labor Policy, the Taft-Hartley Act and the Next Steps."

They are really going to do something to you if they get a chance.

Get that: next steps—the next steps. They aren't satisfied to stop with the Taft-Hartley Act. They are going even further.

Let me read to you some of the things this book says. On page 190 appears the following, and I quote:

"The Wagner Act weakened the productive potential of this Nation. I am hopeful the Taft-Hartley Act will begin to restore the productive system on a sounder basis."

Imagine that! The act under which labor produced so magnificently during the war is described as "weakening our productive potential."

Nobody knows more about that productive industry than I do because I spent my time during the war years investigating what labor was doing for the war effort—and they did a magnificent job! And so did the farmer, so did industry, so did every other segment of the population of our great Nation. There never was an effort like it, and there never was an effort more successful. I think maybe I had better read that to you out of the book—it is so good.

Here is another statement on page 194, and I quote—listen to this now:

"To my mind, the Taft-Hartley Act represents the greatest single contribution made by any political party for the past two decades. It corrects in a single piece of legislation the outstanding mistakes of the New Deal. At the same time, it points the way toward a method to be utilized in correcting other errors of government initiated during the 1930's." I don't know what those errors were, but maybe we can find out from Mr. Hartley.

Do you get that? The Republicans pass a law to break the bargaining power of the workingman, and they call it correcting the mistakes of the New Deal.

"I am well aware," says Mr. Hartley on page 193, "of the political difficulties of eliminating the New Deal social legislation. It cannot be repealed at a single stroke."

You know, the reason he said that was because I was standing there with a veto—and he couldn't get it by.

Well, I certainly hope they can't repeal the New Deal legislation. I hope and pray that it can't be repealed at all.

Now, listen to this, and I quote again:

"All legislation of this type requires interim treatment." That is another passage from Mr. Hartley's book.

Interim treatment. Do you know what that is?

That is the Taft-Hartley law. They call it the Taft-Hartley law interim treatment.

And after that, they take the gloves off, and give you the bare knuckles.

In addition to the Wagner Act, there are other New Deal laws benefiting labor that we Democrats are especially proud of.

One of them is the Fair Labor Standards Act which, for the first time in our history, set a floor under wages in the form of a minimum wage.

It is very interesting to note what Mr. Hartley has to say about that law. I quote from page 192 in this great book of Mr. Hartley's—it is very, very interesting:

"The Fair Labor Standards Act is typical of the New Deal legislation enacted to combat the depression. Such legislation failed to affect the depression one way or another and it has definitely outlived the usefulness it was supposed ever to have had."

Isn't that a revelation?

I asked this Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress to increase the minimum wage from 40 cents to 75 cents an hour. They refused. There's the reason.

Now we find that they not only refuse to increase it, but they don't even want to keep the present pitiful 40-cent minimum.

But, on page 171 in Mr. Hartley's book appears the frankest confession in the book. I want you to listen to this carefully. This is what he says:

"No sooner had the Taft-Hartley law been enacted over the Truman veto than the Republican leaders of both House and Senate—listen to this now—decided that no more legislation to which organized labor could object would be passed until after the presidential election of 1948."

I am giving this book a terrific plug because I want every man in the United States to read that book and find out just where the Republicans stand on a labor policy for the United States.

Probably make Mr. Hartley rich by making this speech—he was afraid to stand for reelection to the Congress.

What could be clearer than that? The "Republican leaders of both the House and Senate" decided they wouldn't hit labor another blow until after the coming election.

This gives you an idea of what to expect if the Republicans get control of the Presidency also.

The time has come for the working people of this Nation to realize the grave danger that confronts them. You will have to act—and act quickly—if you want to save the benefits of the New Deal.

For myself, and for the Democratic Party, I completely reject the idea that we should "eliminate" the New Deal. Instead, we should build upon it a better way of life. Let me be specific.

I believe that we should repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. That is what the Democratic platform says. When we put things in a Democratic platform, we try to carry them out. We don't just write them down on paper and forget about them.

I believe we should increase the minimum wage from 40 cents an hour to at least 75 cents an hour.

I believe social security insurance should be extended to the large groups of people not now protected.

I believe that the insurance benefits should be increased by approximately 50 percent.

I believe we should expand our facilities for looking after the Nation's health.

I believe that the Federal Government should provide aid to the States in meeting the educational needs of our children.

I believe the Congress should provide aid for slum clearance and low-rent housing.

I believe we should do something, at once, about high prices.

All these things are on the record, my friends. I have made my position clear repeatedly and in detail to the American people. The other fellow hasn't done that.

These are things you can expect from the

Democratic Party. They are not only in the Democratic platform, but we have repeatedly acted upon them before the Congress and before the country, and you know exactly where I stand on them. You can only get them from the Democratic Party.

Our program is for the people.

And that's why we're going to win this election on November the 2d.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. in the Armory. His opening words "Mr. Chairman" referred to Clarence E. Motz, chairman of the Summit County Democratic Central and Executive Committee. Later he referred to Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, Representative George A. Dondero of Michigan, and Representative Fred A. Hartley, Jr., of New Jersey.

233 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Indiana and Illinois. *October* 12, 1948

[1.] RICHMOND, INDIANA (Rear platform, 8:04 a.m.)

Governor, and fellow Democrats of Richmond:

I am happy to be here this morning, and I want to assure you that this is not my first visit to Richmond. I came here once as President of the National Old Trails Road Association and helped the Daughters of the American Revolution set up a monument in one of your parks to the pioneer mother.

I understand that the first settlers were attracted to this wonderful place because of the rich farmlands in this area, and since then Richmond has branched out and become one of the leading industrial towns of Indiana. It's known far and wide for the great college which the Governor mentioned awhile ago, Earlham College, which pioneered in higher education in this area.

Richmond is a fine example of the balance that we want to see between the farms and the cities. It is a good example of the way that farm prosperity makes for industrial prosperity, and the way industrial prosperity helps the farmers.

The prosperity we are enjoying now did not just happen. It was the result of policies started by the Democratic administration in 1933 under Franklin Roosevelt and continued through the following years. These policies have improved the farmer's position economically, improved the worker's position in the very same way, and have caused a fair distribution of the national income to all the people. But this prosperous condition of all the people of ours has been put in grave danger by the Republican 80th Congress. I can prove to you by the record of the 80th Congress and what it did to the people of the country and not for them.

That Congress did its best to weaken the position of all workingmen in the United States by passing the Taft-Hartley Act. I gave that a good going over last night, and a good analysis. I hope you'll read what I had to say on that subject. The Republican leaders wanted to repeal the Wagner Act but they knew they couldn't get away with it. They refused to raise the pitifully inadequate minimum wage of 40 cents an hour. They took social security away from nearly a million workers.

Now, that's *action*. They are *talking* about something else this morning.

The Republican Congress hit at the prosperity of every farmer of the country. It slashed funds for rural electrification and soil conservation. That Congress nearly wrecked the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program, which provides a foreign market for our crops. It refused to ratify the Inter-

national Wheat Agreement which would have given us a 5-year guaranteed foreign wheat market. And the 80th Congress refused to put the farm price supports on a permanent basis, leaving every farmer in the country in doubt as to his future income. And what a boon that situation has been to the speculators! Those exploiters of the farmer are now making a killing on the fact that the 80th Congress did not do the right thing by the farmer, when it rechartered the Commodity Credit Corporation. They fixed it so the speculators can control the farm prices, and that's what they have been trying to get for the last 2 years. We have kept them from it so far, and if you do the right thing in November we'll still keep them from it.

It wasn't only the farmers and the workers that the Republican 80th Congress hurt. Every housewife suffers every time she goes to the store for the Republican refusal to pass laws to hold down prices. And every family in the United States that lives doubled up with other families or in city slums or in country shacks suffers because the Republicans refused to pass the kind of housing laws we need.

Now, the record of the Republican 80th Congress is a true indication of what we can expect if the Republican Party is elected in November. That's because the same backward-looking men would control in the 81st Congress. Don't fool yourselves. You would have the same old mossbacks running the next Congress if you don't turn them out.

Now, the Republican candidate for President has put his stamp of approval on the record of that 80th Congress. After that Congress had failed completely to give you the laws you need, this is what the Republican candidate said about that good-for-nothing 80th Congress: "I am proud of the record of my party and of the 80th Congress." That's a direct quote from a statement of his; and this also is what he said: "The 80th Congress delivered as no other Congress did for the future of the country." I'll say it delivered. It delivered for the special interests 100 percent.

There isn't much reason to hope for continued prosperity, or for good housing, or for better education for our children, or a genuine national health program, or for lower prices, as long as these backward men lead the Republican Party.

You know what to do to get the laws you need. The way to get them is very, very simple. Go to the polls on November 2d and vote for Robert C. Oliver for Congress from this 10th District. That gentleman will work with me during the next 4 years, during the next Congress, for a peaceful and prosperous United States. Vote the Democratic ticket from top to bottom and you'll have Schricker for Governor of Indiana, and a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President. And I won't be troubled with the housing shortage—I'll live in the White House for another 4 years.

And then you'll know the country is in safe hands because the Democratic Party always works for you, the people, and not against you.

Vote for yourselves on election day. Vote for your own best interests. And if you vote for yourselves and your best interests there won't be any doubt but what we'll have a Democratic administration in this country from top to bottom, both nationally and in the great State of Indiana.

Thank you very much.

[2.] GREENFIELD, INDIANA (Rear platform, 9:12 a.m.)

Mr. Chairman:

I appreciate most highly that introduction in this wonderful city of Greenfield. And I am particularly happy to have the book

from the young lady on the rooster. In 1892, when Grover Cleveland was reelected President of the United States, my father decorated a rooster weather vane with all the colors of the American flag, and that flag flew from that rooster as a sign of victory in 1892 and nearly all through Cleveland's administration. I can remember that because I was 6 years old then—I don't mind admitting it.

It's a particular pleasure for me to be here in Greenfield today. Middle Westerners like myself all look upon your town as a sort of shrine because we feel that your own great poet, James Whitcomb Riley, belongs to all of us. I understand his birthday was just a week ago and that October 7th was made an official holiday in Indiana in 1915.

There was a lot of down-to-earth commonsense in Whitcomb Riley's poems, and we could use more of that in the world today. I don't think there is a kid in the country that doesn't know Orphan Annie, and I don't think there is a boy in the country who doesn't long for the "old swimmin' hole." And when you read Whitcomb Riley you read just what we people in the Middle West think and act and do. He gives us a turn that no other poet in the country has ever given.

The natural tendency on the part of all of us is to think of the old times as the best. We tend to forget the hard times, and remember the good times. We always remember the good things and hardly ever do we remember the things that caused us trouble—and some of us want to live in the past. You can't do that. You've got to go forward with civilization. You've got to follow the clock around. The clock never runs backward. You can't turn the world around the other way and bring it back. You've got to go forward with it.

You and I can remember that there were long periods of time in the so-called "good old days" when the times were bad for Indiana farmers and Indiana townspeople. All of you remember the great depression and what that meant to the American farmer. In order to pull the farmer out of the hole he was in after 12 years of Republican rule President Roosevelt started a number of programs designed to help the farmer and make a better living for him—rural electrification, soil conservation, the farm tenant purchase program, the farm price support program, the school lunch program, and many others. All these Democratic programs played their part in raising our farms to the tremendous prosperity they enjoy today.

You know, the farmers, like everybody else when things are easy for him, he tends to neglect his political duties. He becomes fat and lazy and won't go to the polls on election day. He did that in 1946—and look what he got. The Republican Congress began immediately to try to turn the clock back, and the first one they took a whack at was the farmer.

Prosperity is a good thing. It makes a better life possible for all farm families, and as a result, the whole country is better off. Farmers and laborers and businessmen can all be prosperous together—and that's the Democratic principle. We want to make everybody have a fair share of the national income.

It was a hard uphill fight to secure these great farm programs and to achieve prosperity for American farmers. There was determined Republican opposition to the Democratic efforts to get the necessary laws on the books.

When the Republicans finally got control of the 80th Congress a new fight began, a fight to save these Democratic programs. I had to fight throughout the Republican 80th Congress to keep the rural electrification program from being stopped altogether. They wanted to repeal it. They didn't want

to give it any money at all. I had to fight for farm price supports and the school lunch program. It was all the administration of which I was the head could do to prevent the Congress from slashing funds for soil conservation right out of the budget. They did take it out in the House but we had enough good, sensible Democrats in the Senate and a few forward-looking Republicans, and we put that appropriation back. The Republican leaders seemed determined to knock the props from under farm prosperity, despite the fact that everyone knows that farm prosperity is essential to national prosperity.

I don't think American farmers intend to lose the ground they have won. That's why I am confident they will vote to send Mr. Oliver to the Congress, they will vote to send Mr. Schricker to the capital of Indiana, and they will vote to send me back to the White House, because that is to their best interests to do—to do all three of those things.

Now, the best thing you can do is to vote in your own selfish interest on election day, and when you do that you'll vote the Democratic ticket straight—and then you won't have to worry about the clock being turned back. If you vote that Republican Congress back you'll have the same old backward-looking leaders. You can't afford to do that.

Get up early, now, and go to the polls on election day and vote a straight Democratic ticket and vote in your own interest.

I do thank you a lot for this wonderful turnout, this wonderful welcome I have had in Indiana—in Richmond and at this place, just like it was everywhere else in the United States. Everybody is interested in these issues, and they are coming out to find out what I am thinking about them. And you don't have any trouble finding out where I stand. I tell you frankly where I stand on all these issues which affect the people. Try to get the other fellow to do that—and you'll be a good one if you can get it done.

[3.] CRAWFORDSVILLE, INDIANA (Rear platform, 11:16 a.m.)

Governor, Mr. Chairman, and fellow Democrats of Indiana:

It looks to me as if you are all here!

I am most happy to be in this wonderful city of Crawfordsville this morning. You have some very famous people with whom we are all familiar who came from this lovely town—Lew Wallace, Meredith Nicholson. "Alice of Old Vincennes"—Thompson, I think, wrote that book. He lived here till he died. It has been my privilege to read most of the books that these famous men have written, and especially have I been interested in James Whitcomb Riley's poetry. I was in his town of Greenfield this morning, and I had a grand time there. The people turned out in immense numbers, but nothing like this. This tops them all.

I have been making trips all over this country. I have been from the west coast and back again. I have been across the Middle Atlantic States. I have been through the Middle West. Now I am making a tour through Indiana and Illinois and Wisconsin and Minnesota. Then I am going to wind up by a tour across the northern side of the United States and tell everybody what is going on in this country and what this campaign means.

I am trying to have everyone of you understand that your interest is at stake and that this is one of the most important campaigns that the United States will have in several generations.

I feel very strongly on these issues. I feel that they are basic to the prosperity and welfare of the American people. I believe

that the continuing welfare of our Nation depends on every voter's understanding these issues when he goes to the polls.

I have told the people what the Democratic Party stands for and what it has done for the people. Because the Republican candidates won't be frank and tell what the Republican Party intends to do to the people, I have also talked about the Republican Party and what it stands for and what it will do to you if it gets a chance. I don't think there is any Republican who could accuse me of pulling punches. I am telling facts, and they can't stand facts. They like to talk about unity and give you a little soothing syrup and make you believe that they are all right, but if you will study the record you will find that they are anything but right.

Today we are in the midst of the greatest prosperity this country has ever seen. That prosperity is threatened by runaway high prices which began when the Republicans, under the leadership of men like Senator Taft and Senator Wherry, destroyed price controls back in 1946. I want to see our prosperity continue. I want to see these high prices brought under control so that wages and salaries and farm income will maintain their purchasing power.

The prosperity that we have today has not come by accident. It was carefully planned. It is the result of Democratic policies for the last 16 years.

I would like to tell you all the things that the Democrats have done to bring about this situation—what the programs mean to the farmers and the workers and the small businessmen. They have all gotten their fair share of the national income. Never before in the history of the country—or the world, for that matter—has the national income of a great country like ours been more fairly distributed than it has been under Democratic administrations.

There isn't time to tell you all about these things, but I will describe just one Democratic program which has meant a lot to you people here in Indiana. That is rural electrification.

In 1933 only one farm in seven in the United States had electric power. Under President Roosevelt's leadership the Democratic Congress enacted the rural electrification program. The benefits from that program are apparent all over Indiana, and the rest of the country too. Now more than 60 percent of the Nation's farms have electric power.

Before REA began only one farm in ten in Indiana had electricity. Now nine of every ten Indiana farmers have electricity on the farms. One hundred and three thousand Indiana farm homes have REA electricity. Imagine what that means to a hungry world. It means food for people who would otherwise starve to death. And yet, the Republican Party is still fighting REA at every turn of the road. They are fighting it because the big power companies are opposed to it. The Republican Party is tied hand and foot to the big power companies—and they always have been.

I was on the Senate committee that wrote what they call the death sentence to the utility holding companies, and that utility holding company bill was fought tooth and toe-nail by every Republican in the Senate. But we passed it anyway and we gave the people back the things that the people are entitled to.

That's what the Democrats all stand for. That's why 73 percent of the Republicans voted against REA in 1943, and why almost 90 percent voted against it in 1947, and why three-fourths of them voted against electrification in 1948. It's just a continuing program of the Republicans to be against the people and for the special interests. Fortunately, REA won out every time because overwhelming majorities of the Democrats

in Congress had your interest at heart, and supported it with everything they had.

There you have one specific issue you have to decide on November 2d. Do you want to have a Republican Congress and a Republican President in Washington who are working for the big power companies? Do you? All right, then—all you've got to do is to do your duty on election day and vote a straight Democratic ticket, and then you'll be all right.

Exactly the same principle is involved in every issue that the farmer is interested in, not just REA. Exactly the same principle is involved in every issue that the workingman is interested in—fair labor laws, minimum wages, social security laws, and so forth. That principle is simply this: The Democratic Party believes that the Government should be run for the benefit of all groups of people. The Republican Party is interested only in doing what special privilege and special interest wants—just like they are trying to do with the power companies now in the West.

I don't think you're going to let them get away with it. I am confident that you're going to send Jack O'Grady to the Congress from this district, and I am confident that you are going to elect Schricker Governor of Indiana—and if you do that you'll certainly send me back to the White House, and I won't be troubled with the housing problem.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this cordiality, this wonderful turnout, and the interest which the people are showing in the issues in this campaign.

I appreciate very much these young men and young women, these college students who are here this morning, because they are interested in the welfare of the country or they wouldn't be here. And this country is yours. You are going to take over the operation of this country in the next generation. And I am most happy to see you interested in things that are pending now in this campaign because your future is wrapped up in the results of this campaign—and the welfare of the country and the welfare of the world is wrapped up in this campaign.

Therefore, I want every one of you to go to the polls on November 2d and vote in your own interests, and if you do that you'll just vote a straight Democratic ticket—you can't help but do that.

[4.] DANVILLE, ILLINOIS (Rear platform, 1:10 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman:

Thank you very much. Can you imagine this outpouring of Democrats in old Joe Cannon's town—I just can't understand it!

It is certainly good to be in Danville. I am proud of you for I hear that you are going to send Wayne Cook, one of America's great war heroes, to the Congress as your representative. I also understand that Paul Douglas, a great Marine hero, is going to the Senate, and that Adlai Stevenson is going to Springfield as the Governor of this great State.

You know, the first political banner I ever wore in my life, I was about 7 or 8 years old. It was a cap with a sign on it that said Cleveland and Stevenson—Cleveland for President and Stevenson for Vice President. He was the father of Adlai Stevenson.

When I am here in Danville, I always think about a time, a hundred years or so ago, when a group of Abraham Lincoln's lawyer friends put him on trial before a kangaroo court down at the old McCormick House because his lawyer fees were too low. Lincoln lost the case and was fined a jug of whiskey.

I want you to think just how out of place Lincoln would be with present day Republicans. Republicans don't charge low fees

any longer. The higher the better is their motto. They don't think any longer about "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

The record of the Republican 80th Congress is proof of that. And the Republican candidate for President is standing squarely on the record of that Congress in his campaign. Can you imagine that!

That Congress tore into the rights of the workingman. It undermined the prosperity of the farmer. It hurt every family in the country by refusing to do anything about high prices, or the housing shortage, or relieving the terribly crowded conditions of schools and hospitals all over the country.

All that the Republican Congress did was to pass laws that the lobbies of the railroads and the private power companies, and big business asked for. They even passed laws to benefit the grain speculators.

And the Republican candidate for President says that he is proud of the record of the 80th Congress.

We don't have time now to go into all these issues. Let's look at just one of the things the Republican 80th Congress did that affects the prosperity of every man, woman, and child in this State.

The Commodity Credit Corporation, under the Democratic administrations, developed a program to store grain when there were bumper crops, so that grain could be marketed over a longer period of time. This helped the farmer to get good, steady prices for his crops, and gave him encouragement to reap big crops. If it hadn't been for that encouragement, millions of people in the world would have starved to death.

Well, the grain speculators don't like this because they make their killings when the farm prices go up and down in a hurry. They don't care what happens to the farmers. The speculators have always exploited the farmer until the New Deal put an end to that speculating and exploitation.

So, the grain lobbies got Republican Jesse Wolcott of Michigan, and Republican Leo Allen right up here in Chicago, Ill., to lead the fight in the 80th Congress to change the charter of the Commodity Credit Corporation so that it could no longer secure storage space for bumper crops.

That was a plain sellout to the lobbies by the Republican 80th Congress.

Well now, what happened? This year we had a bumper crop, and we have no place to put it. I was down in southern Illinois the other day, and corn down there in southern Illinois was selling for $1 a bushel, and the support price of corn is 47 cents a bushel. Now, who is getting that 47 cents? Not the farmer—not the farmer. The speculators are getting it because they prevented the ability to store that grain and give the farmers the benefit of the support price.

Farmers all over the country are being forced to dump their grain as "distress grain," or let it rot on the ground, because the Commodity Credit Corporation no longer has the power to provide emergency storage space for bumper crops. That is the Republican program, pure and simple. The farmers cannot get the Government support price, because their crops are not in storage. That is typical of the Republican attitude toward the farmer, and when the farmer suffers, every one of you in cities like Danville, feels the effects.

Don't let the Republicans fool you with their smooth talk about what they are going to do for the farmers, and the workers, and the small businessmen in this country.

Their actions speak louder than words. You know, Uncle Joe Cannon had quite a career in this great town, and he was present when one of your colleagues said he would rather be right than President. Old Uncle

Joe made a famous answer. He said, "I am sure that my worthy friend will never be right, or President, either."

I think that is absolutely true of the Republicans today. They will never be right, and they will never elect a President if the people understand what they are trying to do.

You know what is right in this campaign. It is within your power to determine on election day whether you will have a government that will be to your best interest, or whether you will have a government that is run by the lobbies that have run the 80th Congress. Now, there won't be any difference in the next Congress if you send Republicans back there. The same old backward-looking leadership will be in charge.

You have got to clean this thing out. You have got to send Democrats to Congress this time, and you have got to support the administration that is looking out for the people.

Go to the polls on election day and vote for yourselves. When you do that, you will vote the straight Democratic ticket, and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage, I will still live in the White House.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this wonderful turnout. It shows you are interested in the welfare of the country. Show that interest on election day. Get up early, and vote for the Democratic ticket on the 2d of November.

[5.] TOLONO, ILLINOIS (Rear platform, 2:10 p.m.)

Thank you very much. I appreciate that introduction very much, and I hope that Mrs. Goldman will be the next Congresswoman from this district, too.

I am always agreeably surprised at the wonderful receptions along the way. I have been from one end of the United States to the other and now I am going across, north and south. Having been east and west from one end to the other, I am going north and south from one side to the other. I have been in the Middle Atlantic States. I have been in the Middle Western States. I have been on the west coast. I have been down South. And everybody seems to be highly interested in the issues in this campaign.

The reception I am getting today in Illinois means victory for Paul Douglas, your next United States Senator, and for Olive Remington Goldman, your next Congresswoman, and for Adlai Stevenson, your next Governor—and for the straight Democratic ticket.

I am told it was just 87 years ago that Abraham Lincoln came through Tolono on his way to Washington. This was his last stop in Illinois before he went on to become President. And this is what I am told he said: "I am leaving you on an errand of national importance, attended, as you are aware, with considerable difficulties. Let us believe, as some poet has expressed it, 'Behind the cloud the sun is still shining.' I bid you an affectionate farewell." You don't know how well he spoke when he said he was going to a place of considerable difficulty. I can speak from 3 years' experience that he knew exactly what he was talking about.

The American people today want peace and prosperity. That's why Lincoln was going to Washington—to try to get peace and prosperity. I am trying to help them get peace and the prosperity they deserve. I want to see everybody in the country get a fair break, and I have been fighting to see that vital legislation—such as the farm price support program—doesn't get thrown out of the window by the Republicans.

After World War I the farmers in this country began a series of bad years that didn't end until the Democratic Party's farm

program went into effect in the 1930's. I know the difficult times the farmers had because I was living on a Missouri farm then, and I could see the troubles the farmers were having. I was trying my best to make a 600-acre farm in Jackson County pay its way, and in those days it was a most difficult job, as you all remember.

The Democratic administrations of the last 16 years have been building a firm foundation for farm prosperity. We conceived and wrote the farm price support bill into a program of law. We placed a floor under the farmers' income so they wouldn't be wiped out in drought years or low-priced out of existence when a bumper crop hit the market. The prosperity and well-being of the American farmers showed that the Democratic programs have worked.

Farmers tell me they want them continued. Even the Republicans talk out of one side of their mouth about continuing them. But what do the Republicans do about the farm program when they are back in Washington? Well, they cut the farm price support program to pieces. They cut funds from the rural electrification program, the soil conservation program, and the school lunch program. They refused to provide funds for rural housing or better schools.

Tonight in Springfield I am going to explain in full detail just exactly what the Democratic and the Republican Parties stand for. I hope you will listen. I will give a lot of detail that I can't give you now because we haven't the time.

Two years ago in the elections of 1946 the American people, particularly the farmers, seemed to forget about their Government in Washington. Two-thirds of you stayed at home. And what did you get? You got that Republican, 80th "do-nothing" Congress. It represented only a minority of the voters because two-thirds of you didn't vote. I say that minority should not rule the country, especially when the Congress they elect serves only special interests. This year everyone must vote so that the elected representatives of us all will be in control of the Congress, and then you'll get what you are entitled to.

You see, the policy of the Democratic Party has always been to support the welfare of the people as a whole. We believe that the farmer, the workingman, the small businessman, should have the same sort of a distribution of the national income as the big fellows at the top. That's not the policy of the Republican Party. They have always been for special privilege and special interest, and this 80th Congress conclusively proved what they had in mind.

If it hadn't been that I stood there with the veto, no telling what they would have done to this country. I vetoed more bills than any President since Grover Cleveland, and every bill I vetoed was vetoed in the public interest and not for some special interest. They passed 4 or 5 of those special-interest bills over my veto. But there were a host of them that they couldn't pass.

And I want to say to you that for your own welfare and protection you better get out on election day and vote for your own interests. If you do that you will go to the polls and vote a straight Democratic ticket. Then you won't have to worry about whether the country is going to get into the hands of special privilege or not—you will have control of it. And that's your duty, that's your duty. When you fail to vote when you have the right to vote, you are shirking your duty. You are the Government when you exercise control of it. But if you are too lazy to go and vote—well, you get an 80th "do-nothing" Congress; and you deserve it when you stay at home and don't vote—I don't sympathize with you

a bit.

Remember, now: The most important thing before you is this election on November 2d. I am going up and down this country explaining to you what the issues are. Study them a little. Use your brains. And I won't have to worry about a housing problem after the 20th of January if you do that—I'll still be living in the White House.

[6.] DECATUR, ILLINOIS (Rear platform, 3:30 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, my fellow Democrats of Decatur:

I appreciate most highly this cordial welcome. You know, when I first started out on these tours, I made an effort to estimate the crowds, and I found that I just couldn't estimate them at all—and found I had to measure them by the acre. I did some figuring, and I figured out that in an acre, there are 4,850 square yards and that there ought to be at least two people to the square yard, and when you have an acre of people, you have 9,600 people, and when you have ten acres of people, you have 96,000. Now, I would say that we might have about five acres of people here this afternoon—and I can't tell you how much I appreciate it. It shows that you are interested in this campaign. It shows that you are interested in the welfare of the country, and I appreciate it. And I am always happy to see the young people come out because they are going to have the responsibility of running this country in the next generation. And they ought to be interested and they ought to understand all the issues that are before the country now.

I want to compliment these Junior Police for coming out and helping to preserve order this afternoon. They are doing a good job. This is one of the most orderly crowds I have seen.

The kind of receptions I have been getting here in Illinois today mean you are vitally concerned with what is going on in the country. It means that you are going to send Paul Douglas to the Senate, and Olive Remington Goldman to the House of Representatives, and Adlai Stevenson to the State Capitol in Springfield.

Now, I have been making a crusade all over this country to tell the American people what the issues in this campaign are. I am explaining just exactly what this election means to them. The Republicans are trying to pretend that there aren't any issues. Well, they couldn't be further from the truth if they tried, and they don't stick very closely to the truth very often.

This election will decide who runs the Government of the United States for the next 4 years. It will decide whether you, the people, are in control or whether a little group of reactionary Republicans, completely under the thumb of the lobbies of the special interests, will be in office and run the country.

I want to say to you that this 80th Congress was beset with more lobbyists than any other Congress in the history of the country, and they spent more money than ever has been spent in Washington in lobbies in the history of the country—and that Congress did nothing about it. They liked it. They sat and took it.

I have been going around the country, explaining how the actions of the Republican 80th Congress, which the Republican candidate for President has warmly endorsed, undermined the very foundation of the prosperity of the American people as they are enjoying it now.

In 1933, after 12 years of Republican misrule, Decatur was in very serious trouble. I

am sure you remember what it was like in the railroad shops and the mills and plants and all the stores and shops that supply the farmers in this part of Illinois. Well, you got sort of tired of that, and in 1932 you elected Franklin D. Roosevelt President of the United States.

There was a steady improvement from that time on. And the postwar years have brought the greatest prosperity this area has ever known. That wasn't by accident. That came about because the Democratic Party believes in seeing that labor gets its fair share of the national income and that the farmer is on a parity basis with the rest of the economy, and that the small businessmen get a square deal. The Democrats passed the Wagner Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Social Security Act and a great many other measures that give workers better incomes and greater security than they ever had before in the history of the country. We provided for soil conservation and rural electrification and the farm price support program and a number of other laws—all to help the farmer, the workingman, and the small businessman. When the farmers and the workers are well off, then the businessmen are able to do well.

Since we are enjoying our present great prosperity, why can't it just continue on like this? We can't count on continued prosperity going on just like this because we have so many serious problems that need action, and they need action now. I tried all through the 80th Congress to get the Republican leaders to act on the worst problem of all—high prices. If this runaway inflation is not stopped, we are surely headed straight for another bust. But the Republican leaders absolutely refused to take one step that would bring down the cost of living. They refused to pass any housing bill which would clear away the city slums, provide public low-rental housing, or help meet the acute housing shortage in the rural areas. They refused to do anything about the crisis in education, or to help meet the acute shortage of doctors and hospitals, or to build the waterways and dams and powerplants we need if we are to continue to grow. The Republican 80th Congress not only refused to meet our pressing national problems—they actually tried to tear down the Democratic programs which are responsible for the growth and prosperity of this great country for the past 16 years.

Last night in Akron, Ohio, I told how the Republicans tried to crush the strength of the labor movement, how they took away social security from nearly a million people, how they have plans to take away even more of the rights of the workingman if they ever get a chance.

Tonight in Springfield, Ill., I am going to tell just exactly what the Republicans have done to the farmers—how they have already deprived many farmers of price supports, how they have cut rural electrification and soil conservation funds, how they have tried to put the farmer back where he was in the 1920's.

Remember, all these actions of the Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress were approved by the Republican candidate for President when he said, "the 80th Congress delivered as no other Congress has done for the future of the country."

By your vote on November 2d you can get a government that's not going to forget about you in Washington. You are going to get a government that will work for the welfare of the people—if you vote right. But you can get a government on November 2d that will forget about you in Washington and worry only about the interests of big busi-

ness—you can get a Republican government, which would be the worst thing that could happen to this country at this time.

I hope that you will make the right choice and that you'll have a government that has the interests of the people at heart, a government headed by Democrats—who believe in Democratic principles, who believe in the welfare of the whole country, and not just in the welfare of a special few.

I ask you to look at the record. Then get your friends and neighbors to get to the polls on election day, November the 2d. And just keep this in mind: When you go there, vote for yourselves; vote in your own interest. When you do that, you'll vote a straight Democratic ticket—and you'll have a Democratic Governor in Springfield, you'll have a Democratic Senator from Illinois, you'll have a Democratic Congressman from this district, and you'll have a Democratic President in the White House—and then I won't be troubled with the housing shortage next January.

I can't tell you how much I appreciate this interest and this turnout. It is magnificent. You can't appreciate it unless you can stand up here and look at all these smiling faces showing all the interest in the things that are taking place.

[7.] SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS (Dinner in the Rose Room, St. Nicholas Hotel, 7:55 p.m.)

Thank you, thank you very much. We are running on a time schedule, as you know, and I want to make it interesting for you, and suggest to you that I am highly appreciative of all the courtesies that you have extended to me in the great State of Illinois. I don't think I have had a more cordial reception anywhere in the whole United States—and that is a very high compliment for I have had the most cordial receptions from one end of the country to the other.

That's all I can say to you—thank you, and come to the show tonight, and I will try to tell you something about the Republican Party.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on October 12 the President referred to former Governor Henry F. Schricker, Democratic candidate for Governor of Indiana, and Democratic candidates for Representative Robert C. Oliver and John O'Grady, both of Indiana; former Representative Joseph G. Cannon, Democratic candidates for Representative Wayne Cook and Mrs. Olive Remington Goldman, Democratic candidate for Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democratic candidate for Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, and Representative Leo E. Allen, all of Illinois; Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio; Senator Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska; and Representative Jesse P. Wolcott of Michigan.

234 Address at the Armory, Springfield, Illinois. *October* 12, 1948

Senator Lucas, and fellow Democrats of Illinois:

I wish I were half as good as Senator Lucas says I am, I might be able to fill the Presidency as I know it ought to be filled, and as I pray that I may fill it.

I can't tell you how I appreciate the wonderful reception I have had in the great State of Illinois today. Every city where we have stopped has been just like this. It looks as if at every stop everybody for 40 miles around was there—and I believe they were.

The cordiality of your greeting makes me believe that you are truly interested in the issues that are in this campaign, in my opinion the most important campaign we will have for a generation.

I particularly want to pay tribute to the

Mayors of these various towns—the Mayor of Decatur, the Mayor of Danville, the Mayor of Springfield—you have been exceedingly courteous and cordial to me and to my family, and we want to express our sincere thanks. And I want to say to you, if you ever come to Washington, or if you will come to Missouri, we will try to give you the same kind of welcome.

You know, I am always glad to be in this great State, because it's a close neighbor of Missouri. I have a lot of friends in Illinois. I always had a lot of relatives, too. I have found more relatives in Illinois and Kentucky and Missouri over the years, that I think I can win an election, if all my relatives vote for me.

Senator Barkley and I, you know, come from the same stock. The Senator's ancestors stayed in Kentucky, and mine moved from Kentucky to Missouri, and those people in Kentucky who are not kinfolk of Senator Barkley are kinfolk of mine.

We do understand the needs of that part of the United States that lies in the Mississippi Valley, but I think you will find that Senator Barkley and I also understand the needs of the Nation as a whole, and of the world. Each of us has had experience that is necessary to meet the conditions with which we are faced today. I hope you will weigh that carefully, when you go to vote on the second of November.

I'm glad to be here, too, to tell you how proud I am of the ticket the Democratic Party is offering to the voters of Illinois.

Never within my memory has any party offered your State a finer team than Adlai Stevenson and Paul Douglas. I know that Adlai Stevenson is going to make a splendid Governor. He is a fighter, and comes of fighting stock.

And when Senator Douglas gets down to Washington to work with your present great Senator, Scott Lucas, it will be a good thing for Illinois and a good thing for the country as a whole, and for the world.

A man is known by the company he keeps, and I find myself in good company on your election ballot. Now, on the side, I want to say that I don't think I have celebrated or spent a more pleasant Columbus Day in the history of my life than I have today in Illinois. It has been a real celebration, one I think that has given the people some information that will do them good, and one I think that will do the country good. If old Columbus could come back and see what a great country he had discovered, my, how pleased he would be, I am sure!

I feel especially good about your election ballot, when I consider the unhappy situation of the Republican candidate for President in that respect. He certainly is lining up with some queer characters. You ought to check the voting records of the candidates that he has been trying to get reelected to the United States Senate and the House of Representatives. Then you can judge for yourselves whether the elephant's got a "new look" and whether it means anything or not.

No one ever comes to this historic city without thinking of Abraham Lincoln. I just wonder tonight, as I have wondered many times in the past, what Lincoln would say if he could see how far the Republican Party has departed from the fundamental principles in which he so deeply believed.

Lincoln came from the plain people and he always believed in them. He put labor ahead of capital—he put people ahead of property—and principle above all else.

I just wonder what Lincoln would say if he could see how his party has become the tool of big business and special interest. How far do you suppose the real estate lobby would get with Abraham Lincoln? What do you suppose he would say to the power lobby and the railroad lobby?

I have a notion that the only kind of lobby

he would like would be a schoolteachers' lobby.

The masters of the Republican Party today would have been the bitter enemies of Lincoln in his time, just as they are enemies of his principles today.

But I did not come here to talk about principles alone. I came to talk about putting principles to work for the good of the people.

Democrats are practical folks. We like to get down to cases and talk business. It's curious that our opponents, who claim to be so businesslike and so efficient, refuse to get down to specific issues.

I don't blame them for trying to campaign on theory. They are afraid to tell the people where they stand on specific issues.

The Republicans know they can't run on their record—that record is too bad.

But you ought to know about their record. And since they won't tell you, I will.

I can't cover the whole story at one time, so tonight I will talk to you about the farm record of the Republicans. Here in Illinois you have a lot of farmers, and a great many others who are dependent on farm prosperity. This story is of interest to everybody, too, because it is a fair sample of the kind of treatment the people have been getting from the Republicans.

There are a few big questions every farmer—and every one of the rest of us—ought to ask himself before he decides how to vote on November 2d. One of the questions each of us ought to ask is this:

How well off was I in 1932, after the Republicans had been in office 12 years, how well off am I now after having had Democratic Presidents for the last 16 years?

For nearly all of us, the answer to that question is perfectly plain.

Some people would like you to think that the Government had nothing to do with this—that the country just drifted into the depression without any help from the Republicans and drifted out into prosperity without any help from the Democrats?

As a matter of fact, the Government has a great deal to do with these things.

The increasing prosperity we have enjoyed since 1933 has been due in a large part to Government programs put into effect by the Democratic Party.

The Republicans fought these programs for years, but lately they have come around, saying: "Me, too, but I can do it better."

Well, two-thirds of you stayed at home in 1946. That third that went to the polls elected the Republican 80th Congress, and you gave them a chance to show what they could do. And what did they do? Let's get back to the farm program.

The first thing they did was to cut the soil conservation program. They have been telling you how strong they were for soil conservation.

I'll tell you how strong they were for it: The Republicans in the House of Representatives voted 12 to 1 to kill the agricultural conservation program entirely. That's how strong they were for it, although their platforms of 1940 and 1944, and even of 1948 said they were for soil conservation.

You ought to know this too: When they voted to kill that program, they automatically voted to kill the farmer-committee system. Those committees are made up of farmers and are elected by farmers to run the farm programs. As long as you have the farmer-committee system, you can laugh at the lies about bureaucrats coming out and running the farms. But if they kill the committees, one of two things will happen: Either you won't have any farm program, or the bureaucrats will run whatever there is to run. There won't be much to run, I can tell you that.

They will have to be Republican bureaucrats, too, because the Democrats will never

allow that to happen, while we have the power to stop it.

The Republican attack on soil conservation and the committee system did not succeed in full. Democrats had voices and we still had some votes in Congress. But remember this: The Republicans cut the agricultural conservation program exactly in half. Even for this election campaign they did not put back as much as they cut.

Let's look at some more of their performance.

They tell you that they favor price supports. But while you sat out here on a powder keg waiting for prices to blow up, that Republican Congress lit a fuse.

They knew for a long time that price support legislation would expire at the end of this year. But for a year and a half after they took control of the Congress, they did absolutely nothing.

The gentleman over there who said "nothing" to that question awhile ago told the truth, if it ever was told. They did nothing for the people.

Then the first thing the Republicans did was to restrict the right of the Commodity Credit Corporation to provide storage bins for grain.

No longer can the Government provide enough storage in rural areas to carry the surplus from the fat years until the lean years come. Farmers can't afford to go into the storage business to that extent. And the grain trade has either been unable or unwilling to do it.

This action by the Republicans will cost both farmers and consumers. It will benefit the speculative grain trade and the shipping interests. And that's all it will benefit. It will turn the farmers back to the speculators.

If the farmers can't find storage facilities, they can't get support prices.

And if you have to sell your corn for less than the support price for lack of storage, you will know that the blame lies squarely on the Republican Party, and nowhere else.

While they are doing this to cripple price supports, the time was fast approaching when our major price support legislation would expire. Remember, they had had a year and a half to deal with this problem.

But it was not until 5 o'clock on Sunday morning, in the last minutes of the congressional session, that they finally worked out a compromise price support bill. The Republicans were forced to pass something that would look good on the record for the election campaign. But at the very time they passed it, they were explaining that next year it could be amended or repealed. I had been begging them ever since the Congress met, to meet that situation, but they couldn't do it until the last minute. They were afraid to go to the Republican convention in Philadelphia without doing some little thing, and that is what they did.

Just last month Republican Senator Capper of Kansas, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture in the 80th Congress, made a very significant statement in his weekly broadcast to Kansas. He openly predicted that there would be a drive in the next Congress to reduce the support price levels in 1949.

This uncertainty is unfair to all farmers, and especially unfair to those of you who are livestock producers, because you have to plan your operations a long time in advance. You need to know what you can count on, and on the basis of the record no farmer can count on the Republican attitude toward price supports.

Only with a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President can you be sure that you will get a square deal on prices.

Some people want to know why I keep talking about the 80th Congress. Some of them seem to think that the Republican candidate for President has no connection with

the record of the 80th Congress.

I want to remind you of something. He is bound hand and foot by the record of the 80th Congress, and he is running on that record, and nothing else.

In order to get the nomination, he indorsed the record of that Congress. The platform on which he is running gives it the warmest indorsement. He is trying to get the people to reelect every reactionary member of the 80th Congress, as you noticed when he came here to Illinois.

Recently the Republican candidate stated that he was proud of the record of the 80th Congress.

Now, when I speak of the 80th Congress, I am speaking of the leadership of that Congress, the people who run it. I am not speaking of such men as Scott Lucas and other Democrats who served in that Congress. I am here to tell you that the leadership of that Congress—if you elect it this time—they will control it again, and we will have worse than an 80th Congress, if that is possible.

But we Democrats cannot be content merely to run against the Republican record, however black it may be. And although we are proud of the Democratic record, we are not content merely to run on our record.

We have a positive program for the future, and I want to be sure you know about it. This program has been spelled out in detail in messages I have sent to the Congress.

Tonight I want to give you a brief and concrete statement of what the program is. But first, I want to remind you again of how much farmers and city people depend upon each other.

What I would like to tell you is very simple. I have said it again and again in this campaign. If you are a farmer, your customers are in the cities, and most of them are men and women who work for a living. Unless they get good wages, they can't pay good farm prices. And, as for labor, the best market for the products of industry is the farmer. Unless the farmer gets a fair price—a parity price—for his crops, he can't buy the clothes and the tools, and the automobiles and the radios, and the other things which labor helps to manufacture.

When the farmer votes for a Republican Party that proposes to smash the strength of labor, the farmer is not voting just for a cut in the wages of the city workers.

He is voting to cut his own income.

He is voting to reduce his own prices.

He is voting to have the Republican Party do a repeat-performance of the agricultural depression of the 1920's.

This is now the most prosperous nation the world ever saw. And we can keep it that way.

I propose to tell you how we can keep it that way, particularly as to how agriculture is concerned.

There is only one sane national policy for agriculture, and that is a policy of organized, sustained, and realistic abundance.

We must not only produce abundantly, but we must market, distribute, and consume the abundance we produce.

Our farmers are producing far more than before the war, and, with continuing prosperity, they can produce even more. The people are eating more and better food, and generally living better. Many people, however, are not yet able to supply their needs. When all our people can get as much as they should have, then we will have no danger of farm surpluses.

In order for our people to get all they need, we must maintain high levels of employment. If unemployment should occur, we must be ready immediately to take up the slack. We must also maintain good export outlets.

Now, this is what I believe in. Here are the main outlines of the agricultural program we must have:

1. We must have on a permanent basis a system of flexible price supports for agricultural commodities. Price supports and related measures help us keep our farm production adjusted to shifting market requirements. They are also required by the very nature of our economy. Farm prices are unstable in relation to other prices. And farm price trouble can lead to depression, which cuts the markets and further depresses agriculture. Parity must be our continuing goal.

2. We must expand our soil conservation program and put a stop to the waste of our agricultural resources. By using our land wisely, we can produce abundantly and permanently. But wasteful use of the soil is national suicide.

3. We must continue and strengthen our programs to assure adequate consumption of agricultural products. In this I include scientific research, efforts to encourage world trade through agreements and other means, the school lunch program, and further efforts to improve the diets of low-income families. We must never again allow our people to go hungry while surpluses are going to waste.

4. We must continue to develop means of meeting special agricultural problems. For example, we must protect the right of farmers to do business through cooperatives. We must extend rural electrification. We must have better housing, better roads, and better educational facilities for our farmers.

The policy and the programs I have mentioned are essential to the future welfare of agriculture.

They are essential to the welfare and prosperity of this whole Nation, and of the world.

A policy of democratic abundance is the best answer in the world to the threat of communism. It is a policy that contributes toward world peace.

Thanks to the Democratic administrations of the past we have much of the legislation we need to follow a policy of organized, sustained, and realistic abundance. I asked that 80th Congress to add the missing pieces and to provide adequate support for the programs we have. The Republican leadership refused.

I wish the Wall Street crowd would let their candidate stamp his "me, too" on the agricultural policy that my party and my administration stand for.

I wish we had at least as much bipartisan support for our agricultural policy as we have for our foreign policy.

But unfortunately agricultural policy is very much a partisan matter at this time.

The enemies of the farmer feel pretty cocky. They tell us the farmer is fat and happy and not worried about anything. They picture the farmer in a private airplane or a fine new car, and they laugh and say the farmer won't pay any attention to Truman.

They say the same thing about labor. Labor has been put in its place, they say, and is going to get more of the same.

I wish they were right in saying you don't have a thing to worry about. You are more prosperous than you ever were under the Republicans. But I want you to be as prosperous as the people who are saying you are already too prosperous.

As a Democrat, I believe in prosperity for the many, and not for just a few.

I believe that the farmer and the industrial worker, and the miner and the businessman, will prosper together or they will fail together.

I reject the reactionary idea that there are second class citizens who were meant to be nothing but hewers of wood and drawers of water.

I maintain that every man, woman, and child in the United States is entitled to a decent living and to equal justice in a free land.

To that end we of the Democratic Party pledge our strength and our courage.

We shall never rest until, by God's grace, we have attained that goal.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. in the Armory in Springfield. His opening words "Senator Lucas" referred to Senator Scott W. Lucas of Illinois. Later he referred to Mayor James A. Hedrick of Decatur, Mayor G. N. Hicks of Danville, Mayor Harry Eielson of Springfield, Democratic candidate for Senator Paul H. Douglas, and Democratic candidate for Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, all of Illinois, and Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas.

The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

235 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Wisconsin and Minnesota. *October* 13, 1948

[1.] ADAMS, WISCONSIN (Rear platform, 7:55 a.m.)

I understand that you came from all over the county very early this morning to come down here and see me. I sincerely hope you are not disappointed.

The country is going to be in your hands in the next generation, and you ought to inform yourselves on all the things that affect your country, and the world, because the United States has assumed the leadership in the world unequaled in the history of the world, and we have got to assume that responsibility.

If you young people familiarize yourselves with things as they go along, when it comes your turn to do my job, then you can do it well. I am glad you are here.

Someone asked me about Democratic literature. That is aside from the point. There is just one issue in this campaign and that is the people against special interests. Wisconsin has never been for special interest. I remember old Bob LaFollette started out first thing to make Wisconsin conscious of the fact that people come first and not the people who have the pull.

You know, he ought to have been a Democrat. He preached Jefferson, Jackson, and Woodrow Wilson right along.

What time do you have to go to school—9 o'clock? You still have an hour, and you can't get any sleep in that time, so maybe it will be helpful and you can do some early morning studying. I hope you young people will take an interest in things as they go along in the country and the world, and if you do that, I am perfectly happy.

[2.] ALTOONA, WISCONSIN (Rear platform, 10:30 a.m.)

Well, it is very, very pleasant to see all of you this morning at this unscheduled stop, and I am certainly happy that all these young people are out to take a look at their President, and to find out what he stands for. You know, that is a good thing for the country. This country is in a position of leadership in the world, and it had to assume that leadership after two trials. These young people are interested in the welfare of the Nation and the welfare of the world, or they wouldn't be out this morning to take a look at the President and try to find out what he is thinking about.

I spend most of my time trying to think of some way to get a permanent peace in the world. That is the principal thing for

which we are working all the time. And it is necessary that we attain that peaceful situation in the world because we have progressed to the point where this machine age in which we live has created forces of destruction that can be used to wipe out the human race. Those same forces, however, can be used for peaceful purposes to make the next generation, and the generations to follow, the happiest age in the history of the world. That is all I am interested in, and that is what I am working for.

It is too bad, at this time, that we have to have a political campaign, but our Constitution, our customs, and our laws require it; therefore, we have to go through the Presidential campaign just the same as if grave things were not pending in the world.

We are trying to keep this campaign on a high level, to discuss the issues that affect the United States in the Presidential campaign, and to continue to work always for the support of a bipartisan foreign policy which will eventually, I am sure, attain a peaceful world, so that these young people who are now growing up, when they take over the Government, will have a forward-looking program on which to continue, so that, in my opinion, the next 50 years—the next 100 years, let us say—will be the greatest age in the history of the world.

I certainly appreciate most highly your coming out. I appreciate the fact that you are interested in the welfare of your country and of the world, or you wouldn't be here.

I am very happy indeed to be in Wisconsin, one of the great progressive States of the Union, and I am sure that Wisconsin is going to maintain that reputation of remaining a great progressive State—and when the votes are counted on November 2d, I expect to find Wisconsin on the right side of the ledger.

Thank you very much.

[3.] SPOONER, WISCONSIN (Rear platform, 12:45 p.m.)

Well, it certainly is a pleasure to be greeted this way in these cities of Wisconsin. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate it. I am particularly happy because the audiences have been made up of young people, young people who are interested in the future of this country, and who are interested in the welfare of this country, or they wouldn't be coming out to see the President and hear what he has to say.

I have had a wonderful tour all over the United States from one end of the country to the other. Now, I am going all over the Middle West—I was in Ohio and Indiana and Illinois, and today in Wisconsin, this evening and tomorrow in Minnesota. Then I am going back to Washington to organize another windup tour to cover more great cities in this country.

I am trying to let the people know just exactly what the issues are in this campaign. There is only one big issue, and that issue is the people against special privilege.

The Democratic Party has always stood for the welfare of the people as a whole. The Republican Party, by its record and the record it made particularly in the 80th Congress, has been for special privilege.

I want you to analyze the situation that you are faced with in this campaign. On November 2d you are going to make the most important decision that has been made in a generation, and that will be made for another generation, as to how this country shall be run—whether it should be run in the interests of all people who, when they exercise their right to vote, are the Government—or whether the country is going to be run in the interests of just a few who want to exploit the rest of the people for their own welfare and gain.

Analyze that situation, and then do your

duty on election day. Get up early and go to the polls, and vote for yourselves. If you do that, you can't help but vote the Democratic ticket, and then I won't be troubled with the housing shortage on the 20th of January.

[4.] SUPERIOR, WISCONSIN (Rear platform, 2:40 p.m.)

Thank you—thank you very much. I appreciate very much that introduction of Dan Hoan, and I think he is a good prophet—I am pretty sure he is a good prophet.

You know, I am more than happy to come to Superior today. One of my greatest friends was born and raised here in Superior. He has now passed on, but he was a great public servant, and that was Lew Schwellenbach. He was Secretary of Labor, and he made a great Secretary of Labor. I think of him every time I think of Superior.

This is my first opportunity to congratulate you people personally on the great job you did during the war. The tremendous amount of shipping that you handled here at Superior was one of the big reasons why we won World War Two. The unbroken production record in the mines, on the farms, and in the forests gave us the material we needed to win that great war.

Now you are doing an equally good job in producing for peace. The fine record of cooperation of labor and management here is a record you can all be proud of. Your cooperatives here have brought benefits to the whole area, and this part of the United States is now enjoying greater peacetime prosperity than ever before in its history.

As a matter of fact, after 16 years of Democratic administrations, the whole Nation is prosperous. I want to see the United States stay prosperous. The Democratic Party is fighting to keep it prosperous.

But the leaders of the Republican Party, who are terribly anxious to get their hands on the Government this election, haven't yet learned one basic lesson. That lesson is simply this:

We can stay prosperous only when all groups of our people—labor, the farmer, the small businessman, the white-collar worker—when all of them get their fair share of the national income.

The Republicans don't see it that way. Their record proves it.

In November 1946, two-thirds of the people stayed at home and didn't vote for the candidates for Congress in that election. We got the Republican controlled "do-nothing" 80th Congress as a result.

That Congress passed a rich man's tax bill, so the rich could get relief from taxes, at the expense of the workingman. That Republican Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act, to weaken organized labor, so that labor would no longer be in such a good position to bargain for better wages and working conditions.

Now I vetoed that bill, which I ought to have, and I told you exactly what that bill would do to labor, but the Congress passed it over my veto by more than a two-thirds majority; and I have to enforce the laws. So long as they are laws and I am President, I enforce the laws, for I am sworn to do that, and I have to do just that as long as I am the President.

But I want you to do something about this terrible law. I want you to send a Democratic Congress to Washington and repeal it. That is the best thing you can do.

That Congress knocked the props out from under permanent farm prosperity. They tried their best to strangle cooperatives.

I told all about what they did to the farmer in a speech last night in Springfield, Ill.

While the Republican Congress was passing laws like that to help special interests,

they weren't doing a thing to help all the rest of us by stopping skyrocketing prices. I asked them to pass price control laws time and again. They refused.

They refused to do anything about the housing shortage.

That is the kind of record the Republicans write when they get into office, and that is the record that the Republican candidate for President says he is proud of. Now he says he is proud of that good-for-nothing 80th Congress. I am glad somebody can be proud of it. I can't.

Now, the Democratic Party has a positive program for places to live, for prosperity, and for peace. We intend to repeal that Taft-Hartley Act, so that labor can resume its progress. We intend to see that the purchasing power of the farmer remains on a parity with the rest of the population.

We intend to pass a comprehensive housing law to clear away slums, provide good rural housing, and provide public low-rent housing in our cities.

We intend to stop the rise in prices.

We intend to go forward with the development of our natural resources, by such means as soil conservation, reforestation, the utilization of our water resources, and the development of great waterways like the St. Lawrence Seaway.

That is the kind of government I am sure you want.

Now, if that is the kind of government you want, get up early on the morning of election day, and go to the polls. Don't hesitate!—just vote the Democratic ticket straight, and then you will have a Congress and a President and a Government that you can depend upon to work for you, and not for the special interests.

And another thing, I won't be troubled with the housing shortage, I can still stay in the White House for another 4 years.

I can't tell you how much I appreciate this wonderful turnout. This is the way the people have turned out all over the United States. I know they are interested, and I know they are going to vote the Democratic ticket.

[5.] DULUTH, MINNESOTA (At the Armory, 3:15 p.m.)

Thank you, thank you very much. I appreciate most highly the cordial reception which you are giving to the President of the United States and his family here today, and I am also exceedingly happy to be in such good company. I want to congratulate this district on its Congressman—John Blatnik—a Democrat in the midst of a sea of Republicans; but he does his duty and he does it well. And now I want you to add a little to that. I want you to send Mayor Humphrey to Washington as your United States Senator—and then your President will have some real cooperation.

I am very much interested and I want to congratulate you on the nearly unbelievable job that you did here during World War II. It was my privilege to make some investigations up in this part of the world while that war was on, in my capacity as Chairman of the Investigating Committee of the Senate which was looking after those things. And I want to say that everyone went into the mines up north and sent out unheard-of amounts of ore. The whole world is grateful for the fine efforts—not only of the miners, the railroadmen, and the Great Lakes seamen who moved that ore—but also to the lumbermen, the papermill workers, and to the farmers.

Here in northern Minnesota are some of our country's richest untapped resources. The Democratic Party wants to continue and expand its program for the development of

these resources. We want to develop them because we want the American people to have the utmost security and prosperous living conditions. We want to develop them because that will contribute to our efforts to make the whole world a better and a more peaceful place in which to live.

Here is an example of how the Democrats worked to develop this area: Back in 1941 it was your Democratic Farmer-Labor State legislators who got the taconite bill through the State Legislature. Three of the men who fought for this came up with me on the train today—John Blatnik, Senator Vukelich, and State Representative Fred Cina. That bill has made possible the $2 million taconite plant near Aurora. Now, I understand, there is being proposed a $77 million development at Pever Bay up here at your famous North Shore, and at Babbitt.

Almost half the peat deposits of the whole United States lies to the north of here, in Minnesota. This is a potential fuel for vast amounts of low-cost electric power needed for the ultimate realization of your taconite industry and other industrial developments.

We have always been for these forward-looking things, and you will find that where these developments take place the Democrats have been responsible for them, not the Republicans.

There is one great measure for the development of this area which the Democrats have not yet succeeded in getting through the Congress. That's the St. Lawrence Seaway. Building the Seaway would give you a deep-water channel to the Atlantic. The twin cities of Duluth and Superior would become one of the greatest ports of the entire world. Throughout my administration I have urged the Congress to provide for the full development of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. But the railroad lobby and the power lobby control too many Congressmen, and the Congress refused to approve the measures I requested. Apparently there are some people who don't want to see this great center of industrial and agricultural production turn into a tremendous center of worldwide trade. I can assure you that I do want to see you grow into just exactly that sort of a port.

I pledge to you that as President I shall continue to fight for the development of the resources of this great area and for the full development of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. I will not compromise with special interests, as some candidates for office are doing by supporting just the electric power development of the St. Lawrence at the expense of the Seaway. Nor will I support the Seaway and abandon the plans for the development of power, power which is so badly needed in many industrial cities.

There are a great many things you will get if you elect a Democratic Congress and a Democratic administration in November. You will get back on the high road to prosperity. You will get rid of these high prices that cause every one of us to suffer. Labor will no longer be the whipping boy of big business. The Taft-Hartley Act will be repealed. I want to say to you that I vetoed that Taft-Hartley Act, and I vetoed it with everything I had. It was passed over my veto and has become the law of the land. And when the laws are on the books the President of the United States is sworn to enforce them, and he does just that. Now, if you don't want that law enforced send enough Democrats to Congress and let's repeal it and get it off the books.

Now, in 1946 about two-thirds of the people in the United States forgot that there was an election taking place, and a third of the people in the country elected that awful 80th Congress—and see what you got! Don't do that any more. I am talking to the

rest of the people of the United States—I am not talking to Duluth. Duluth didn't do that. You sent John Blatnik back to Washington—and if we had a lot more there like him we wouldn't have any Taft-Hartley law.

I am just as sure as I can be that the people are waiting for November 2d so they can get to the polls and send men to Washington who will be concerned with the welfare of the country and not just concerned with a few special interests.

I am on this crusade across the United States to tell the people the facts and to make sure that every one of you goes to the polls on election day and votes for prosperity in the United States and peace in the world.

I certainly wish I could stay here all afternoon to discuss all the issues with you, but that just isn't possible. I have engagements that I have to keep. I have to hit the high-spots as best as I can. I have to bring home to you the things in which you are interested and I have to bring home to you that you are the Government. And I want to urge you with everything I have to exercise that power and be sure to vote on election day.

[6.] ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA (Rear platform, 7:35 p.m.)

[Before speaking, the President was presented with a replica of the God of Peace, the original of which stands in Memorial Hall in the St. Paul Courthouse.]

Thank you very much. That's a very appropriate presentation at this time in world history. There isn't any reason in the world why that statue shouldn't symbolize what will happen in the future.

We can, I know, bring peace by negotiation and without resorting to arms.

For 3 years I have spent my whole time and my whole life in an endeavor to get peace in the world; and I am here to say to you that I would much rather have a final, permanent peace settlement in the world than to be President of the United States.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on October 13 the President referred to former Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Democratic candidate for Representative Daniel W. Hoan, and former Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach, all of Wisconsin; and Representative John A. Blatnik, Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis, Democratic candidate for Senator, State Senator Thomas D. Vukelich, and State Representative Fred Cina, all of Minnesota.

236 Address in St. Paul at the Municipal Auditorium. *October* 13, 1948

Mr. Mayor, and fellow Democrats of Minnesota:

Tonight, I pay tribute to the liberal spirit of the people of Minnesota—in the cities, on the farms, in the forests, and in the iron country of this great State.

In this center of practical liberalism, I am proud to salute a fighting liberal—the next Senator from Minnesota, Mayor Humphrey of Minneapolis. I am also glad to greet the next Governor of Minnesota, Charles Halsted.

Through them, I salute the liberal and progressive forces of this whole region—the forces which are once again on the march against special privilege.

Before I say anything else, I want to take this opportunity to recognize the splendid record which was established by labor and management in Minnesota throughout the war years, and nobody knows any more about that than I do, for I made an investigation of it.

Through those long dark months of war, never once was a blast furnace kept waiting a single minute, because of lack of ore. The

men who mined the ore and those who manned the trains and the ore boats worked day and night, Sundays and holidays, and there was no work stoppage.

This was also true of the thousands of loyal men and women who labored in your mills and on your farms, and in your foundries and in your forests.

On behalf of the Nation, I congratulate the working people of Minnesota on their splendid wartime performance.

In view of that record, it is all the more strange to me that your senior Senator showed such fanatic zeal in helping to push the shameful Taft-Hartley law through the Congress.

I'm afraid the same thing happened to Joe Ball that happens to most Republicans with a streak of liberalism when they get down to Washington. That's what I call the "Potomac fever."

The Republican Party either corrupts its liberals or it expels them. It drove out Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. It drove out fighting Bob LaFollette of Wisconsin in 1924.

It was the Democratic Party of Franklin Roosevelt, not the Republican Party, that held out the hand of welcome to Floyd B. Olson, and to that hero of progressive idealism—George Norris of Nebraska.

And those liberals who have not been driven out of the Republican Party have been changed, like Joe Ball, from fighters on the people's side to champions of reaction.

True liberalism is more than a matter of words. It demands more than sound effects. It cannot hide behind the catch phrases of the Republican candidate for President—catch phrases like "unity" and "efficiency." Unity for what cause? Efficiency for what purpose, I wonder?

The American people, in this critical year, are entitled to a full and open discussion of the issues. They are not getting it from the Republican candidate for President.

It is no service to the country to refuse, in the name of unity, to discuss the issues. It is no service to democracy to conceal the difference between the major parties.

Unity in a democracy cannot be produced by mealymouthed political speeches.

Unity on great issues comes only when the voice of the people has been heard so clearly, so strongly, so unmistakably, that no one—not even the second guessers—can doubt what the people mean.

Thomas Jefferson did not seek unity by concealing the real issues between himself and Alexander Hamilton. He made the issues clear, so that the people could reach a decision. And their decision determined that democracy rather than autocracy should prevail in this great country of ours.

Andrew Jackson did not seek unity with the moneymakers in Philadelphia. He made the issues so clear that the people decided to place the control of the money in the Government of the United States, and not in a few private banks.

Abraham Lincoln did not seek unity with Stephen A. Douglas. He made it clear that this Nation could not continue to exist half slave and half free.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, in 1933, did not seek unity with the economic royalists. He proposed the New Deal.

And today, I do not seek unity by concealing the issues between me and the special privilege groups that control the Republican Party.

I never will seek that sort of unity.

Real unity is behind basic principles and concrete programs. Real unity cannot be achieved without a definition of the issues, and a decision by the American people.

Our foreign policy is an example of this.

I had hoped that foreign policy would not become an issue in this campaign. To that end, I have refrained from taking partisan

credit in campaign speeches for the policies which were organized by a Democratic administration, and which others are now claiming credit for so loudly today.

But I serve notice here and now that I shall feel at liberty to correct distortions and keep the record straight.

And when I do that, I shall be glad to give full credit for the significant contributions which have been made by some farsighted Republicans.

We have a large measure of unity in foreign policy now. But it was not always that way. We achieved this degree of unity, only after world-shaking events had made it clear that the vast majority of the people of the United States would no longer tolerate isolationism.

Now, we had no unity in foreign policy in the first national election after World War I. The Democratic candidate for President in that year stood clearly for the League of Nations, and for Woodrow Wilson's idea of international cooperation.

But the Republican candidate, although he misled the people into believing that he stood for unity, was actually opposed to the League of Nations.

So, when the election was over, the people found themselves with a Republican administration and a Republican Congress that were completely unified—but unified in favor of the wrong policies.

And so the world started down the road to World War II.

We did not have unity in foreign policy in 1940. Even then, with half the world in flames, the Republican leaders were mainly isolationists. They were against aid to the democracies, and they called Roosevelt a warmonger.

The man who is now the Republican candidate for President said that the idea of producing 50,000 airplanes a year was fantastic. And we got to produce 100,000.

Even in 1944, in the midst of a great war, we did not have unity in matters relating to foreign policy. During the election campaign in that year, the Republican candidate, who is now running once more, charged again and again that it was the administration's arbitrary desire to keep men in the Army after the war was over. You all remember that.

He had so little foresight about postwar problems that he felt we could completely demobilize our military strength the minute that hostilities ended.

Now, as a matter of hindsight, he says, "me, too" about building up our Armed Forces.

The unity we have achieved in foreign policy required leadership. It was achieved by men—Republicans as well as Democrats—who were willing to fight for principles before these principles became obvious to everyone.

It was not achieved by the people who copied the answers down neatly after the teacher had written them on the blackboard.

Here again, as in so many other cases, the American people should consider the risk of entrusting their destiny to recent converts who now come along and say, "Me, too, but I can do it better."

In the meantime, there are other issues in this campaign—big issues. All those issues cannot be hidden or brushed away by pretending they don't exist.

The issue in this election is not unity. It is not efficiency.

Efficiency alone is not enough in government. Maybe the Wall Street Republicans are efficient. We remember that there never was such a gang of efficiency engineers in Washington, as there was under Herbert Hoover. We remember Mr. Hoover himself was a great efficiency expert.

We remember how he selected one of the richest men in America to be his Secretary of the Treasury. But efficiency wasn't enough 20 years ago, and efficiency isn't enough today.

There must be life and hope in government. We must achieve and pioneer in the great frontier of human rights and social justice.

Hitler learned that efficiency without justice is a vain thing.

Democracy does not work that way. Democracy is a matter of faith—a faith in the soul of man—a faith in human rights. That is the kind of faith that moves mountains—that's the kind of faith that hurled the Iron Range at the Axis and shook the world at Hiroshima.

Faith is much more than efficiency. Faith gives value to all things. Without faith, the people perish.

Today the forces of liberalism face a crisis. The people of the United States must make a choice between two ways of living—a decision, which will affect us the rest of our lives and our children and our grandchildren after us.

On the other side, there is the Wall Street way of life and politics. Trust the leader! Let big business take care of prices and profits! Measure all things by money! That is the philosophy of the masters of the Republican Party.

Well, I have been studying the Republican Party for over 12 years at close hand in the Capital of the United States. And by this time, I have discovered where the Republicans stand on most of the major issues.

Since they won't tell you themselves, I am going to tell you.

They approve of the American farmer—but they are willing to help him go broke.

They stand four-square for the American home—but not for housing.

They are strong for labor—but they are stronger for restricting labor's rights.

They favor a minimum wage—the smaller the minimum the better.

They indorse educational opportunity for all—but they won't spend money for teachers or for schools.

They think modern medical care and hospitals are fine—for people who can afford them.

They approve of social security benefits—so much so that they took them away from almost a million people.

They believe in international trade—so much so that they crippled our reciprocal trade program, and killed our International Wheat Agreement.

They favor the admission of displaced persons—but only within shameful racial and religious limitations.

They consider electric power a great blessing—but only when the private power companies get their rakeoff.

They say TVA is wonderful—but we ought never to try it again.

They condemn "cruelly high prices"—but fight to the death every effort to bring them down.

They think the American standard of living is a fine thing—so long as it doesn't spread to all the people.

And they admire the Government of the United States so much that they would like to buy it.

Now, my friends, that is the Wall Street Republican way of life. But there is another way—there is another way—the Democratic way, the way of the Democratic Party.

Of course, the Democratic Party is not perfect. Nobody ever said it was. But the Democratic Party believes in the people. It believes in freedom and progress, and it is fighting for its beliefs right now.

In the Democratic Party, you won't find

the kind of unity where everybody thinks what the boss tells him to think, and nothing else.

But you will find an overriding purpose to work for the good of mankind. And you will find a program—a concrete, realistic, and practical program that is worth believing in and fighting for.

Now, I call on all liberals and progressives to stand up and be counted for democracy in this great battle. I call on the old Farmer-Labor Party, the old Wisconsin Progressives, the Non-Partisan Leaguers, and the New Dealers to stand up and be counted in this fight.

This is one fight you must get in, and get in with every ounce of strength you have. After November 2d, it will be too late. It will do no good to change your mind on November 3d. The decision is right here and now.

Against us we have the best propaganda campaign that money can buy.

But we are bound to win—and we are going to win, because we are right! I am here to tell you that in this fight, the people are with us.

With a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress, you will have the right kind of unity in this country.

We will be unified once more on the great program of social advance, which the Democratic Party pioneered in 1933.

We will be unified in support of farm cooperatives, rural electrification, and soil conservation.

We will be unified behind a housing program.

We will be unified on the question of the rights of labor and collective bargaining.

We will be unified for the expansion of social security, the improvement of our educational system, and the expansion of medical aid.

Moreover, we will be unified in our efforts to preserve our prosperity and to spread its benefits equally to all groups in the Nation.

Now, my friends, with such unity as this, we can secure the blessings of freedom for ourselves and our children.

With such unity as this, we can fulfill our God-given responsibility in leading the world to a lasting peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:33 p.m. at the Municipal Auditorium in St. Paul. His opening words "Mr. Mayor" referred to Edward K. Delaney, Mayor of St. Paul. Later he referred to Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis, Democratic candidate for Senator, Democratic candidate for Governor Charles L. Halsted, Senator Joseph H. Ball, and former Governor Floyd B. Olson, all of Minnesota; former Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin; and former Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska.

The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

237 Rear Platform Remarks in Minnesota and Wisconsin. *October* 14, 1948

[1.] MANKATO, MINNESOTA (8:08 a.m.)

Good morning! I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this wonderful reception this early in the morning. It shows very conclusively that you are interested in the welfare of this great Republic of ours or you wouldn't come out to hear the facts. It proves to me that you people here in southern Minnesota are just as much concerned about the problems that the country has to face today as are the people everywhere else I visited.

You know, I warned the people of this country not to risk entrusting their destiny to recent converts to the principles of our

foreign policy—I did that last night in St. Paul—converts who would seek to curry favor by putting on the mantle of such principles in order to further their own political ambitions. You want to watch that closely. They are coming across now with a "me too," because I smoked them out. I am telling the facts and the facts are things they can't stand. They don't want you to know the facts.

Mankato is a good example of the close dependence of farms on cities and cities on farms in this country. Farm prosperity makes for more business in the cities, just like that great city here, and more jobs in the great factories in your town. By the same token, when production and employment are high and workers are receiving good pay, the farmer is able to find a ready market for his products. Whatever helps the worker naturally helps the farmer, and whatever helps the farmer, in reverse, helps the worker.

Look at the farm prosperity here in Minnesota today. I am going to give you some figures that will startle you. Back in the last Republican depression year of 1932, the farmers' income in the whole State of Minnesota was less than $250 million. Last year the farmers of Minnesota made $1½ billion, six times what they made in 1932. Now, that was not by accident. The prosperity didn't just happen. It was carefully planned and carefully administered by the Democratic administrations of the last 16 years. And this Republican 80th Congress tried its best to tear up that program.

Study the situation—the Democratic plan which helped to develop the cooperatives through the Rural Electrification Act. We made loans to farmers cooperatives to bring electric power to the farms. Back in the Republican days only 1 Minnesota farm in 14 had electricity. Now, thanks to REA and the great work done by the farmers cooperatives since then, 6 out of every 10 Minnesota farms has electricity—and we're going to get those other 4 before we get through.

But in order to do that you've got to vote for yourselves. You've got to put somebody in the White House and somebody in the Congress that will look after your interests. You have got a good man running for Congress, running here in this district, and I hope you'll send Mr. Manwell back to the Congress to help to do these things I am talking about; and you must, by all means, send the man from Minneapolis, Mr. Humphrey, to the Senate in place of that liberal Mr. Ball who has been converted to reactionaryism since he has been in the Senate—and I'm sorry to have to say that.

No one here doubts that cooperatives are a good thing. They have been a tremendous boon to the farmer. They have improved the farmer's bargaining position in dealing with the huge corporations that farmers must sell to and buy from. Despite the immense benefits cooperatives have brought to the people of Minnesota and to the Midwestern States, the Republican Party in the last Congress, and every time they have had a chance, has fought them bitterly. For example, 9 out of every 10 Republicans voted against rural electrification last year. Three out of four Republicans in Congress voted against REA this year. Not quite so many of them voted against it this year because they had to go out and ask you for votes. The reason for Republican opposition is plain. Big business is opposed to cooperatives, and the big power companies are particularly opposed to rural electrification. You see, they don't get the rakeoff when the farmers cooperatives run the electric power for the farmers, and that's true of all municipal plants.

You will find the big electric trusts, elec-

tric power trusts, fighting every municipal plant in the country. They try to surround them and choke them off.

Of course, the Democrats supported REA. The Democratic Party is always on the side of the people, just as you'll find the Republican Party always on the side of special interests. That has been the case ever since the Republican Party got power in Washington. The Republican Party will not admit in an election year that it is opposed to cooperatives. They put a weasel-word into the cooperatives plank of their platform when they said they would support—now listen; this is a direct quote from the Republican platform—"The principle of bona fide farmer-owned, farmer-operated cooperatives."

Now, the Democratic Party indulges in no such doubletalk. We say flatly that we will encourage farm cooperatives, period.

Yet, only a third of the registered voters turned out to vote in 1946. The Republicans took over Congress as a result. The Republicans began their attack on cooperatives. They started an investigation of cooperatives in an effort to smear them. I know something about congressional investigations. I was chairman of that special committee that was formed to investigate the national defense program during the war, and I think I carried on more investigations than any other Senator in the history of the Senate over that 3-year period. And we didn't carry on smear investigations. We carried on investigations for the purpose of introducing legislation to cure ills of the country. You won't find that the case with these present-day investigating committees. They are trying to investigate us out of office. They are after Democrats—they are not after the welfare of the country.

Do you know how you can stop this attack on cooperatives? It's very easy. There's only one way. That is to come out and vote on November the 2d, and get your friends to come out and vote; and as I said all over the country, vote in your own interests, vote for yourselves. When you vote the Democratic ticket, you are not only voting for me and this good man who is running for the Senate in Minnesota, and the Congressman—you are voting for yourselves and your own interests.

You, the people, are the Government; and when you exercise your right to vote, you run the Government, and when you don't exercise your vote—as you didn't exercise it in 1946—you get such things as that 80th Congress, and you get just what you deserve when you do that because you shirked your duty.

Now, get up early on election day, go down to the polls, and vote for yourselves. And when you do that, you'll vote a straight Democratic ticket and you'll have the country in safe hands for another 4 years, and the President won't be obliged to be troubled by the housing problem—I can stay in the White House another 4 years.

[2.] WASECA, MINNESOTA (9:06 a.m.)

Good morning! It certainly is a pleasure to meet so many of you so early in the morning. It shows that you are interested in the welfare of this great Nation of ours or you wouldn't turn out to see the President and to hear what he has to say.

I have been on a crusade up and down this country, telling the people just exactly what the issues in the campaign are. You know, the Republicans won't discuss the issues. They can't afford to discuss the issues because they have been wrong on all of them. Therefore, I am going up and down the country and explaining to the people just exactly what the issues in this campaign are.

I spent some time in St. Paul last night explaining what the Republican Congress had done to the people and what they have

not done for the people. They don't like to hear that because they have no comeback. They can't defend the action of the Republican Congress, which is a pattern of what we're going to get unless people take an interest in their own affairs and get out and vote for their own interests. Now, if you vote for your own interests here in this district you'll send Karl Rolvaag to the Congress, and you'll send Hubert Humphrey to the Senate, and then there will be people in the Congress with whom your President can work in the public interest, for your interest.

This 80th Congress had no interest except special privilege. They had more lobbies in Washington around this Congress than it has ever had before in the history of the country, and they spent more money than ever before in the history of the country. It is one of the most shameful sessions that this country has ever had. I name it the second worst Congress in the history of the United States. Of course, they don't like that. And that means not that all the men in that Congress were not the right sort of people. It means that the leadership, the Republicans who controlled that Congress, are the ones who stand for that Congress. There were a number of able men in that Congress who fought tooth-and-nail to prevent it from acting as the worst Congress in the history of the country, and those men are going to be reelected on their record. But I sincerely hope that you will not send any of that leadership back there, because if we have an 81st Congress as bad as the 80th the country will be in an awful fix.

The best way to remedy that situation is to get out early on election day and exercise your privilege in this country to run the Government. You are the Government when you exercise that privilege, and you run it by voting.

I am very happy and very glad to see so many young people out here because it shows that they are interested in the welfare of the country. You know, the country is going to be in the hands of these young people in the next generation, and if they understand just exactly what our Government stands for it will be safe for generations to come, and that's what I am working for.

I appreciate highly your coming out here, and I want you all on election day to get up early and go to the polls—and so as to be on the safe side and so as to vote in your own interest, just vote the Democratic ticket straight; and then the President won't have any housing problem—he'll still be in the White House another 4 years.

[3.] ROCHESTER, MINNESOTA (10:25 a.m.)

Thank you very much. I appreciate the warm welcome which the Mayor of this great city has extended to the Presidential party, and I appreciate the introduction of your candidate for Congress who I know will be the next Congressman from this district. You are going to elect Karl F. Rolvaag. He told me that I was going to get a good reception here, and he didn't mean it half as strong as it is. I thank you from the bottom of my heart. It means that Karl Rolvaag is going to be in the House of Representatives in the next Congress, and that you are going to send Hubert Humphrey to the Senate. If you send men like that to the Senate and House, there won't be any trouble getting along with the President because they believe in the same things I do.

Thousands and thousands of Americans, distinguished Americans and plain citizens, have come to this great city to recover their health. I am on a crusade across the country, to see that we don't have to send the Federal Government itself to Rochester to get it put back together after 4 years of Republican rule in Washington. I am here to

tell you that if we have 4 more years like that, it will take all the clinics in the country to put it back together again.

I wish the whole Nation could have the opportunity to enjoy the kind of medical care that is available here in Rochester, Minn. Unfortunately, we haven't reached that point yet, but I have been trying ever since I became President to use the powers of the Federal Government to improve the health of the American people. In fact, I started on a program of that sort while I was in the Senate, and I have been working on it ever since.

Last January, I asked Mr. Oscar Ewing, who is the Federal Security Administrator, to make a careful study of the present level of the national health. I also asked him to report to me on what we might hope to accomplish in the next 10 years for the health of the Nation. Mr. Ewing has just finished his study, and has submitted a long report entitled "The Nation's Health—A Ten Year Plan." That report—I have a summary of it right here—is an impressive document. It tells about the progress we have been making, but at the same time it reveals some shocking facts.

Every year—now listen to this—every year, more than 325,000 Americans die who could have been saved if they had had the right kind of medical attention and care that we know how to provide.

Only 20 percent—one-fifth of our population—is able to afford the medical care they need. Now that means that there are 110 million people in this country who can't afford proper medical attention. That is a disgrace to the richest country in the world.

The United States loses $27 billion a year in national wealth through sickness and disability alone.

These facts should make every one of us resolve to do all that we can to improve our medical facilities. I think these facts point to the need for the national health program that I have been urging the Congress to adopt.

I would like to remind you of the main points of that program. I want you to listen carefully to this. Every one of you is interested in some way or other in this program.

First, we ought to have adequate public health services including an expanded maternal and child health program.

Second, we need more medical research and more medical schools.

Third, we need more hospitals and more doctors in nearly every area in the country.

Fourth, we should have a system of insurance to cover the cost of medical care.

Fifth, we need insurance which will protect workers against loss of earnings during illness.

Of course, I know that Federal laws to help the five objectives are not enough. State and local governments, medical schools and hospitals, doctors and civic groups, will all have to work together to accomplish the purpose I have in mind.

I know that this country can provide better health care for the American people. I want to see that every man, woman, and child on a day not too far off will be able to get the kind of care provided here in Rochester.

The people who can afford better health will make greater prosperity and a strong Nation. It is our responsibility to lead the world to a lasting peace. We need all our health and all our strength to reach that goal. And I want you to help me reach that goal by sending the men to Congress who believe in the welfare of the people as a whole, and who are not just interested in some special interest program.

This 80th Congress is a shining example of how the Republicans work. That Congress legislated absolutely for the special in-

terests, and the people, well, I can't say the word I would like to say to what they did to the people.

Don't do that again. If you send the 80th Congress back with that same old gang in control, you will have an 81st Congress with exactly the same program that the 80th Congress had.

Now, do your duty on election day. Get out and show your interest in the Government. You are the Government when you exercise the right to vote.

If enough of you vote, I am just as certain as I stand here that we will have a Democratic President in the White House and we will have a Democratic Congress in the 81st Congress.

[4.] WINONA, MINNESOTA (11:45 a.m.)

Thank you—thank you very much. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the cordial welcome which has been extended to me by the citizens of Minnesota. It is evident that the citizens of Minnesota are interested in the welfare of this great Nation, and that they want to know what the issues are in this campaign. And believe me, I have been telling them what the issues are! I have been traveling through Minnesota since yesterday at noon, when I crossed the St. Louis River and arrived in Duluth. It has been a thrilling experience. It has not only been fine to see your rich farmland, and the great grain elevators, and your cities enjoying greater prosperity than ever before in history, but it has been especially rewarding to travel through Minnesota and meet your fellow Minnesotans, and your great candidate for the Senate, Mayor Hubert Humphrey, and your fine candidates for Congress, and Karl Rolvaag, whom I am sure you are going to send to the Congress. You are also going to send Mayor Humphrey of Minneapolis to the Senate, and then we will have people in the 81st Congress with whom the President can work.

The crowds that have come down to the stations prove beyond any doubt that you people are determined to elect a liberal, Democratic President and a liberal, Democratic congressional delegation when you go to the polls on November 2.

You know that this prosperity that I have seen all through Minnesota did not just happen. It was brought about by 16 years of control of the Government by Democratic administrations. Back in the Republican depression year of 1932, Minnesota farmers made less than a quarter of a billion dollars. Last year, the income of Minnesota's farmers was a billion and a half dollars. That is the difference between the right side of a proposition so that everybody gets his fair share of the national income, and that approach which gives only the special privileged few the national income.

One key in the Democratic prosperity program was the Commodity Credit Corporation. One job of the Commodity Credit Corporation was to increase grain storage facilities, so that bumper crops could be marketed over a longer period of time, thus making it unnecessary for the farmer to sell all his wheat or his corn to big speculators, at very cheap prices.

The Commodity Credit Corporation did a wonderful job for years, and then something happened to it. Two-thirds of you stayed at home from the polls in 1946, and the Republicans got control of the Congress. That 80th "do-nothing" Congress came about because you didn't do your duty as voters.

The farmers are just now beginning to realize what that means to them. Big business is against any aid to the farmers, and the Republican leaders in Congress are the errand boys of big business and special privilege.

That is why the Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress—I mean do nothing for the people, they did something for the special interests all right—that is why that Congress cut the Commodity Credit Corporation grain storage program down to almost nothing. Now there is a bumper crop, and the Commodity Credit Corporation no longer has the authority to provide storage space, and the farmers are being forced to sell their grain to speculators way below support prices. And that situation will get worse. It has just now started. Right now, speculators are buying corn below the support price. That is just plain robbery of the farmers, and the farmers owe that to the 80th Congress. Now, if you send an 81st Congress back like that one, you will get treated worse than that.

This Republican sabotage of the Commodity Credit Corporation has not only hurt the farmer. It has also hurt every industry and every business in the State of Minnesota, because as you all know, your prosperity depends upon farm prosperity.

It is up to you whether or not this Republican special interest domination of Congress is going to continue. If you don't vote on November 2d, the chances are that the special interests will proceed to control the country and the Congress and the Government.

Now, two-thirds of you didn't vote in 1946—and look what you got! Don't do that again. Go out and do your duty on election day. This election will decide the future of the Commodity Credit Corporation, and the farm program. It will decide much more than that for the whole country. It will decide whether soil conservation and reforestation go forward with the Democrats, or go backwards with the Republicans. It will decide whether we will be able to bring down the cost of living with the Democrats, or keep on with skyrocketing prices under a Republican program.

It will decide whether we have slum clearance, and low-rent housing, and good rural housing with the Democrats, or whether we shall have a housing shortage under a Republican administration. It will decide whether we will have full development of our great river system, so that cities like Winona can develop into great river ports, or whether eastern power and railroad lobbies get control under the Republicans and stop the development of our great waterways.

Every one of these issues is at stake in this election. When you realize how much this election means to you, and to your own prosperity, I am confident you will turn out on election day and vote for your own interest. You are voting for yourselves. When you vote for yourselves, you will vote for the interests of all the people, and that is you, and me, and everybody else.

When you do that, you can't help but send a Democratic Congress back to Washington, and you can't help but have a Democratic President in the White House; and then your President won't be troubled with the housing shortage, he will have a house to live in for the next 4 years.

This is one of the most important elections this country has faced in 40 years, and it will have its effects for generations to come. So be sure and do your duty on that election day. Go out and vote, and I am here to tell you that if everybody in this country expresses his opinion and votes, I am not worried about the result.

[5.] SPARTA, WISCONSIN (1:03 p.m.)

Thank you very much. I certainly do appreciate this reception. You know, in every State people have turned out just like this

because I think they are interested in the welfare of the country, and they want to know what the President looks like, and what he thinks. And I want to say to you I have been very frank in telling them just what I think—and you'll have to make up your mind as to what I look like.

I have enjoyed very much coming through Wisconsin this morning from Winona, Minn. We have come through some most beautiful country. And I was most happy to make the acquaintance of your candidate for Governor, Carl Thompson, and your candidate for Congress in this district, Frank Antoine. I hope you'll elect them both, and I believe you will.

All your farms seem to be prosperous and from the crowd here today, I'd take it that this town is doing a pretty good business, too.

You know, in years gone by, when I was a kid—21 or 22 years old—the National Guard used to come to Sparta, Wis. I belonged to a battery over in Missouri. We used to come up here to do some shooting with old 3-inch guns that the artillery was then equipped with; and I had many a good time in this town in those days.

The fact is that after 16 years of Democratic Government, this whole country is prosperous, and I want to keep it that way. We can keep this country prosperous if we continue and extend the Democratic programs started under the administration of President Roosevelt.

One of these programs that the people of Wisconsin know a great deal about is soil conservation. I am very proud of the Democratic record for the past 16 years with regard to the conservation of natural resources.

You all know what conservation has meant to the American farmer. By 1932, America had lost one-third of her rich topsoil, and there was real danger that our farms would lose their productivity. You know, Wisconsin and Minnesota and Iowa and Missouri and Illinois were letting the farms wash away and were making counties in Louisiana. Well, we have stopped that. Now, that danger is nearly passed. The Democratic soil conservation program has been extended to nearly three million farms in this country. But we ought not to rest until every acre in the country is properly managed so that it will retain its fertility permanently.

Now, you would think every sensible person would favor soil conservation. But, believe it or not, some men have been attacking this work for years. They have been the Republican politicians. The majority of the Republicans in Congress opposed the original Soil Conservation Act of 1936 and did not want to see it passed. I was in the Senate at that time and the Republicans fought that bill tooth-and-toenail. The Democratic majorities in the House and Senate voted almost solidly for soil conservation, and pushed that law through the Congress at that time.

But in the Republican 80th Congress, the soil conservation program has received a serious setback. The Republicans cut out the funds which are used for payments to farmers who follow sound conservation policies. The Democrats tried to restore those funds, and I am proud to say that every Democrat in the House and every Democratic Senator voted for that restoration. But, 9 out of 10 Republicans voted against soil conservation, and the funds were seriously cut. They weren't content with the cut. The Republican leaders in the Senate wanted to abandon the present system of soil conservation payments; and I am proud again that every Democrat in the Senate voted against this Republican attack. Thirty-eight of the Republicans voted to abandon the system, but three Republicans came over to the Democratic side and saved the soil conservation program from destruc-

tion. The American farmer was lucky that the Republicans didn't have a larger majority in the 80th Congress than they did. The farmer would certainly have been in a bad fix if that had been the case.

But, although the Democrats in Congress have saved the program by their solid support, the Republicans still have prevented the program from being carried forward by cutting down appropriations.

I understand you have a Republican running for Governor in this State who is running on a program of soil conservation. Can you imagine that! And yet, they tell me this man doesn't even belong to the group of soil conservation farmers in his own district. Yet he is running on a conservation program. You better elect Thompson and save yourselves. Don't be fooled by Republican promises. Look at the record.

You know, the Republicans write a platform to get votes. They don't write a platform to be carried out in a policy after the election is over. That is the sort of platform they have got right now—the most hypocritical, deceitful document that has ever been written, and trying to be foisted off on the American public by the Republican candidate for President. Remember 1932 and what the Democratic program has meant to the United States since that time. Think, for example, what the Department of Agriculture is doing this year to help some of your local people here, north of Sparta, your cranberry growers. There is a great surplus, and the Department is doing a terrific job of promotion to help sell that surplus. Cranberry growers never received that kind of help from a single Republican administration that I know of.

The story I have told you about soil conservation is just one of many stories like it. Take rural electrification. They have tried their best to strangle rural electrification; and I am told by the head of your rural electrification setup here in Wisconsin that if it were not for rural electrification, some of your private power companies would be on a brownout right now—and yet, they would like to strangle it to death.

They have tried also to choke farm housing, rural education, farm-to-market roads, and cooperatives. On all those issues the story is just the same, and that is the reason I have to go around over the country and tell you about it. They are not going to tell you about it because they couldn't get a single vote if they did tell the truth about how they stand on these issues.

The Democratic Party has been fighting to carry these measures forward, but Republican leaders have done their best to slow down or stop completely the progress we have been making. That 80th Congress—oh, that awful 80th Congress—proved that. That Congress shows what Republican policy will be under a Republican administration. And the Republican candidate for President says he's proud of the 80th Congress. Can you imagine that!

Now, the best way for you to take care of the situation is to vote in your own interests. Vote for yourselves, and when you vote for yourselves, you can't help but go to the polls on the second of November, and vote a straight Democratic ticket. You will be voting in your own interests, and you'll have a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President that will look after the interests of the people, and not the special interests. That's the issue in this campaign.

Remember that and study it because it means everything in the world to the people who live in this country.

Thank you very much.

[6.] Elroy, Wisconsin (1:55 p.m.)

I certainly do appreciate your coming out here. This was supposed to have been a

water stop. I didn't think that we would be here long enough for me to speak to you, but I am happy that we did stop long enough, and I appreciate your interest and I appreciate your coming out here to see the President.

I wish I had the chance to discuss with you all the issues in this campaign, but I haven't the time now.

I hope you've been reading the speeches and statements I have been making over the country. They are in your interest, and if you vote for your own interests on the 2d of November you'll elect a Democratic Governor and a Democratic Congressman from your district—and you'll elect a Democratic administration in the whole United States Government. And then things will be safe and in the hands of the people.

[7.] MADISON, WISCONSIN (Address at the University of Wisconsin, 4:25 p.m., see Item 238)

[8.] WAUKESHA, WISCONSIN (6:46 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman:

This certainly is a wonderful reception here in Waukesha. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate it. It shows conclusively that you are interested.

I hope—I sincerely hope that all you young people over here on the right will be as quiet as possible so I can tell the people what I think, because when the train goes out, I'll promise to stay out here on the back platform, and every one of you will get a chance to look.

This great city is the center of a fine progressive area, and it pleases me very highly to get this kind of a reception from you. I am glad, too, to hear that you are lining up solidly behind Horace Wilkie for Congress, and Carl Thompson for Governor. I know Horace Wilkie's record. He is an outstanding liberal and a leader of the veterans of World War II, and I am highly pleased that a leader of the old Progressive Party of Wisconsin, Carl Thompson, is the Democratic candidate for Governor. He certainly will be elected. I'm just as sure of that as I stand here.

In this crusade I'm on I like to think that the Democrats are following in the pattern of the vital progressive crusades that have come out of Wisconsin throughout the history of the State. You have always been on the side of the people and not on the side of special interests.

Waukesha is an industrial city in the center of a rich agricultural area. You know what I mean when I say you're for the people. Industry, the farm, the small merchant, are all in the same boat. Their interests are all with the Democratic Party, which looks after the welfare of the people as a whole. You know that the people don't want any more negative legislation like the Republican Congress has given you. You want progressive legislation and leadership, leadership that's exemplified by the Democratic Party.

I often refer to that 80th Congress as the "do-nothing" Congress. When I say "do-nothing" I mean they have done nothing for the people. They've not listened to the people's demands for decent, low-cost housing. They haven't listened to the people's demands for bringing down the high cost of living. They have not listened to the people's demands for continuing the fair and equitable farm price support program. They have not listened to the people's demands for a fair break for labor. That's what I mean by "do nothing."

On the other side, that Congress did plenty. They've started a move to set labor back to the pre-Wagner Act days. They want to turn the clock back. They have worked all the time, this 80th Congress has, for 2 years, to turn the clock back, and the

clock won't run backwards. You know that. They put our farmers behind the 8-ball again by making it impossible for the Commodity Credit Corporation to get the storage facilities necessary to handle this year's bumper crops, and they did that with malice aforethought, and they did it for the speculator's lobby.

The real progressive movement in the Nation today is in the Democratic Party. Horace Wilkie, Carl Thompson, Andy Biemiller, and all the rest—these are the progressive Americans of today. We stand for laws to bring down the cost of living, laws to insure that the farmer receives a parity income, comprehensive housing laws to clear away slums and provide decent low-rental housing, and better rural housing, a genuine national health program, better schools in both cities and rural areas, and a fair labor-management law to replace that shameful Taft-Hartley Act.

Now, in 1946, two-thirds of the qualified voters of the United States stayed at home, and one-third of the voters gave us that terrible 80th Congress. Now, I hope sincerely that two-thirds of you won't stay at home this time. I want 100 percent of the voters in this county to go out and express their opinions at the polls. And if you do that, the country will be in safe hands because when the people express their opinions and their will at the ballot box, you'll get the right sort of results. It's when you do not exercise your privileges that things such as the 80th Congress come along. Let's have everyone get out to the polls on election day. If we are going to elect Democratic candidates who will work for the people and for prosperity, every one of you must go to the polls.

All I ask is that you look at the record. And then get your friends and your neighbors and be sure that everybody votes on the 2d of November and if you do that, your President won't be troubled with the housing shortage—I'll be in the White House for another 4 years. And you'll have a Congress who will work in your interest and not for special privilege.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on October 14 the President referred to Democratic candidate for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democratic candidates for Representative Milton Manwell and Karl F. Rolvaag, Senator Joseph H. Ball, and Mayor Claude McQuillan of Rochester, all of Minnesota; Democratic candidate for Governor Carl Thompson and Democratic candidates for Representative Frank Antoine, Horace Wilkie, and Andrew J. Biemiller, all of Wisconsin; and Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing.

238 Address in Madison at the University of Wisconsin. *October* 14, 1948

Mr. Chairman and fellow Democrats of Wisconsin:

I am more than happy to have this opportunity to talk to the people of Wisconsin. My Secretary of the Interior, Julius Krug, is a native of this great city, and he is a magnificent public official.

I am especially glad to be in Madison which I remember was named by a national magazine as the perfect city to live in. Wisconsin is a State which gave us fighting Bob LaFollette; a State which has led all others in sound, progressive legislation; a State which has served as the model and the inspiration for all the other States in the country in the way in which its university has worked with the leaders of the State in pioneering a better way of life for all the people.

Wisconsin needs to regain her position in

leadership in the cause of liberalism in the United States. Wisconsin about-faced a short time ago, and they ought to come back and get in step with the people that are going forward. You can do that by rallying all your liberal forces behind the common banner—the banner of the Democratic Party.

I am pleased that the followers of old Fighting Bob have recognized that the Democratic Party is the party which has their interests at heart. I am very pleased that a leader of the old Progressive Party of Wisconsin, Carl Thompson, is the Democratic candidate for Governor in this election. And I think you will do yourselves a favor, in this congressional district, if you send Horace Wilkie to the Congress. These men have joined the Democratic ranks because they know it is the only truly liberal party today.

What happened to the Republican Party in Wisconsin has been repeated on a national level. The 80th Congress was the tragic answer to all those who hoped that the elephant had acquired a "new look." That 80th Congress was controlled—a controlled Congress, where lobbyists pulled the strings and the people got stung.

An excellent example of how we got legislation by lobby, instead of laws to meet our needs is found in the story of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill. I would like to tell you a little about that bill.

It was sponsored by two Democrats and one Republican. It has been developed through 3 years of study. During this time, hundreds of thousands of words of testimony from every corner of the United States was collected. This study showed that the United States, the most powerful Nation on earth, had failed to provide decent housing for its citizens. Three million American families are living doubled up with other families. Five million families are living in housing that isn't fit for an American citizen to live in. Five million are living in slums that are rotting out the cores of our great cities. We are falling further behind every year as construction fails to keep up with our needs.

There is nothing more un-American than a city slum. Slums are the breeding spots of crime, sickness, and chaos in every large city in America.

Our farm housing is something that Americans don't like to talk about, either. More than half our farm homes do not meet modern American standards.

The Democratic Party has placed at the top of its program an answer to the housing problem. But what do the Republicans say? They say that private builders can do the job. They say this in spite of the fact that private builders are not doing the job.

This year the real estate is crowing that more homes are being built than were built in the former peak year of 1926.

I ask you, what kind of hope is there when we brag about passing a mark set 22 years ago, when the needs, the job, and the problems were very much smaller?

But, the real estate lobby killed the Americans' hopes for a Federal housing law to help meet our needs. Its instrument was the leadership of the Republican Party. When the lobby-controlled Republican Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee stated at the end of the second session of the 80th Congress that he would not even allow the House of Representatives to vote on the bill, every single Democratic member of that committee turned against him and voted for the bill.

There is a powerful committee in the House of Representatives called the Rules Committee. That committee decides what bills the House may be allowed to consider. In the second session of the 80th Congress, every Democrat in the Rules Committee

voted to let the House of Representatives act on the housing bill. Every Republican on the Rules Committee voted against allowing the House to consider it. That is typical of the difference between the Democratic and the Republican attitudes towards the housing bill that we so badly need.

In the Senate, 70 percent of the Democrats voted for that housing bill; 70 percent of the Republicans in the Senate voted against the bill, and for a substitute phony housing bill sponsored by this same real estate lobby. They kept the housing bill from passing.

That is what happened to housing legislation in the 80th Congress. That is why we do not now have a Federal program for slum clearance, low-rent public housing, and for low-rent rural housing. I have been told that the real estate lobby is bragging that they licked the President of the United States. Well, let me tell you something—I'm not licked yet by any means.

I think I know what the American people want, and I promise you that I am trying to see that they get it.

I know that every veterans organization, the American Conference of Mayors, farm groups, women's groups, church groups, and most of the American citizens endorse that housing bill that I tried to put through last session, and I am going to carry this message to every town and village in America.

If you want housing, you had better vote the Democratic ticket.

I remember about 20 years ago that a popular Republican slogan was, "Two cars in every garage." This year their slogan is, "Two families in every garage."

I wish I had time to tell you all about the other ways that 80th Congress failed the American people, how they failed to enact a health bill, or provide Federal aid for States to meet their acute problems in education, how they knocked the props out from under farm prosperity, and how they so greatly weakened the strength of organized labor.

When you learn the truth about all those issues, you will be as amazed as I was when the Republican candidate for President said that he was proud of the record of that 80th Congress. I just don't know what he is proud of.

You people in Wisconsin are fortunate in having real progressives running for office this year on the Democratic ticket. You have men like Horace Wilkie, a World War II veteran, who has studied the housing problem carefully and was one of the leaders of the National Veterans Conference. Horace Wilkie can truly represent the liberals of Madison, and of course, you have men like Carl Thompson who will make one of the best Governors Wisconsin ever had.

These men believe, as I do, and as the whole Democratic Party does, that we must have firm and fair laws to bring down the cost of living, that we must have a housing bill, and a national health program, that we must insure a fair deal to farmers, to labor, to the small businessman, and to the white-collar worker.

They believe, as I believe, in government for the benefit of all the people, not in government for the benefit of special privilege.

Now, we are faced with a real problem—your problem. For the first time in history you are going to have a chance to decide whether you want a government run by the people or whether you want a government run by special interest. This country, in 1947, had the greatest national income in the history of the world—$217 billion. That income was reasonably fairly distributed, between the farmer, the laboringman, and the businessman—particularly the small businessman.

Now, the acts, and the effects of the acts of this 80th Congress are trying to upset that balanced program. They want special privilege, because the first thing they did was

to pass the rich man's tax bill, and now they are soliciting all those rich men for campaign funds to put out a propaganda campaign against me and my administration.

That income tax bill would let a fellow who made $60 a week save about $1.50 a week—or $1.60 maybe—but a fellow who got $100,000 a year saves $16,000, and they are inviting him to turn half of that over to the Republican campaign committee. A lot of them will do it, too.

Now you people can vote for your own best interests by voting for yourselves on election day, or you can vote for this crowd that has made the policy of the Republican Party in the 80th Congress. I don't believe you are going to do that. I think you are going to go to the polls and vote for the American way of life.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:25 p.m. at the University of Wisconsin. His opening words "Mr. Chairman" referred to Carl Thompson, Democratic candidate for Governor of Wisconsin. He later referred to Julius A. Krug, Secretary of the Interior, Robert M. LaFollette, former Senator from Wisconsin, and Horace W. Wilkie, Democratic candidate for Representative from Wisconsin's Second District.

239 Address in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. *October* 14, 1948

Governor Thompson, and fellow Democrats of Wisconsin:

I am certainly most happy to be with you tonight. I have been all day—all afternoon coming across Wisconsin, and I have met the most enthusiastic and progressive people in the world. I am just as sure as I stand here that Milwaukee and Wisconsin are going to give overwhelming majorities to the Democratic ticket, on the second day of November, because the Democratic ticket stands for the welfare of the United States as a whole. You are going to elect a Governor and the whole ticket in the State, and I am sure that you will send a congressional delegation to Washington that I can work with for the next 4 years.

Now I am going to discuss with you tonight one of the most important subjects with which this country is faced. It is one of the key issues in this campaign, and I want you to be carefully interested in what I have to say to you, for it is more important.

During the last few weeks, I have been talking to people all over the country about the vital issues in this campaign. I hope you folks have been reading what I have been saying, because—unlike the Republican candidate for President—I have been saying exactly where I stand on vital issues.

I believe from the bottom of my heart that we are engaged in a great crusade to determine whether the powers of government will be used for the benefit of all the people or for the benefit of just a privileged few.

Tonight I'm going to talk about something that ought not to be in politics at all, but the Republican candidate has brought it in, and I have to tell you about it.

When he did this, he displayed a dangerous lack of understanding of the subject.

At the same time, he clearly implied a belief that there should be private exploitation of a tremendous asset which belongs to the people of the United States.

He blundered into a subject which is of immediate concern to every person in the United States and in the whole world.

That is atomic energy.

This is a force which holds great danger of catastrophe in the wrong hands. At the

same time, it holds great promise of a better life in the right hands. Everyone must understand clearly what is involved.

Atomic power is so overwhelming that most people have difficulty in seeing how it affects their daily lives. But the fact is, the future of every one of us depends in large measure on whether atomic energy is used for good or for evil.

There are three fundamental facts about atomic energy that each of us should understand.

First of all, the atomic bomb is the most terrible and devastating weapon that man has ever contrived.

Second, because atomic energy is capable of destroying civilization, it must be controlled by international authority.

And third, if properly controlled, atomic energy can enrich human life for all the generations to come.

You remember how the atom bomb project began.

We were fighting a great war. We knew that the Nazis were trying to construct atomic bombs. We drew on the world's scientists and our whole heritage of organized knowledge to win this race with death. This called for foresight. And it called for courage.

It took foresight in 1940 to order the first research on atomic energy for military purposes. It took courage in 1942 to launch the atomic bomb project on a full scale.

Fortunately, we had a President who possessed both courage and foresight—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Franklin Roosevelt did not live to see the outcome of that great venture.

It was after I became President that the first atomic explosion was set off in the New Mexico desert. That was while I was in Potsdam, Germany, in July 1945. Until that time, we did not know whether the bomb would work or not. Secretary of War Stimson came to Potsdam and informed me personally of the awe-inspiring result of that first explosion. Nothing like it had ever before been known.

That first explosion in the desert left a crater 1200 feet across. The sand in and around the crater was melted into glass. The steel tower—90 feet high—from which the bomb was exploded had completely vaporized. There wasn't a vestige of it left.

What this meant for the future was staggering to think about.

As President of the United States, I had the fateful responsibility of deciding whether or not to use this weapon for the first time. It was the hardest decision I ever had to make. But the President cannot duck hard problems—he cannot pass the buck.

I made the decision after discussions with the ablest men in our Government, and after long and prayerful consideration.

I decided that the bomb should be used in order to end the war quickly and save countless lives—Japanese as well as American.

But I resolved then and there to do everything I could to see that this awesome discovery was turned into a force for peace and the advancement of mankind.

Since then, it has been my constant aim to prevent its use for war and to hasten its use for peace.

Three months after the bomb was used, I met in Washington, D.C., with Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain and Prime Minister Mackenzie King of Canada. These two great countries were our partners in developing the atomic bomb.

After this conference, our three governments proposed that a United Nations Commission be established to work out a plan for the international control of atomic energy—a plan which would further the welfare rather than the destruction of man-

kind. We were joined by France, China, and the Soviet Union in sponsoring the establishment of such a commission.

The commission first met in June 1946. The United States offered to stop making atomic bombs when an effective system of international control had been set up. We offered to dispose of our existing bombs, and to turn over to an international agency full information on the production of atomic energy.

Now, my friends, that is the first time in the history of the world that the greatest nation on earth has been willing to turn over its greatest asset for the welfare of the whole world.

I believe that these proposals by the United States Government will be regarded by history as one of the world's greatest examples of political responsibility and moral leadership. In these proposals lies the best assurance for world peace and for the security of this great Nation.

There has been no change in the American position. We still want atomic energy to be placed under international control—on a practical, realistic basis that means control that will work. Only on this basis can atomic energy be removed as an ominous threat to mankind and turned to the purpose which has been in my heart from the beginning: peace, prosperity, and progress for all nations and all people everywhere.

Until the right kind of international control is assured, we have no choice but to proceed with the development of atomic weapons. We Americans are not a warlike people. We want peace worse than anything else in this world. The world knows that the United States will never use the atomic bomb to wage aggressive war.

But in the hands of a nation bent on aggression, the atomic bomb could spell the end of civilization on this planet.

My friends, that must not happen.

The fearful power of atomic weapons must be placed beyond the reach of any irresponsible government or any power-mad dictator.

Now, all of you know the difficulties we have encountered in trying to achieve international control.

The great majority of the countries on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission agreed upon a plan for an international agency with powers of ownership, operation, management, and inspection which would make effective control possible. But the Soviet Union rejected such a plan as an intrusion upon its national sovereignty.

The majority of the nations felt that the control agency ought not to be subject to a veto by any nation. The Soviet Union insisted upon its right to veto.

The issues which have thus far blocked agreement are serious. But I do not regard the situation as hopeless. Even now, in Paris, discussions are under way in the United Nations on this very subject. It is our hope that the Soviet Union and all members of the United Nations will see the wisdom, logic, and the necessity for adopting the plan of control so overwhelmingly supported by the United Nations Commission.

The conscience of humanity will not permit the awful force of atomic energy to be used for the self-destruction of the human race.

Now, my friends, of course, there is a price to be paid for mutual security of nations against the horrors of an atomic war. All nations must reckon with that price. The plain fact is that the international control of atomic energy does demand some sacrifice of national sovereignty.

The atom is no respecter of sovereignty of nations.

From the moment the atomic bomb be-

came a reality, the United States has stood ready to do its share—to make its sacrifice—so that a lasting peace can be achieved.

But we will not make a one-sided sacrifice. The United States will not be satisfied with anything less than a plan of international control which is clearly meant to work, and which will work. A "make-believe" control would be worse than none at all.

Now, while we are making these efforts toward international control of atomic energy, we have also been working to strengthen our atomic security and to hasten the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

When the war ended, we faced a critical decision as to the means by which our work should be carried forward. Some people honestly believed that the development of atomic energy should be left in the hands of the armed services.

I could not agree to that.

A free society requires the supremacy of the civil rather than the military authority. This is in no sense a reflection upon our Armed Forces. It is part of the spirit of our free institutions that military specialists must always be under the direction of civilians.

Because of the power and world significance of atomic energy, I was convinced that it had to be placed under civilian control. The Democratic 79th Congress enacted a law which made civilian control possible. The wisdom of that decision has been proved again and again during the past 2 years.

We are steadily making advances in the field of atomic science.

I can assure you that the civilian Atomic Energy Commission has maintained the leadership and readiness of the United States in atomic weapons—despite the presence of what the Republican candidate for President is pleased to call the "dead hand" of government!

The progress we are making in developing atomic energy for peaceful uses may at first seem less dramatic than the creation of the atomic bomb. But, in fact, it promises the world a whole new age of creative abundance.

The Atomic Energy Commission has begun work on the first experimental plant intended to supply atomic power for industrial purposes.

Great progress is being made in the use of atomic materials for research in biology and medicine. Here, we are warring against cancer and other diseases which will take their terrible tolls of human lives.

Atomic materials are also opening up tremendous new possibilities in agriculture and industrial research. And these same radioactive materials are among our most important research tools in the field of fundamental physical science.

Fifty years from now, the world will be a vastly different place because the power of the atom is being harnessed. It is our job to see that atomic energy makes the world not a wasteland of destruction but a vastly better place in which to live.

Atomic energy is not just a new form of power—like coal and oil. It is a force which can be compared only with the cosmic energies of the sun itself.

The fission of—now, listen to this—the fission of a single pound of uranium releases as much energy as the burning of 3 million pounds of coal.

A force like this cannot be handled on a "business as usual" basis.

The Republican candidate for President made a speech on atomic energy at Phoenix, Ariz., on September 23d.

The obvious implication in that speech is that the Republican candidate feels that the peacetime uses of atomic energy should be taken from the Government and turned over

to private corporations.

Here again is the basic conflict between the Democratic and the Republican parties.

Here again is the vital issue between the people and the selfish interests.

I believe that atomic energy should not be used to fatten the profits of big business.

I believe that atomic energy should be used for the benefit of all the people.

Now, my friends, the largest private corporation in the world is far too small to be entrusted with such power, least of all for its own profit.

Most responsible businessmen know this. Most men who know what atomic energy means do not talk about the "dead hand of government."

For our own protection and to insure our national security, we must continue to develop atomic energy as a public trust.

Our atomic materials are very precious, and must be guarded closely.

Atomic energy cannot and must not be another Teapot Dome for private exploitation—any more than it can be allowed to enter into competitive armaments. That is one of the most important things we are faced with. We don't want to make atomic energy the private interest of any corporations, no matter how big.

Our atomic plants cost billions of dollars of public money to build, and millions more to operate each year. They belong to all the people. They belong to us.

The use of atomic materials presents technical hazards which require very careful safety measures.

And here is the most important point of all. You cannot separate peacetime use of atomic materials from their potential military use.

Atomic material in a power station is not far from being an atomic arsenal. This is the blunt fact that requires an international control that will really work. The same fact makes it absolutely necessary to insist upon public ownership and control in the United States.

At the same time, we must make full use of the skill and initiative of private business. Business concerns have had and will continue to have an indispensable part in this great venture. This is a basic principle of the McMahon Atomic Energy Act of 1946—one of the wisest laws ever put on our statute books.

And, the success of our whole atomic energy program, military as well as peaceful, has been based on constant and effective teamwork between Government and private enterprise.

Today, over three thousand private contractors and suppliers are participating in our atomic energy program.

Today, the great atomic plants at Oak Ridge, and Hanford, and elsewhere are operated by private industrial organizations under Government supervision.

Today, scores of college and university laboratories are carrying out important atomic research.

Everything possible is being done to find legitimate opportunities for even greater participation by private enterprise, consistent always with public interest. But we must not put profit-making above the national welfare, my friends.

The platform of the Republican Party upon which my opponent is running for election fails to mention atomic energy.

I assumed at first that this was merely an oversight.

It is clear now, however, that this omission was deliberate.

It is clear from the comments of the Republican candidate that powerful, selfish

groups within the Republican Party are determined to exploit the atom for private profit.

I shall fight this effort with all the strength I have.

The Government is the indispensable trustee of the people for the development of atomic energy. Someday it may be possible to fit atomic energy more closely into the normal pattern of American business. But I cannot tell you that this is just around the corner. I will make no light promises of this sort.

Our national policy has been that atomic energy is such a vast new force in our lives that it must be kept under public control as long as the safety of the people's interest require. We must continue to follow that policy.

That is the only way we can assure the development of atomic energy for the benefit of humanity.

That is the only way we can assure that it will be used not for death but for a better life.

This great discovery belongs to the people and it must be used for the people.

There has been no more vital issue before the American people in this century.

The existence of civilization itself depends upon the wisdom and prudence of the American people in choosing the course we are to follow.

I pray that your decision will be the right one.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:32 p.m. at Borchert Field in Milwaukee. His opening words "Governor Thompson" referred to Carl W. Thompson, Democratic candidate for Governor of Wisconsin. He later referred to Prime Minister Clement R. Attlee of Great Britain and Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King of Canada.

The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

240 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Indiana. *October* 15, 1948

[1.] HAMMOND, INDIANA (Rear platform, 9:10 a.m.)

Good morning! Thank you, Frank, for that most cordial introduction. You know, there are certain Members of the Congress who are all right, and Ray Madden is one of them. He is for the people every time he has had the opportunity. His record is straight and clean, in your interest. I can't say that for the Republican leadership of that Congress. I think Indiana is going to come back where it belongs. I think you are going to send a Democratic congressional delegation to the Congress, and you are going to elect Schricker for Governor, and the whole ticket right down the line.

I certainly appreciate this fine reception from the people of Hammond. Before I say anything else, I would like to congratulate you on the wonderful war production record you set here. Hammond was one of the main centers of tank production, and our armies all over the world were grateful for the high quality of the work you turned out. You were efficient, you were helpful, you made one of the great contributions toward winning the war.

I wish I had time to tell you all about the issues in this campaign—labor laws, and high prices, and housing. That is not possible, but let me give you an example—an example which shows the difference in labor policies of the Democratic and the Republican Parties.

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 was passed by a Democratic Congress on the recommendation of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act was bitterly opposed by the Republicans in both Houses of Congress. Nearly two-thirds of the Republicans in the House of Representatives voted against it. About nine-tenths of the Republicans in the Senate voted against it.

That act established a minimum straight-time hourly wage for all workers. It required payment of time and a half for all hours over 40 hours a week. It outlawed all oppressive child labor.

The Fair Labor Standards Act now covers an estimated 20 million American workers.

I asked the 80th Congress to increase the minimum wage under that act to at least 75 cents an hour, and I asked that the protection of the act be extended to many additional millions of workers.

The Republican 80th Congress refused the minimum wage. The Republicans refused to extend the Fair Labor Standards provisions.

Now the Republican candidate for President is campaigning on the record of the 80th Congress. Can you imagine that? And he won't come out and say what he believes the minimum wage ought to be. He is ducking the issue. He says he believes in the minimum wage, but as I said at St. Paul the other evening, I think the smaller the minimum the better the Republicans like it.

Now just a little bit about high prices. Prices are so high now that they are cutting into people's savings. I think it is a terrible thing when a family has to dip into its savings—savings which it set aside for old age, or to educate their children—in order to buy bread and butter. I have done my best to get the Republican 80th Congress to do something about it. I called them back into special session twice, and I asked them to give relief to the American people from high prices. But the Republican Congress refused to take effective action against high prices. And if a Republican Congress and a Republican candidate are elected this year, you can be sure they still won't do anything.

We know that, because the Republican candidate says the 80th Congress delivered for the future of the country as no other Congress ever did. Apparently he believes that failure to help you meet the rising cost of living was a good thing for the country.

I am asking the people here to get out and vote this year. If we have a Democratic Congress, then I can prevent this inflation from blighting the future of the American family. I can have the minimum wage raised to at least 75 cents an hour, and we can look forward to fair labor laws, decent housing, and all the other progressive measures that the Democratic Party believes in and stands for. The Republican Party opposes every one of these things.

In 1944, 75,000 Democrats voted in the First Congressional District of Indiana, only 46,000 Republicans voted.

In 1946, one-third of the Democrats were lazy and stayed at home. But all 46,000 Republicans, and a few hundred more, went to the polls.

You can't afford to let that happen this year.

This is your election. You have got to decide whether you want to run this Government, or whether you want special privilege to run this Government; and if you don't want special privilege to run the Government, you had better get out early on election day and vote the Democratic ticket straight, and vote in your own interests.

[2.] North Judson, Indiana (Rear platform, 10:45 a.m.)

Thank you, Governor. I certainly appreciate very highly that wonderful introduction. I am most happy to be in the Gover-

nor's hometown. I know you must be exceedingly proud that you are the native city of one of Indiana's greatest Governors, and the next Governor of Indiana.

I am also glad to be in the district of Judge Smith. You see, Judge Smith is running against Charlie Halleck. As you all know, Charlie is the Floor Leader of the Republican Party in the Congress, and Charlie—while I like him personally, and I wouldn't want to injure him personally—politically I would like to put him out of business.

He faces backwards instead of forwards. He has tried his best to turn the clock back ever since he has been in the Congress. He almost succeeded this time and I think the best way to keep him from ruining that clock would be just leaving it home the next time.

I am very glad to be able to stop here in this town. Judging by the condition of the Indiana countryside I rode through on the way here, the farmers around here must be doing pretty well. The fact is the whole country is prosperous after 16 years of the Democrats. I want to keep it that way. I am very anxious to keep it that way.

In the past few days, I have been reminding the people of the laws passed by the Democratic Congresses under Democratic Presidents which are responsible for this prosperity. Today I want to tell you the other side of the story. I am going to talk about how the Republicans have been attacking those laws.

One example is the Republican attack on the soil conservation program, which means so much to the farmers. You people here in Starke County know what the Democratic soil conservation program has meant to your community; 1,847 farms representing 71 percent of the cropland in Starke County participated in the agricultural conservation program this year. That means that the farms around here will have an abundant and a sustained yield.

But the Republicans are trying to kill or cripple the conservation program. More than three out of every four House Republicans, and more than two out of every three Senate Republicans voted against the Soil Conservation Act when the Democrats passed it.

In 1948, the Republicans cut the funds for payments to farmers who follow sound conservation programs. Every Democratic member of the Senate voted to restore these cuts, but nine out of ten Republicans voted against the restoration so the funds were slashed way down.

When a Republican introduced the motion that would abandon the present system of soil conservation payments, every Democrat in the Senate voted against that resolution. Nine out of ten Republicans voted to abandon the system.

When the final appropriations for farm funds, which had been cut by the Republicans, were being considered in the House, every Democratic member of the House voted to restore those funds. Nine out of ten Republicans voted against the restoration. They were led by Mr. Halleck.

This is the record of the two parties which you are to choose between in November. The Republican Party has consistently tried to kill, cripple, or delay the Democratic farm program. But on the three key farm votes this year, every Democrat in both Houses backed the program.

That proves to you that you can't go wrong by voting the straight Democratic ticket. That shows you which party has the interests of the farmer at heart. Exactly the same differences exist between the two parties on the other issues you are interested in—housing, education, health, control of high prices, fair labor laws, and all the rest of the for-

ward-looking things for which the Democrats have stood ever since 1932.

Now, if you are interested in your own personal welfare, and this is your fight—this is your fight—you must exercise the privilege that gives you control of the Government, and that is the privilege to vote.

You know, in 1946 two-thirds of the people of the United States did not vote, and that is the reason we got this backward-looking 80th Congress.

Now, on November the 2d this time, exercise your rights and let the country remain in control of the people. If you do that, you will get up early on election day and go to the polls and vote the straight Democratic ticket. Then you will have a Democratic Governor, a Democratic Congressman from this district, you will have a President in the White House—and I won't have to go house hunting on the 20th of January.

[3.] LOGANSPORT, INDIANA (Rear platform, 11:43 a.m.)

Thank you, thank you very much. I certainly appreciate that introduction by National Committeeman McHale in his hometown. He has been worrying all the way down here as to whether we were going to have a turnout or not, and we have the best turnout we've had in Indiana anywhere. I don't believe Indianapolis is going to be able to equal this.

I was highly pleased when I found out, by accident, that the train crew on this train are all Democrats. You know the reason I know they are all Democrats? They took us over here at Junction Point 15 minutes late, and they got in here 5 minutes ahead of time. Now, it takes a Democrat to do that. We have had wonderful train crews all around the country and they've been just as kind to us as they could possibly be. I understand we have got a politician on this train crew—that the Conductor, Berkshire, is running for Sheriff. That is the reason the train got here on time.

I am most happy to be able to spend a few minutes here in Logansport this morning, on the banks of the Wabash River. I have heard of the Wabash River all my life and I have crossed it a dozen times, but I have never been at this point on the Wabash River. I wish I could stay longer.

I have been traveling all over the country, telling the people of this great Nation what the issues are in this campaign. I have talked to farmers and to people in the big cities. I have talked to small businessmen, white-collar workers, and I have been reminding them of what the Democratic Party stands for, and how all of them would pay through the nose if the Republican Party wins this election.

Now, you have got representation in Congress from this district that looks backward. I am certainly hoping that you will send Judge Ted Smith to Congress from this district. This Congress needs representation for the people and not for the special interests.

Here in this great railroad town I would like to talk about the Republican attitude toward workers. The Republican 80th Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act in a determined effort to weaken organized labor so that the workers of this Nation would not be in such a good position to bargain for better wages and working conditions. The other night in Akron, Ohio, I showed conclusively that the Republicans plan even more drastic antilabor legislation if they are elected next month. Republican leaders regard the Taft-Hartley Act merely as the first step.

Now, you people here in Logansport know what great benefits the railroad brotherhoods

have brought to all of you. The brotherhoods have been responsible for bringing very much better incomes to all railroad workers. I think there are about 4,000 railroadmen in this good town. And higher pay means better living standards for themselves and their families, more business for the merchants here in town, and better markets for the farmers in the surrounding community. Now, I wonder if there is anybody in this town that wants to see the rug pulled out from under the brotherhoods and wants to see them weakened. That is what the Republicans are asking for. They are trying to take the rights away from labor which were given to them under the Wagner Act which the Democrats passed. I am sure that you don't want that to happen.

The Democratic Party has always fought for the welfare of labor, and particularly for the railroadmen. The first great law passed for the benefit of the railroad workers was the Adamson Act, passed in Woodrow Wilson's administration in 1916. We have been working for your benefit ever since, and we will continue to do that.

You know, the train crews in those days were getting from $50 to $125 a month. The Republicans had been in power all that time and they had never done a thing for them—and they have never done a thing, consciously, for labor in their lives. What I am saying to you is that the pay of the railroadmen is from 3 to 5 times what it was in those days, and the towns in which they live have better times—the farmers have better times. They are all hooked together. You can't be good to one and not to the other. And that's what the Democratic Party stands for—all the people, and not for just a few at the top.

Of course, I know Logansport is interested in a great many things other than railroading. You are vitally interested in the prosperity of the farmers here in this county, Cass County. I live next door to Cass County down in Missouri. Jackson County adjoins Cass County on the north, and that is where I live. Our Democratic programs have helped the farmer just as much as they have helped the worker. When the Democrats took over in 1933, after 12 years of Republican misrule, three out of four farms in Cass County, Ind., were mortgaged. Many were being foreclosed, and the banks were going broke everyday. Today, Indiana farmers are enjoying the greatest prosperity in their history. Only one Cass County farm in 15 is mortgaged now. What brought that about? The policy of the Democratic Party is to see that the distribution of the national income gets into the hands of all the people and not just a few at the top, as I said before.

Now, if you want to keep this prosperity, the best way for you to keep it is to go to the polls on the 2d day of November and vote a straight Democratic ticket. Then you will have Henry Schricker for Governor of this great State of Indiana, and you will have Ted Smith as a Representative from this district—and you certainly need representatives in this district, as I said before. Don't fail, now. Do your duty as citizens.

You know, in 1946 two-thirds of the people stayed at home and didn't vote—and we got the 80th Congress, and we got just what we deserved. People who don't exercise their rights have no right to complain if those rights are not looked after. Every man and woman in this country who is entitled to vote should exercise that privilege—and then the Government will be in the hands of the people, where the Constitution intended it to be.

Don't fail, now. Turn out on election day. Vote the Democratic ticket straight, and I'll still stay in the White House and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage on the 20th of January.

[4.] KOKOMO, INDIANA (Rear platform, 1:02 p.m.)

Madam Chairman:

I appreciate very much that introduction.

I thought I had seen all the people in Indiana at the first two stops today, but I evidently hadn't seen a third of them. You're all here; and it shows conclusively that you are interested in the welfare of this country or you wouldn't come out like this to hear what your President has to say.

Indiana is one of the great States in the Union, and I want to see Indiana go right this time by electing a Democratic Governor and sending a Democratic delegation to the Congress. I am sure you'll elect John Walsh, here, to take the place of our backward-looking Congressman who represents this district. We need somebody to go along with the clock, not try to turn it back. And I know if you do that, you will elect a whole State ticket, with Governor Schricker at the head of it.

I have been traveling through the country, telling people the facts about the election this November, facts about high prices and housing and labor laws and the farmer's condition. The Republican candidate for President won't tell you the facts. He is just talking high-level platitudes, which mean nothing in a political campaign—and sometimes the Republican campaign oratory doesn't even tell the truth.

Kokomo is a manufacturing town famous for its farm machinery, stoves, and furnaces, and many other products. A great deal of your prosperity comes from your factories. At the same time, you are in the middle of one of the richest agricultural areas in the whole world. Business here is good when farmers are prosperous, as they are now. But when the farmers are broke, as they were in the early 1930's after 12 years of Republican misrule, then the cities like Kokomo have a very hard time getting along—and you have people out of work and people walking the streets hunting for jobs. You know that prosperity for the farmer and prosperity for the townspeople go hand in hand. Good farm incomes help the people in the towns, and high wages in the towns means that there are good markets for farm crops. We can enjoy genuine prosperity only when all groups of the American people are well off.

But this simple fact seems to escape the Republicans. They think the farmer is getting too much for his crops, and they tell the people in the towns that that is the reason for high prices. Then they go out and tell the farmer that prices are high because wages in the city are too high. Neither of those statements is correct. The Republican remedy for high prices seems to be to pull everybody down in a crash all together, like they did in 1929.

The 80th Congress has knocked the props out from under the long-range prosperity of the farmer, and the farmer hasn't yet begun to feel it. And whenever that happens, whenever that begins to come home to the farmer, cities like Kokomo are going to feel it. They have done their best to see that the workers' income has come down by passing the Taft-Hartley Act to weaken labor, and they haven't helped any of us because of the fact that they refused to pass price control laws which I asked for time and again.

To keep the kind of prosperity we now have, and to bring prices down, and to get decent housing at prices you can afford, and to make sure of a peaceful, prosperous, and advancing Nation—the best way you can get those things is to go to the polls on November the 2d and vote a Democratic ticket.

Now, in 1946 two out of every three people in this country said, "What difference does

one vote make? Mine won't do any good." And so only one out of every three voters went to the polls—and look what you got. You got the 80th Congress, and you got just what you deserved. You'll get something like that again if you don't exercise your privilege to vote this time.

I'm urging you with all I have: this time we've got to have an election that really represents a majority of the people. Be sure that you are one of those who gets up early and gets to the polls. Do that in your own interests. You'll be voting for yourselves. The farmers will be voting for themselves if they vote a Democratic ticket. The workers will be voting for themselves if they vote the Democratic ticket. That's true of the workers in the city; that's true of the farmers; that's true of the white-collar workers.

More is at stake in this campaign than ever before in the history of the country, in my recollection, and you must exercise your privilege as a part of the Government. When you refuse to vote, you can't blame what happens in the capital cities on anybody but yourselves, because you have control of this Government when you want to exercise it.

Now, I'm urging you with everything I have; get up early on election day, go to the polls, and vote for yourselves and your interests by voting a straight Democratic ticket.

[5.] TIPTON, INDIANA (Rear platform, 2:45 p.m.)

Thanks, Governor, for that prophecy and that introduction. I appreciate it most highly.

I am very glad to be able to stop here in Tipton this afternoon. I wish I could stay longer. I have been doing a great deal of traveling in the past month, telling the people of the country what the issues in this campaign are. Everywhere I have gone, I have found the country is doing pretty well after 16 years of Democratic administration. I want to keep it that way. In order to keep it that way, we must elect a Democratic Congress to go along with the Democratic President. Therefore, you should send John Walsh to the Congress.

We can keep America prosperous only if we stick to the policies and the programs of the past 16 years which have brought this prosperity.

Here, in the middle of some of the best farming country in the world, I am going to talk to you about the attack by the Republicans on the Democratic farm program. I am going to explain just how the Republicans are trying to turn the clock back by tearing down the Democratic programs which have brought prosperity to all of you.

President Roosevelt's administration established the Commodity Credit Corporation. The Commodity Credit served as a reservoir for farm products, to see that farm prices don't fall during the fat years, and to see that the Nation is well-fed during the lean years. Another measure to provide a floor under farm markets was the school lunch program. This program sees that farm surpluses are used to provide good, nourishing lunches to schoolchildren all over the country.

The latest measure of the administration designed to provide stable markets for the farmer was the International Wheat Agreement. Each of these measures has been opposed bitterly by the Republican Party. In 1948, the Republican 80th Congress refused to grant funds for the Commodity Credit Corporation, to provide storage space for grains. This means that farmers will have to sell their grain at dump prices, or let it rot in improper storage. It has already forced many farmers to sell their grain at prices lower than the support price. It will mean smaller supplies of grain in the future.

I want you to remember very carefully

that this same Republican leadership will be in control of the 81st Congress if you people don't go out to the polls on election day and vote the Democratic ticket.

The Republicans crippled this program at the request of the grain speculators who wanted to force farmers to sell their grain at low prices so they could make a killing. They are starting to do that just now.

In 1948, the Republican 80th Congress cut funds for the school lunch program. This follows the Republican line established when they voted against the School Lunch Program Act of 1946. At that time, the law was passed by a Democratic Congress over bitter Republican opposition.

In 1948, the Republicans killed the International Wheat Agreement. This agreement would have provided world markets for wheat surpluses for the next 5 years. It would have promised American farmers a stable price for 185 million bushels of wheat a year for 5 years. It would have guaranteed the hungry European peoples a supply of grain. The Wheat Agreement was supported by every farm organization in the country. The Republicans killed it to please the large grain millers. The Republican leadership refused even to bring it to the floor of the Congress for a vote. The Republican leaders were afraid to let their own Party members vote. Now think of that.

That is part of the record you people are to vote on the 2d of November. The Republican Party has consistently opposed the Democratic farm program and the three cases I have cited are already being felt by the farmers.

The Democratic Party has always sought new ways to provide stable farm products. The CCC storage bins, the school lunch program, and the International Wheat Agreements are just three of many cases which demonstrate to the American people where their votes should go. The same differences exist between the Democratic and the Republican Parties on all the big issues, just like the farm issues.

The Republican Party doesn't want to raise minimum wages, or pass fair labor laws, or provide decent housing, or hold down the cost of living. The 80th Congress refused to do any of these things for the people. And there is no hope from the Republican candidate for President—he is running on the record of the 80th Congress, and every speech he makes in this campaign proves it conclusively.

If you people vote the Democratic ticket in November, you will be voting for yourselves. You know, you are really the Government when you exercise the privilege which the Constitution of the United States gives you. When you go out and vote, you then decide on what sort of government you will have. When you don't vote, you are shirking your duty as a citizen.

Two-thirds of the citizens of the United States failed to vote in 1946, and we got the 80th Congress. I sincerely hope that everybody who is entitled to vote will go to the polls and exercise that privilege on November 2d. If you do that, I am not the least bit worried about the results, for the simple reason that when you vote in your own interests you can't help but vote the Democratic ticket straight. That will mean you will have a Democratic Governor, a Democratic Congressman from this district, and you will have me back in the White House—and I won't be troubled with a housing shortage on the 20th of January.

[6.] NOBLESVILLE, INDIANA (Rear platform, 3:29 p.m.)

Thanks, Governor, for that prophecy. I think you're right, from the looks of things in Indiana. I think you're going to be the next Governor, and I think I am going to be

the next President of the United States.

I've been going up and down this country, ladies and gentlemen, discussing the issues in this campaign, telling the people just exactly what we are faced with. I know here you are in the midst of one of the greatest farming areas in the world. Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa constitute the farm belt of the United States, the breadbasket of the Nation. And I think that the farmers in this neighborhood ought to be highly interested in the situation with which they are faced.

The Democratic Party, the Democratic administration inaugurated a farm program way back in 1934 and 1935, when the farmers were completely broke. At that time, in 1932, the net income of the farmers in the country was $2,600 million. Now, this program which the Democrats inaugurated for the farmer has been a working program because the farmer's income in 1947 was $18 billion—that's his net income. His gross income was 30 billions, but his net income was $18 billion.

Now then, after we elected this Republican 80th Congress in 1946—because two-thirds of you stayed at home and didn't do your duty on election day—the Republicans in that Congress, the leadership, began to tear down the farm program. One of the first things they did when they rechartered the Commodity Credit Corporation was to take away from the Commodity Credit Corporation the right to furnish storage to farmers for the support price grain which stays on the farms. And now, because the Commodity Credit Corporation cannot furnish that storage, which the Republicans did by joker in the charter of the Commodity Credit Corporation, farmers are receiving prices below the support price right now for corn on the farm and for wheat on the farm. And that situation is going to get worse because we have the greatest corn crop in the history of the world in this country this year; and our program, the Democratic program, is to store the corn and the wheat in surplus years and hold it so that the market can be held stable so the farmer will get his fair share of the income of the country. And that is the reason the farmers are prosperous.

Now, these Republicans tell the farmers that high wages in the town causes the situation of high prices and causes inflation. They tell the workers in the towns that the farmer is getting too much for his produce—his wheat and his corn and his other produce, his cattle and his hogs—and that's the reason that we are on the road to inflation. Neither one of those things is true. They balance each other. When the workers get good wages and when the farmers get good prices the country is prosperous and the wealth of the country is distributed the way it ought to be—the farmer gets his fair share, the workingman gets his fair share, and the small businessman gets his fair share. That's Democratic principle. That's government for all the people.

Now, these Republicans are trying to tear down that principle. They are for special privilege. The first thing they did when they got in there was to pass a rich man's tax bill. I vetoed it three times, but they finally passed it over my final veto. And that is conclusively a rich man's tax bill. A man who gets $60 a week saves about $1.50 or $1.60 a week under that tax bill, and the prices have gone out of sight, so he has lost that $1.60 a week. But a man who gets $100,000 a year saves $16,000 on that tax bill. That bill was made for special privilege. That's been the legislative program of this 80th Congress, and that is the reason I call it the worst Congress except one that this country has ever seen.

Now then, you are faced with this situation: You are the Government when you want to be. You can control the Govern-

ment because when you cast your vote that decides what sort of a government you will have. In 1946 just one-third of the people of this country voted; two-thirds of them stayed at home. And you got the 80th Congress. You got just what you deserved because you didn't do your duty. Don't do that again. Turn out on the 2d of November and send John O'Grady to the Congress and reelect Mr. Schricker Governor of this great State of Indiana; and if you do that I'll stay in the White House another 4 years and won't be troubled with the housing shortage on the 20th of January.

[7.] INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA (Indiana Theater Ballroom, 4:55 p.m.)

Thank you, Governor. I think you are a good prophet, and I know you are a good prophet because I have been informed that this is a gathering of the Democratic workers of Indiana. The Democratic Party is based from the precinct and to the township and to the county and to the district and to the State. That kind of organization is really necessary to make a great party function.

I have had a most cordial welcome in Indiana today. I think a great deal of it was due to the fact that I was in the right sort of company—I had the company of that great committeeman, Mr. McHale; and I just feel that Indiana knows which side its bread is buttered on.

Back in 1946, if you remember, the Republicans were preaching that it was time for a change, and they wanted to know why, in electric signs all over the country, if people had had enough.

Well, two-thirds of the people decided that the issue was not worth taking a hand in, and they stayed at home, and we elected a Congress along the lines that the "had enough" people wanted, and I think we have had enough of that Congress and its principles.

Now it is time to change back to the party that has always been for the people. You had a dose of Republican rule for 12 years, from 1920 to 1932, when in March of 1933 Franklin Roosevelt took over. You have had now 2 years of an attempt to turn the clock back to 1922.

You can't do that.

We have got to go forward, and I know that when the Democratic workers in Indiana are willing to turn out as you have turned out this evening, just to see the President, and the next Governor, and your able and distinguished Democratic Mayor of Indianapolis, I know, after meeting all these wonderful people today, that Indiana is going along with the President and try to keep the clock running forward and not backward.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on October 15 the President referred to Democratic National Committeeman Frank McHale, Representative Ray J. Madden, Democratic candidate for Governor Henry F. Schricker, Representative Charles A. Halleck, Democratic candidates for Representative Theodore J. Smith, John R. Walsh, and John O'Grady, and Mayor Al Feeney of Indianapolis, all of Indiana.

241 Address in Indianapolis at the Indiana World War Memorial. *October* 15, 1948

Mr. Mayor, fellow Democrats of Indiana:

I am happy to be in Indianapolis again tonight—I almost said Independence. You know, I had a very funny experience here in Indianapolis once. I had a Republican friend in Washington and he wanted to get to St. Louis the shortest way, and he wanted to drive his car. So I told him how to leave

Washington on 240 and take 40 to Indianapolis and that he had better stay overnight in Indianapolis, and then drive to St. Louis the next morning. Well, he stayed here—being a Republican, of course, he stopped at the Lincoln Hotel. He got up about 5:30 the next morning and they gave him his car out on that diagonal street that's on the east side of the Lincoln Hotel; and he inquired the way to 40, and they pointed out Washington Street to him, and he drove down the diagonal street and started on 40 toward what he thought was St. Louis—and about 2 hours after that he found out he was in Richmond, Ind. Now, I think that's rather typical of the way the Republicans go most of the time.

The people of Indiana all during this day have given me a wonderful reception. I never saw anything like it anywhere. From the bottom of my heart I thank you for your real Hoosier hospitality.

Now, I would like very much to talk to you this evening about the people of our country—the everyday citizens who have made this country great.

But first, I have a confession to make. Apparently I have offended the Republican gentleman who wants to be President. I'm afraid I have startled him by talking about issues and about depressions. Republicans don't like people to talk about depressions. You can hardly blame them for that.

You remember the old saying: Don't talk about rope in the house where somebody has been hanged.

Certain Republicans say we shouldn't talk about the possibility of a depression, because that will give aid and comfort to the Communists. The Communists, as we all know, have been predicting that our capitalistic system would break down.

I have repeatedly told the Congress and the American people that the Communists were hoping for a depression in the United States, and I have said time and again, that something ought to be done to prevent it.

But now the lesson seems to have become mixed up a bit, and I think we had better straighten it out. The thing that helps communism is not talking about a depression. The thing that would help the Communists is having a depression, and that is what I have been trying to prevent.

That is why I have been urging that we do something about inflation—to halt inflation.

And that is why I have been saying that we must protect the purchasing power of the wage earner, the farmer, the small businessman, and the people with fixed incomes.

That is why I have been saying that we must never return to the policies of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, and isn't it a peculiar circumstance that the Republican candidate for President never points with pride to any Republican administration? He only wants to say "me, too" on those successful Democratic policies that we put into effect.

Now, the Communists don't think I'm helping them. They don't want me to be the President of the United States. They are doing all they can in this election to bring about a Republican victory.

And I have often said, if you elect a Republican President to go along with a Republican Congress like the 80th, you can expect them to take you headlong back down the road that led to the great depression in the 1930's.

And you don't have to travel that road. I want to be sure we don't go that way. That is one of the reasons I have been speaking to our people all over the country.

The basic difference between the two parties in economic matters is simply this: The Republican Party, as it operates in Washington, favors the interests of a few small powerful groups at the expense of the rest of the people.

This is the course that leads to depression.

The Democratic Party, on the other hand, consistently works for measures which increase and protect the purchasing power of the great majority of our people.

I used to think that the dangers of depression would not be as great in the future as they have been in the past. I had been counting on laws enacted under Democratic leadership since 1933 to help maintain the purchasing power during the downturn in a business cycle.

I had been counting on these laws to afford enough protection to millions of our people so that never again would they face such days of black despair as they did in 1932.

Social security benefits, unemployment compensation, bank deposit insurance, farm price supports, a legal floor under wages, healthy collective bargaining—all these things I was counting on.

I thought they had so clearly proved their worth that they would never be subject to serious attack. I was just too optimistic. I gave the elephant too much credit. No matter what the Republicans say, the elephant hasn't taken on the "New Look."

The Republicans in the 80th Congress certainly disillusioned me on that score.

Don't be misled by Republican promises in this campaign. Actions speak louder than words. The record of the Republican Party that really counts is the record of that good-for-nothing, "do-nothing" 80th Congress.

And the Republican candidate, who has embraced that record so warmly, gives you no reason to hope for anything better from him. He says he is proud of the record of the 80th Congress.

The American people can no longer assume that the laws which safeguard them from disaster are secure from attack. The thing that couldn't happen here, has happened here. The Republican Party has actually started us backward. Now it promises more of the same—to take us all the way back.

That's why I have talked about the danger of depression. That's why I have talked about it in plain terms so that the people will know just what I mean and just where I stand. I regard it as a proper function of the Government to fight depressions.

The prosperity of this great Nation depends upon justice. We boast about our initiative, our inventiveness, our enterprise. All these things are important, but unless each group of our people gets a fair share of our national income, our prosperity will crash.

This is a lesson we learned the hard way. We learned it under Republican administrations in the 1920's. In those days, wages were held down. In those years, farmers were left to contend with the rise and fall of farm prices. The farmers were in the hands of the speculators, and the 80th Congress has put them in those same hands again—or at least it has tried to.

In those years—those Republican years—the aged and infirm were left to take care of themselves. As a result, the purchasing power of the Nation declined. There was no place to sell the products of our farms or our industries—and the result was unemployment and collapse.

We know now that we cannot have prosperity automatically. The only thing we can get automatically is boom and bust. To secure continuing prosperity takes foresight and intelligent planning. This is the purpose of a law which I regard as one of the most important laws passed during my administration, after I became President. This is the Employment Act of 1946.

This act was passed by a Democratic Con-

gress and it embodies the Democratic principles of which I am speaking. It sets up a kind of economic signal room—the Council of Economic Advisers—in which the danger signals flash when things start to go wrong.

Now, for 2 long years, the red lights have been blinking in the signal room. They have been telling us that if we didn't do something about inflation, we would be asking for collapse and depression.

For 2 long years, we have been turning in fire alarms, alarms against the fire of inflation. And after 2 long years, the Republican firemen have been too busy playing a game of political checkers to put out the blaze.

They figured that maybe the fire of inflation would burn itself out, or that it was un-American to put an extinguisher on the flames.

Now, that is a terrible way to run a fire department. But that's the way the Republican 80th Congress met the problem of inflation.

Now another alarm bell rang on social security. But that is not enough. Millions of workers are not yet covered by its benefits, and those benefits are not nearly high enough to meet today's excessive prices.

I recommended—in plain and simple terms—to the 80th Congress that we extend social security to the workers not now covered.

Did the Republican leaders extend it? They did not. Instead, they took the social security protection away from nearly a million workers who already had it.

I recommended—in plain and simple terms—that the 80th Congress increase old-age insurance benefits by at least 50 percent. Did the Republican leaders do that? No, they did not!

The Republican firemen not only failed to turn out the hook-and-ladder. They actually set fire to a couple of buildings, just for fun. They struck nearly a million Americans off the social security rolls; and their fire chief now says he is proud of that Congress.

Now, let's look at health and medical care. We need more doctors, more nurses, more hospitals. We need a system which will enable the average American family to pay for proper medical care.

Each year, because of lack of proper medical care, we lose more people than we lost in all the fighting of World War Two. Listen to that!—each year, because of a lack of proper medical care, we lost more of our people than we lost in all the fighting in World War Two.

Each year, we lost over four million man-years of work because of bad health—more working time than we have ever lost in the worst strike year on record. The Republican Congress passed the Taft-Hartley bill, because it claimed it was worried about strikes. The Congress would have done better to spend its time worrying about the loss of production due to sickness.

Each year, we lose $27 billion in national wealth through sickness and disability. These are dreadful figures. If we can stop that loss, we can pay off the national debt in 9 years by the saving.

We can do something about it, and we must do something about it.

Here is what we need. For every four doctors in practice today, we need at least one more—and we need to have them located more evenly throughout the country.

We need twice as many hospitals as we have. And we need to distribute them better. There ought to be a good hospital within easy reach of every person in the country.

Most of all, we need to make it possible for every American to afford medical care. At present, only one out of five Americans can afford the medical care he needs.

This is the crux of the problem and I am not going to mince words about it. The best health facilities and the finest doctors in the world are not much help to people who can't afford to use them.

I proposed a national system of health insurance in 1946, and I have urged it repeatedly since that time. There is no other way to assure that the average American family has a decent chance for adequate medical care.

There is no other way to assure a strong and healthy Nation.

Prepaid health insurance will be one more keystone in the great structure of social insurance which has been erected by the Democratic Party.

There has been a lot of nonsense talk about health insurance. There has been a well-organized campaign to discredit it and to confuse the issues involved.

The plan I have proposed does not disturb the traditional relationship between doctor and patient—except that the doctor will be paid more regularly for his services. Nor is this any more revolutionary than any other form of insurance.

It is 100 percent American.

It is just a way to collect the cost of medical care on a pay-as-you-go basis.

What did the Republicans do with my proposal for health insurance? You can guess that one. They did nothing!

All they said was—"Sorry. We can't do that. The medical lobby says it's un-American." And they listened to the lobbies in the Congress.

I put it up to you. Is it un-American to visit the sick, aid the afflicted, or comfort the dying? I thought that was simple Christianity.

Does cancer care about political parties? Does infantile paralysis concern itself with income? Of course it doesn't.

The Democratic Party holds that the people are entitled to the best available medical care. We held that they have a right to ask their Government to help them get it.

Now, let's take a look at another very important thing—education. It's the same disgraceful story with education that it is with health.

There is no reason on earth why a great Nation like ours should not educate all its children. But every American mother and father knows that the schools in the United States face a crisis today. Elementary schools, high schools, and colleges are bursting at the seams. We don't have nearly enough schoolteachers and we don't pay them nearly enough.

And if the schoolteachers want to campaign and organize for better pay—I am all for them doing it.

The school situation is getting worse—not better. At least 6 million more children than are now enrolled in elementary schools and high schools will be seeking admittance by 1955. Think how that will crowd our schools! We shall need at least 200,000 more classrooms by that time. And we shall need tens of thousands of new teachers.

Without a strong educational system—free of government control—democracy is crippled.

Knowledge is not only the key to power. It is the citadel of human freedom.

We must maintain and expand our schools or we shall surrender our liberties without even fighting for them.

Now, I asked the Republican 80th Congress, again and again, to pass legislation which would help us meet the educational crisis. It flatly refused.

Here again the issue is plain and clear.

This Nation is no wiser than the education of its citizens.

This Nation is no stronger than the health

of its citizens.

This Nation's security begins with the welfare of its citizens.

The Democratic Party believes in the people.

We believe that the people are entitled to prosperity, to health, to education, to social security.

We believe that it is the function of the Government to see to it that these people have these advantages.

This great Nation must not stand still, it must not go backward; it must go forward—go forward to even greater heights of leadership in the world.

To accomplish this, our people must grow in strength, in wisdom, and in security.

It is my daily prayer that with a strong, healthy, united, and well-educated people, and with the aid of Almighty God, we will lead the world to lasting peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:01 p.m. at the War Memorial in Indianapolis. His opening words "Mr. Mayor" referred to Al Feeney, Mayor of Indianapolis. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

242 Rear Platform Remarks in West Virginia. *October* 16, 1948

[1.] CLARKSBURG, WEST VIRGINIA (9 a.m.)

Thank you very much for this wonderful reception. I am very glad to be here this morning, and I appreciate your cordial welcome.

You know, I have always had a warm spot in my heart for Clarksburg. I have been a student of the War between the States. I remember that Stonewall Jackson was born here in Clarksburg. When he was about 17 years old he hitchhiked or walked all the way to Washington. I guess he went by wagon, because those were horse-and-buggy days—except they didn't have any buggies. He went to see the Secretary of War and sat in his outer office. In those days the Secretary of War made all the appointments to West Point. He went to the Secretary of War, and finally the Secretary sent Stonewall Jackson to West Point just to get rid of him. In the first year he was about 74th in a class of 76; the second year he rated about 45th in that same class; in the third year he was about 15th from the top; in the fourth year, 7th from the top. And Robert E. Lee said, "If you just had another year you'd be at the top of the class."

I'm telling you that story because a man with persistence and hard work can accomplish wonders; and I think that the Democrats in this campaign, starting from the bottom before the Democratic convention, are now a winning team because the people are with them.

We're on a crusade, a crusade of right against Republican money might. I've carried on this campaign because I believe that if the American people are told facts and the truth they will do the right thing. I have not tried to fool the people. You know where I stand on every issue before the country; and whether you like it or not, you know what I am for and what I am against. The Democrats never did believe in fooling the people. Nor will we ever exploit the people. I wish that were true of all political parties.

I was shocked to be shown this morning a picture which I hold here in my hand. It is a picture of a leaflet signed by the Secretary of the Republican Finance Committee. They were sent to Republicans throughout

West Virginia. These leaflets admit that the Republican 80th Congress passed a tax law this spring not to help the people, but to make it possible for wealthy Republicans to be able to make big contributions to the Republican Party.

Let me read you what it says: "Do you want more of this sort of constructive action?" Then, "Use your tax savings to make a substantial investment in a Republican victory." It was signed by the West Virginia Republican Finance Committee, and that is a photostatic copy of the thing; and I am going to explain to you what that means.

I ask you, what kind of a Congress do we have when the Republicans pass laws so they can get big campaign contributions? I thought Congress was supposed to pass laws to serve the people and not the Republican Party or the Democratic Party or any other party. We run on principles—and there is a very decided dividing line between the Democratic and the Republican principles. The Democrats believe in the people. They have always been for the people, ever since Thomas Jefferson organized the Democratic Party, and Andrew Jackson ran the monied interests out of the Government in the 1830's, and when Woodrow Wilson made the necessary reforms in the interests of the everyday people. The Democratic Party has always been for the people. The Republicans have always been for special interests, and this conclusively proves it.

Look at what this law did to you, the people who work for a living—who don't have any big fortunes to fall back on. A married man with two children and an income of $2500 a year got a reduction of $78.40 a year—about $1.60 a week. And that's fine, but the Republicans didn't do anything to stop prices from going out of sight—and the rapid rise of the cost of living has already eaten up what savings that man got. The $1.60 didn't mean a thing to him.

But what happens to the big wage-earner? The man with ten times the earning of the small wage-earner, he gets 40—and I repeat, 40—times the income tax reduction that the little fellow gets. A fellow, here, gets $100,000 a year; and if he has no children his saving under this tax bill is $16,724.62. That is in this Republican leaflet that is sent out because they want to get about $16,000 out of that $16,724 so they can purchase the election. That's what they want. Now, if that same man has two children he saves $16,658.44, and the Republicans want to get that $16,000 so they can continue to purchase the election. The Republican Party says: "We put that money in your pocket. Give some of it to us."

Now, my friends, I vetoed that Republican tax bill three times. They had to take three shots at it before they could get that bill passed over my veto, because that bill was wrong. And I'm just as sure as I stand here that I was right and that you're going to say I was right on election day.

Now, look what they are doing. They are telling the wealthy, who saved tremendous sums of money by the Republican tax bill, to contribute to their party treasury. It is a substantial part of the fund that otherwise would have gone into the Federal Treasury for your welfare and benefit.

I say the American people are going to rise up as one man against this kind of dirty deal and elect a Democratic Congress in place of the 80th good-for-nothing Congress.

The people want laws to help them live a better, healthier, more secure life—not laws to line the pockets of the rich. And that's what they mean: "We've lined your pockets. Now see that we get some of that so we can debauch the country by buying the election."

In 1946 two-thirds of the people stayed at home on election day and forgot to vote—and they got this good-for-nothing 80th Con-

gress, which is just what they deserved. Whenever you exercise your right—the right to vote—you are the Government; and when you fail to exercise it you get something like that 80th Congress.

Now, this Republican candidate has endorsed the 80th Congress. He said it has done great things for the country and great things for the people. I have made 200 statements all over the United States to show that they did things to the people but didn't do a single thing for them.

I want to urge you in your own interests to go to the polls on election day and vote for yourselves, vote for your own interests. And if you do that, if all the people vote who are entitled to vote, I am not worried in the slightest degree about what will happen. We will have a Democratic Senator from West Virginia; we'll have a Democratic Congressman from this district; and I will be in the White House another 4 years and won't be troubled by any housing problem.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this most cordial reception in West Virginia; and I'm just as sure as I stand here that West Virginia is going to be in the right column.

[2.] GRAFTON, WEST VIRGINIA (10 a.m.)

Matt, I will remember that introduction as long as I live. You and I were always friends. I know your record in the Senate of the United States, and I endorsed that record always. I am here in West Virginia, now, hoping to help Matt Neely, and Bob Ramsay, and Okey Patteson become members of that great Congress of the United States—when it works right. It can be great when the Democrats control it.

I have always liked the story I read once about how Grafton got its name. As I remember it, it seems that the railroad construction crews that came in here about 100 years ago called this place on the railroad the "grafting on" point because so many branch lines were hooked onto the main line here. It wasn't long before the city became Grafton.

I certainly appreciate the reception you have given me on my trip into West Virginia in this campaign. I think the folks in West Virginia are really friendly. From what I hear, most of your visitors are as friendly towards you. I read in the paper last week about how the candidate for Vice President on the Republican ticket came here to make some speeches in his campaign for the Vice Presidency. And I heard that the Republican Senator from West Virginia stood around waiting for this California Governor to say what a good Senator he is.

That is a clipping I got out of the Washington Star, which I can't say is overly friendly to the Democrats. But the Senator waited in vain, at least this news story here says. All the Governor would say is that he liked the 80th Congress. He wouldn't endorse the present Republican Senator from West Virginia, and I don't blame him for that.

Now, what kind of a party is it that can't or won't endorse its candidates?

The Democratic Party is not made out that way. I am proud to stand here and endorse Matt Neely, Mr. Ramsay, and Okey Patteson, and all the other Democrats on the ticket in West Virginia.

I am proud to be running on the record of the Democratic Party and the platform of the Democratic Party. I am proud to stand up for all the people in this country and say that we didn't want the Taft-Hartley Act and all the other destructive legislation that the 80th "do-nothing" Congress passed.

The reason I call it "do-nothing" is because it did not do anything for the people. Now, there are a lot of people that wouldn't agree with that, because it did a lot for spe-

cial privilege, and special privilege has been in the saddle ever since the 80th Congress came to Washington.

I am proud that the Democratic Party fought hard to get laws to provide Federal aid to education, better health, better housing, broader social security coverage, and all the other important things that the Democratic Party stands and fights for.

In 1946, two-thirds of you stayed at home and forgot to vote, and we got that Republican 80th Congress. That Congress blocked the steady progress we had been making towards a better life for all the people in the United States.

This year everyone is going to get out and vote, on account of the fact that you understand that you are the Government. The people are the Government in these United States, but they cannot be the Government if they are too lazy to get out and vote on election day. The Government is in your hands when you want to use the power that you have.

Now, you owe it to the country and you owe it to yourselves to get out and vote on election day. It is the way we can get a peaceful, prosperous nation. All I ask is that you examine the record carefully. You know where I stand on all the great issues before the country.

If you can find out where the other fellow stands, you will be good, because I can't find out.

So, just study these issues and make up your minds in your own interests. Then get up early in the morning on the second day of November, and go to the polls and vote the straight Democratic ticket in your own interest, and then your President won't be troubled with a housing shortage on the 20th of January, I will stay in the White House.

I have got another very good friend on this train. He is the able and distinguished Senator from West Virginia, Harley Kilgore. What a team Kilgore and Neely will make in the Senate. You will really have something if you elect them.

I have been told that Grafton has the best band in West Virginia. I would like to hear from that band and make a judgment for myself. I like band music.

[3.] KEYSER, WEST VIRGINIA (12:34 p.m.)

Thank you. Thank you very much. Harley Kilgore and I have been friends a long, long time. We had quite an association together in the United States Senate during the war, and I want to say to you that Harley Kilgore ably represents West Virginia in the Senate—and I hope you'll send Matt Neely there this time so you'll have some real representation in the Senate.

When I see crowds like this, I know the Democrats are going to win. I appreciate very highly your turning out to see the President and hear what he has to say. I am very sorry I didn't have a chance to visit you the other night, but we were on a very tight schedule and it just wasn't possible. I do appreciate your being here this morning. It means that you people are aware of what is at stake in this election. It means that you want a Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress. I think you are going to send Matt Neely to the Senate and Okey Patteson to the State Capitol, and of course you're going to send Harley Staggers to the Congress as your Representative from this district—Harley the namesake of my good friend here, Harley Kilgore. And I think Harley Kilgore in the Senate and Harley Staggers in the House ought to make this part of the country well represented in those two great bodies.

You know, crowds have been greeting me all over the country just like this. I think they mean that the American people don't want—and aren't going to have—a govern-

ment in Washington next year that will make the shameful record that the 80th Congress did.

For the last 2 years the Republicans in Congress have been trying to tear up the great laws which were passed during the Democratic administrations since 1933. There are a lot of farmers around Keyser, so I am told, and every one of them knows how much better off he is today than he was in 1933, after 12 years of Republican misrule. You know, a funny thing about this campaign is that you never hear any Republican candidate make any reference to any Republican administration. He is running on a "me too" policy. He wants to take over and do what the Democrats have done but he says he can do it better.

Soil conservation, rural electrification, farm price supports—these and many other forward-looking laws have brought West Virginia farmers to the most prosperous condition they have ever known.

But what did the 80th Congress try to do? It slashed the funds for soil conservation so much that the whole program was nearly wiped out. It refused to provide money for public power transmission lines. And it refused to pass a housing bill which would have provided better housing for farmers and city people alike. It refused to pass an education bill or a health bill. Those bills would have meant more and better schools and hospitals in farm areas. The Republican 80th Congress has hurt labor just as much as it has hurt farmers. The Republicans in Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act for just one reason: to weaken the power of the labor unions so that the workingman would not be able to fight for better wages and working conditions. They passed that law over my veto. And when they pass laws and put them on the books, the President of the United States is sworn to support the Constitution of the United States and the laws. And he has to enforce the law. So the best thing you can do is to elect a Democratic Congress and take some of these horrible laws this 80th Congress passed off the books.

The Republicans weren't content to hurt the farmers and the workers. Now they are going around telling the farmers that we have high prices because the workingmen are getting too much money; and they are telling the workers that high prices are due to the fact that the farmer is getting a fair price for his crops. That's just not so. Prices are going up, and up, and up, because the Republican leaders refused to pass a price control law that I asked for time and time again. They refused to do anything about prices because the big corporations want to continue making the greatest profits in all history, and they are making the greatest profits in all history—it's the first time in the history of the country.

When farmers have been prosperous, workingmen have been prosperous. Workingmen are getting three times what they did back under the Republicans, and farmers are getting four or five times what they got under the Republicans, and the corporations are making nearly ten times—well, they didn't make anything under the Republicans. The last time the Republicans were in office they had a $300 million deficit. And do you know what they had as profit last year after they paid all their taxes? Seventeen billions. You multiply that by minus 300 and see what you get!

To add insult to injury, the Republicans are going around in this campaign telling the rich that they want big campaign contributions from them as a reward for having passed a rich man's tax bill. They are boldly and brazenly saying, "You ought to pay part of that income savings to the Republican campaign fund." Now, whenever a Congress legislates for the benefit of a class,

that Congress is not fit to live with. So don't return the 81st Congress with the same leadership that the 80th Congress had. And when I talk about the Congress I talk about the leadership. I am not talking about such fellows as this in the Congress. They did the right thing, and if we had more of them we wouldn't have the situation with which we are faced now.

If you want good government and people who will work for you, in your interests and not for special interests, you'll go to the polls on election day and vote a straight Democratic ticket, and then the country will be in safe hands.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on October 16 the President referred to Democratic candidate for Senator Matthew M. Neely, Democratic candidates for Representative Cleveland M. Bailey, Robert L. Ramsay, and Harley O. Staggers, Democratic candidate for Governor Okey Patteson, Senator Chapman Revercomb, and Senator Harley M. Kilgore, all of West Virginia; and Governor Earl Warren of California, Republican candidate for Vice President of the United States.

243 The President's News Conference Aboard the Campaign Train. *October* 16, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] I understand that some of you are confused and disturbed about the Executive order on the Reserves.[1] That is merely a part of the military program that was inaugurated by me as soon as World War II was over. The first thing necessary to set out a military policy for the United States was a unification of the services under one man, the Secretary for Defense. In October 1945 I asked for a universal training program, and I asked every session of Congress to implement that—after they took a position. The idea of that was to have a military program that we could afford to pay for. We were spending $105 billion for military purposes in 1945.

That program was naturally cut down with demobilization, but I tried to get it down below $10 billion in 1946—didn't quite make it, it went 11½ to 12. I tried to get it to 10 billion in 1947, but I wasn't successful—same thing for the budget now under discussion. We finally had to arrange it to events going on in the world, and finally confined it in the budget to 14 billion plus for 1949, and they were asking for 23 billion.

It has always been my plan for a professional service only large enough to keep the civilian components fairly well trained. I had hoped with universal military service, if passed by Congress, that we could arrange so that a fellow could serve a 3-year hitch in the National Guard, so that it would not be necessary for him to take universal training all at once. That would keep the National Guard filled up. Those that were in the universal service would be discharged into the Reserves on a 6-year basis, just like soldiers were discharged after World War II. In that way we would have a professional, well-trained teaching service, to keep the National Guard in reserve and in trim all the time.

We had eight or nine hundred thousand officers who were in the service and training in World War II, and at least half of those——

Q. How many, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Eight or nine hundred thousand—I don't remember the exact figures—officers who were trained in this

[1] Executive Order 10007 "Organization of the Reserve Units of the Armed Forces" (Oct. 15, 1948; 3 CFR, 1943–1948 Comp., p. 824).

war, and at least half would like to keep up their information, so that in case there would be necessity for it they would be in a position to go ahead.

It was in the other war that I organized the first Reserve organization in the United States, and that Reserve organization is largely Navy—Marine—Army; and that is what I have in mind for this order. I have been trying to get this order implemented since last January. It has been rather difficult to get everybody in line to see the necessity of it.

I am particularly anxious that we have a military policy that will be one we can pay for, and one which will do the country good.

Q. Did you turn down the request for $23 billion for this year?

THE PRESIDENT. I have set the budget at 14 billion, 4.

Q. Mr. President, what is your position regarding the—[*inaudible words*]—National Guard as it fits into this program?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't studied that situation. It has only been presented recently. The National Guard has been supported by the Federal Government, and the National Guard will have to be worked into the whole defense program on a basis that there will be coordination. The Navy Reserve and the Marine Reserve are implemented and going. I am trying to get the Army Reserve and the Air Reserve in the same situation. I am hoping that all who have the necessary training——

Q. Mr. President, what is the situation on our Reserve now?

THE PRESIDENT. Nothing is being done with the actual Reserve, but in the National Guard it has been implemented—not all of it—the Navy and Marine Reserve are the only ones actively at work. Nothing done about it at all.

Q. Does the order today require any additional funds?

THE PRESIDENT. No. What I am trying to do is make use of the establishment that we have without, at the present time, any additional funds—because all the additional funds were going into the regular establishment.

Q. This is all voluntary?

THE PRESIDENT. No, it is not voluntary.

Q. I mean their participation?

THE PRESIDENT. Their participation is voluntary, of course—yes, that's right.

Q. There is no significance to the fact that you issued this order on the train?

THE PRESIDENT. No. This is the White House. I have been signing my name at the same rate every day ever since we have been on here, in addition to this political program. I am still signing my name five or six hundred times a day. The pouch came in, and I transacted all the business of the Government.

[2.] Q. Does your car roll like ours?

THE PRESIDENT. It's worse.

[3.] Q. How are you feeling, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Never felt any better in my life. I have been very highly pleased with the trip. I was agreeably surprised in Ohio, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana. I think I was agreeably surprised in one way, as some that were the other. I am very much heartened by the trip. I think it has been very successful. When you take towns like Waukesha, Wis., and Logansport, Ind., I think it means something. I was very happy over the turnout in Milwaukee, the audience we had there—very, very responsive. In fact, I don't think we have had a dud on the trip.

Q. Indianapolis?

THE PRESIDENT. That was good, though.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, getting back to the Reserve business just a moment, you said that it would not require any additional funds?

THE PRESIDENT. Not at the present time—not at the present time. Eventually, if I get it set up, and the records set up down to the point where it ought to be, we will spend maybe half as much.

Q. What about the cost of the actual training, such as summer camps?

THE PRESIDENT. When it comes around time for that, that will cost something. But the money I am proposing to save on the regular establishment will, in the long run, make final expenditures for defense, I hope, between $5 and $7 billion.

Q. Is that your peacetime——

THE PRESIDENT. That is what I hope to reach some time or other. We are spending 14 billion, 4 this time. We can't keep that up.

Q. You will reduce it?

THE PRESIDENT. I hope to reduce the cost of the whole program.

Q. Do you intend a reduction in the standing forces now?

THE PRESIDENT. A reduction in the cost of the regular establishment. It is not possible to maintain it at $15 or $20 billion. If we get peace in the world and disarmament comes on all at once, I am very much afraid that we will do like we have always done—go to sleep; and in order for that to continue to work, that will be the nucleus of a police force that will maintain peace in the world.

Q. Fiscal year 1949?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. The 14.4 is for the fiscal year 1950. The budget this year is a little over 13.

Q. Do you contemplate any reduction in the regular forces until you do reach some sort——

THE PRESIDENT. No, that's the point we are trying to get pretty well set out so that we can make the professional service just a nucleus for construction whenever we reach the goal on the National Guard Reserve.

[5.] Q. Back on politics, Dewey called his engineer a lunatic, and made a veiled reference to you yesterday, and I——

THE PRESIDENT. No comment.

Q. Do you reconcile the problem——

THE PRESIDENT. I don't reconcile it.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, do you think that your stock has gone up as a result of this trip, against your opponent——

THE PRESIDENT. Well now, that's what you're along for. That's your job. I am the candidate. The candidate is not going to comment. He's optimistic!

Q. You expect to show an adjustment in the polls, do you not?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it's a little late. These polls were all taken before the real "war" started. I don't think they will do much revision of the polls. Mr. Roper [1] says another poll is rather unnecessary. He is in the poll business. I am the candidate.

[7.] Q. With the increasing costs of our present rearming that has been necessitated by this world situation, do you feel that you will be able to reduce the budget in the foreseeable future?

THE PRESIDENT. That all depends on the establishment of a world peace on the basis that will give confidence to every nation in the world. And I am looking forward to getting that done some day.

Q. At the present time, however, can you say how long it looks like our increasing rearmament costs will go?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't prophesy. When the United Nations is over, in Paris——

[8.] Q. On the reports from Paris,[2] how do you think the situation looks abroad?

THE PRESIDENT. I think there has been some improvement.

Q. Any possibility of getting any agreement?

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[1] Elmo B. Roper, Jr., Director of International Public Opinion Research, Inc.

[2] United Nations General Assembly meeting in Paris.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't want to make any prophecies. I would rather not comment on it at this time. When the time comes I will let you know.

[9.] Q. Do you consider that you have succeeded to some degree in smoking out Governor Dewey?

THE PRESIDENT. I think I have succeeded entirely in informing the public what the issues are in this campaign; and I think that is what I started out to do.

[10.] Q. Can you say specifically what things have occurred to make you say that you think there has been some improvement in the world situation?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the debates in the United Nations conference are going forward just as the legislatures of the democratic countries are carried on; and that gives me some optimism that they are willing to talk things over. Eventually, that will be made for the welfare of the world.

Q. Has there been any change in the attitude of Soviet Russia?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that.

Q. Have they been any better about talking things over in recent weeks?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, yes, yes, there has been an improvement.

Q. Improvement in their approach?

THE PRESIDENT. In the approach. I refer to the whole United Nations, and Russia is part of it.

[11.] Now Tony[1] wants to know if I am going to stay in the White House before I start out again. Yes, Tony, I am.

Q. Have you got some extra beds?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I have a lot of beds. I can put you in the Lincoln bed. [*Laughter*]

[12.] Q. What is the situation in regard to that Southern vote?

THE PRESIDENT. I have made no estimate of it. I will have an estimate when I get back from down South.

Q. How do you feel about going down there?

THE PRESIDENT. I am very happy about it. I am going to have a good time down there, as I hope all of you will have.

Q. Is this a political or Presidential trip?

THE PRESIDENT. Presidential. I am the chairman of the Missouri delegation that goes to Miami, and I am going down there as President of the United States.

Q. Is it going to be a nonpolitical speech?

THE PRESIDENT. I am going down there as President of the United States, the Democratic candidate will be left in Washington. But the Democratic candidate will back us up at Raleigh.

[13.] Q. May I clarify one thing? I understood you to say there has been an improvement in Russia's——

THE PRESIDENT. I said I thought there had been an improvement in the whole world problem—and some improvement in the Russian attitude.

Q. Would you permit us to quote "I think there has been some improvement in the Russian attitude"?

THE PRESIDENT. No, no, that is not for quotation. I am saying that to you for background, and how I feel.

It is nice to talk to you.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and fifty-seventh news conference was held on the train en route to Washington, D.C., at 2:40 p.m. on Saturday, October 16, 1948.

[1] Ernest B. Vaccaro of the Associated Press.

244 Address in Miami at the American Legion Convention. *October* 18, 1948

Mr. Commander, members of the auxiliary, ladies and gentlemen:

This is an opportunity I have been looking forward to for 30 years, and I finally made it. I have chosen this occasion to discuss with you some very important matters, and, I am glad to be here today as a delegate from Missouri first, as a comrade-in-arms, and as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States.

Legionnaires have been meeting together for a long time. This makes the 30th year that the Legion has met to keep strong the ties that bind men together, who fought side by side for their country. In those years the Legion has been serving our country in peace as well as in war. And nobody knows that better than I do. I am happy to see the younger men of World War II joining and strengthening our organization, which has never failed to be vigilant for the welfare and security of this great country of ours.

I have looked forward to this opportunity of counseling with you as veterans. Among our countrymen, you understand best of all the tragic meaning of war. You learned the hard way how to hate it. Today, I want to share with you my views about the things that lie nearest to our hearts—peace and freedom in the world.

As President of the United States, it has been my duty to find men to staff our efforts for security and peace. It's an altogether different task to secure good men after the shooting stops than it is to secure them while the fighting is going on.

It has been my duty to initiate and approve the great proposals which have advanced both for our security and the recovery of the free nations of the world.

As your Chief Executive, I know of the patriotic efforts of men of both parties to support those policies.

The plain fact remains, however, that while the President of the United States can delegate authority, he has the responsibility, under the Constitution of the United States, for the conduct of our foreign affairs.

In that capacity, I want to stress something which I am sure every veteran and every real American will approve. So long as I am President, the United States will not carry a chip on its shoulder.

As I have said time and again, that I would rather see a lasting peace in the world than to be President of the United States.

In recent months, the trend of events has caused us deep concern. The great need today is for action to strengthen the United Nations in dealing with the disputes which now challenge its authority—action to create an improved atmosphere for all future negotiations looking toward peace.

Lately, in Europe and even here in the United States, there has been loose and irresponsible talk to the effect that the United States is deliberately following a course that leads to war. That is a plain and deliberate lie.

We have taken, and we will continue to take, a firm position, where our rights are threatened. But our firmness should not be mistaken for a warlike spirit. The world has learned that it is weakness and appeasement that invite aggression. A firm position on reasonable grounds offers the best hope of peace, and we have been open to reason at every point.

We recognize the principle of mutual conciliation as a basis for peaceful negotiation, but this is very different from appeasement. While we will always strive for peace, this

country will never consent to any compromise of the principles of freedom and human rights. We will never be a party to the kind of compromise which the world sums up in the disgraced name of Munich.

Our purpose, from the end of the war to the present, has never changed. It has been to create a political and economic framework in which a lasting peace may be constructed.

Let me remind you how we have sought to carry out that purpose. In the past 2 years, the United States has made three major moves of foreign policy in the European area. Each move has been tied in with the work of the United Nations. Each move has been designated to reduce the dangers of chaos and war.

The first move was made in March 1947, when we offered economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey, then threatened by Communist aggression.

Three months later, we began our second major move—the great program for European economic recovery. With American help under this plan, 16 European nations are making a joint effort, unprecedented in history, to overcome heavy economic losses suffered in the great war.

A number of these countries have already increased their production and improved their financial stability. It is not too much to say that this plan holds the key for the economic future of Europe and the world.

Our third major move was the joint action of the United States, Great Britain, and France in establishing a working, but by no means final, economic organization for the Western Zones of Germany, under allied military control. This step was undertaken to encourage the economic revival of Germany, under proper safeguards, so as to aid the recovery of all Western Europe and promote stability.

We have also been giving support and encouragement to the organization of the Western European Union.

These moves in the field of foreign policy have had as their goal the peace of the world. Naturally, this country was at the same time protecting its own interests. No nation can afford to disregard self-interest.

I think it is fair to say that American policy has revealed an unusual degree of enlightenment. We have taken it as a first principle that our interest is bound up with the peace and economic recovery of the rest of the world. Accordingly, we have worked for all three together—world peace, world economic recovery, and the welfare of our own Nation.

It is plain that world peace and economic recovery cannot be achieved in an atmosphere of political disorder and revolution. We have, therefore, felt it essential to help stabilize nations which welcomed our aid, and whose democratic traditions or aspirations invited our friendship.

At the same time, we can maintain our own economic stability and keep up a military establishment commensurate with our leadership for peace.

As President, I have inaugurated economic and military operations which will enable this great Nation to meet its obligations. This policy must be carried to success.

Our policy is not now and never has been directed against the Soviet Union. On the contrary, we recognize that the peace of the world depends on increasing understanding and better working relationship between the Soviet Union and the democratic nations.

The problem which now confronts this country and the world reduces itself to one basic question: Can we so reconcile the interests of the Western powers and the interests of the Soviet Union as to bring about an enduring peace?

Let me say here again, and as plainly as I can, that the Government of this country,

like the American people as a whole, detests the thought of war. We are shocked by its brutality and sickened by its waste of life and wealth. And we know from experience that war creates many more problems than it solves. We know that all the world, and especially the continent of Europe, has nothing to gain from war and everything to lose.

The horrors that modern war inflicts on innocent people are known to all Americans. The use of atomic weapons and bacteriological warfare, in particular, might unleash new forces of destruction which would spare no nation. All of us are well acquainted with that fact. We know, too, that if war should come upon us again, the loss in life, the strain on our physical resources and even on our democratic institutions might be greater than we care to contemplate.

The Government of the United States rejects the concept of war as a means of solving international differences.

However, I think we are realistic about the alternative to war. In international politics, new and serious difficulties are continually arising. It will be a long while before the great powers constitute the friendly family of nations which is so often described as "one world."

Our need is to work out with cool detachment a practical adjustment of our troubles with other nations as they may arise. That is the attitude in which we have been trying to find reasonable solutions of the critical problems which now confront us.

Unfortunately—and I say that advisedly—unfortunately, a dark fog of distrust has risen between the Soviet Union and the West, distorting and confusing our relations. It is clear that little progress is likely to be made in settling disputes between the Western Powers and Soviet Russia, so long as there is so much distrust.

If that distrust is to be dispelled, there needs to be evidence of long-range peaceful purposes—evidence that will enable the world to shake off the fear of war, reduce the burden of armaments, and concentrate on useful economic activities.

In recently considering sending a special emissary to Moscow, my purpose was to ask Premier Stalin's cooperation in dispelling the present poisonous atmosphere of distrust which now surrounds the negotiations between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union. My emissary was to convey the seriousness and sincerity of the people of the United States in their desire for peace.

This proposal had no relation to existing negotiations within the scope of the United Nations or the Council of Foreign Ministers. Far from cutting across these negotiations, the purpose of this mission was to improve the atmosphere in which they must take place and so help in producing fruitful and peaceful results.

At this time, I want to make it perfectly clear that I have not departed one step from my determination to utilize every opportunity to work for peace. Whenever an appropriate opportunity arises, I shall act to further the interests of peace within the framework of our relations with our allies and the work of the United Nations.

I am working for peace, and I shall continue to work for peace.

Both we and the Soviet Union have a fundamental job to do—the job of raising the living standards of our peoples.

We must remember that many a serious crisis has in the past been resolved without war. We must remember that the struggle for existence among nations, as among individual men, goes on all the time, and expresses itself in many ways other than war. We must remember that rivalry among nations is an old story. History shows that rival powers can exist peacefully in the world.

Patience must be our watchword. When the destiny of all mankind is at stake, we need to exercise all the patience we can muster. We should utilize every opportunity to strengthen the United Nations for the great undertakings which lie ahead.

The people of the world are looking to their leaders to dispel the fog of distrust which now confuses the approach to peace. At the present moment, I would only add that our Nation has never failed to meet the great crises of its history with honor and devotion to its ideals.

My friends, and fellow Legionnaires, we shall spare no effort to achieve the peace on which the entire destiny of the human race depends.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. at Dinner Key in Miami. His opening words "Mr. Commander" referred to James F. O'Neil, National Commander of the American Legion. The 30th annual convention was attended by 8,000 legionnaires.

245 Address at the State Capitol, Raleigh, North Carolina. *October* 19, 1948

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellency the Governor of North Carolina, Your Excellency the Governor of Tennessee, and ladies and gentlemen:

This is an occasion to which I have looked forward for a long time.

I have been interested in this memorial since I was consulted about it by an old friend, who invited me here today. I cannot allow this occasion to pass without reference to that great North Carolinian who contributed so much to the creation of this monument. This project was very close to the heart of my old friend, who was the first chairman of the monument commission—Josephus Daniels.

There is no need for me to tell people in North Carolina what kind of a man Josephus Daniels was. Three times he won eminence in the nation at large—once as Secretary of the Navy during the First World War, then as ambassador to Mexico, and finally as historian of his own times. Triple fame comes to few men. Yet I am inclined to think that you, among whom he lived, may have known him in a capacity greater than any of these. I congratulate you on having known, not just the official, not just the diplomat, not just the scholar, but also the honorable citizen, kindly neighbor, and great-hearted gentleman that he was.

Mr. Daniels understood these great North Carolinians to whom we dedicate this monument today. He told me about the sculptor, Charles Keck. I want to say to you here today that Charles Keck and I, back in 1933 and 1934, worked on the statue of Andrew Johnson to be placed in Jackson County, Mo. After that, he was named to make a statue of Andrew Jackson, which was nothing new to Charles Keck. I think Charles Keck is the greatest sculptor of his time. You have got the right man to make this statue.

Mr. Daniels knew all three of these great men had something in common—the rugged, self-reliant qualities of a free people. They were all men of the people, of deep religious faith, democratic sympathies, and dauntless courage. They never swerved from the people's cause. They deserve not only an enduring monument, but they deserve understanding and remembrance.

We are in the midst of a political campaign upon which depends much of the

country's future. It is good at such a time to pause to take strength and guidance from our country's past.

This year, as in all years, the State of North Carolina has much to teach the country. Its great sons have important things to say to us still. And we have important things to learn from them. We deal here today not merely with the dedication of a monument. Our task is the rededication of ourselves.

Each of the three men whose fame this monument celebrates held the office of President in time of trouble.

Andrew Jackson had to face the nullification crisis, which was the first threat of secession.

James K. Polk was confronted by the Mexican War.

Andrew Johnson was caught in the mass hysteria following a war in which more American blood was spilled than in both the world wars of our time.

Because they lived through days when reason was overcome by emotion, their acts were misunderstood and misinterpreted. And because they were misunderstood they were libeled beyond the lot of most Presidents. Intense feeling obscures the truth. And so it is not surprising that the estimates of these men made by their contemporaries have been almost completely discarded by later generations.

In these new estimates, not one of the three has diminished in stature. On the contrary, each is now regarded as a stronger and wiser man.

What each of them meant to his time, you have been told by many learned men. So I shall not repeat what you already know—what Jackson meant to 1832, or Polk to 1845, or Johnson to 1865.

I prefer to offer some suggestions as to what they all mean in 1948—and what they should mean in the years that lie ahead.

Jackson, Polk, and Johnson are gone. Yet they are forever a part of North Carolina. They represent the glory of the past. But that is not all. If that were all, I venture to say that this monument would serve only half its purpose. To the young men and women, to the boys and girls of the State who pass this way, it would say, "We have produced great men." That is true and should be said, but it has no bearing on the future.

It should say more. And to anyone who has studied the careers of these three Presidents, it will say more. It has a message that is not only true as to the past, but it is also encouraging as to the future.

That message is this: "Do your duty, and history will do you justice."

Each of these men did his duty as President of the whole Nation against the forces of pressure and persuasion which sought to make him act as a representative of a part of the Nation only.

Each of them provoked the wrath of some sincere and honest men—which is a serious thing. A President may dismiss the abuse of scoundrels, but to be denounced by honest men honestly outraged is a test of greatness that none but the strongest men survive.

Consider, for example, the career of Andrew Jackson. He has always been held up as a symbol of courage, but too often for reasons that are not the best. It takes courage to face a duelist with a pistol and it takes courage to face a British general with an army. But it takes still greater and far higher courage to face friends with a grievance. The bravest thing Andrew Jackson ever did was to stand up and tell his own people to their faces that they were wrong.

It was all the braver because he knew in his heart that they had some cause for discontent. The Tariff of 1828, which provoked the nullification movement, was well named the Tariff of Abominations. It did

inflict injustice upon South Carolina and the other Southern States. Andrew Jackson knew that as well as John C. Calhoun.

But Jackson also knew that the way to correct injustice in a democracy is by reason and debate, never by walking out in a huff.

To attempt to correct injustice by disunion is to apply a remedy that is worse than the disease.

It would not have been pleasant for Andrew Jackson to say this to any State. It was doubly unpleasant to say it to South Carolina, a State composed of people of his own blood, his own faith, of his own qualities of mind and heart, a State to which he was bound by ties of memory, pride and affection. The closing paragraph of the great Nullification Proclamation is eloquent of the pain it cost him to stand against the people so closely allied to him.

But it was his duty, and he did it.

We know now what they could not know then. We know what a pliant, supple man in the White House in that crisis might have cost us. A man more careful to preserve his own peace than to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States" might have drifted into ways that would have ended in the destruction of the Union. It is because Andrew Jackson did his duty in agony of mind as well as in agony of body that this monument is raised in his honor.

Let me say, too, how fine a thing it is that this monument was raised in the South by Southerners. Democracy is safe among a people who are too just to withhold respect from a man because his duty once forced him to oppose them.

Consider, then, the case of James K. Polk. Thomas Jefferson has been endlessly praised for adding 827,000 square miles to the United States by the Louisiana Purchase. And he can't be praised too much for that. But the average American is astonished when reminded that Polk added 814,000 square miles of territory to the United States.

This is not the place either to defend or attack Polk's policy in regard to the Mexican War. But there is one aspect of it that is worth serious attention by this generation. Even when the war was won, Polk's efforts to negotiate a generous peace were interfered with by the House of Representatives in such a way as to draw the lines for great internal conflict in later years.

That interference took the form of the Wilmot Proviso, which the House attached to the appropriation bill that supplied the first installment of our payment to Mexico. It was a condition that no area purchased with the money appropriated should be slave territory.

I am not questioning now the merits of the Wilmot Proviso. But it was, nevertheless, an attempt to use foreign policy as a lever in the settlement of domestic questions. Such an attempt is always fraught with peril. We should have learned that fact from the experience of Polk's day and its tragic consequences in the Civil War. Unfortunately, we did not. It took another great foreign war and another disastrous injection of domestic politics into foreign affairs—in the fight on the League of Nations—to drive the lesson home.

But now, I trust, we have learned it. In the midst of the Second World War, President Roosevelt and his great Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, proposed, and certain of our wiser congressional leaders of the opposition agreed, that, as far as they could bring it about, domestic politics should stop at the water's edge. It has been my duty to carry out that agreement and to urge all Americans to abide by it faithfully.

The wisdom of that bipartisan policy should be very clear indeed to North Carolinans. They have before them not only the

case of Woodrow Wilson, but also that of Polk. You know that Polk's greatest achievement was clouded for many years, because, in his time, we had not learned to keep our domestic quarrels at home and present a united front to the rest of the world.

Andrew Johnson came to the Presidency by reason of a death that was tragic not merely for the United States, but for all mankind. Suddenly, without a moment's preparation, Johnson was called upon to take up and complete the work of one of the greatest men that ever occupied the White House.

Andrew Johnson needs no defense. But it is a simple statement of fact to point out that in 1865 no man alive could have succeeded Abraham Lincoln without being subject to unfavorable comparisons. And it was Johnson's misfortune to encounter more than that. It is one of the major tragedies of war that the passions it unleashes do not automatically subside with the fighting. They must be subdued gradually. And it usually takes long, patient, and courageous effort.

In 1865 passions were as furious as the war had been long and bloody. There were men in and out of Congress who lost their heads completely. In their madness they were determined that the blood-letting should not stop. They would have sent scores of brave and honorable men to the gallows and stripped thousands more of all they possessed. They wanted to keep a whole region in chains.

That no such disgrace has occurred in the United States is due largely to the bulldog courage of Andrew Johnson. I have no wish to prettify him. He doesn't need it. He was stubborn. He was tactless. Often he was ungracious to the point of being surly. The fact remains that he faced such a storm of hatred as never before had swept this country. And in facing it, he defended not so much certain individuals as the principle that the Constitution of the United States and not the desire of angry men is the supreme law of this land.

His courageous stand has made it easier for every President who has had to cope with postwar hysteria since his day. That task is still no child's play. We have among us today men who, blinded by their fury and their fears, are ready to condemn on suspicion and to punish without trial. To them no President dare yield an inch. If he yielded, he would be unworthy to stand before the monument of Andrew Johnson.

It is a happy circumstance that this is a monument not to one man but to three. Americanism is not embodied in any one man. It is a distillation of the spirits of all the heroes who have labored and fought and died for the common good.

The Constitution declares that there shall be no "titles" of nobility in this Republic. It does not say that there shall be no nobility. We do have what may be described with exact justice as a nobility. But it is not attained by birth. One may come to it from a camp, as Jackson did, or from a university, as Polk did, or from a tailor's bench, as Johnson did.

The test is long and brave and honest labor for the country's good.

And this is the thing that these three men, different as they were in origin and in temperament, held in common. But it is no exclusive possession. Most certainly, it is not confined to presidents or other officers of state. Our country would not last long if that were true. The strength of this Republic lies in the fact that so many millions of men and women, who held no office and aspire to none, recognize as clearly as Jackson, Polk, and Johnson did that they must serve their country before they serve themselves.

This truth becomes supremely important on the day that the people go to the polling places. It is not the hand that signs the laws that holds the destiny of America. It is the hand that casts the ballot.

We are now drawing close to the date fixed by law for the exercise of that right and the performance of that duty. It is the day when every qualified voter in the country shares the responsibility laid upon the officers of the government and first of all upon a President. Indeed, on that day the responsibility passes from the President and rests with you. The wisdom of your decision on election day is the only sure and enduring "preservation, protection and defense of the Constitution of the United States."

To assure the wisdom of your decision, you cannot do better than revive within your own hearts and minds the spirit that animated these three illustrious sons of North Carolina. Men and women who exercise their franchise in the spirit of these three great men will not be blinded by passion or prejudice. They will not be deceived by smooth flattery, or smoother propaganda. Indeed, to be influenced by nothing but what you know to be true and what you feel to be just as you cast your ballot is to attain a dignity to which title and office can add nothing—the dignity of a free American.

The man who votes in this spirit on election day is just as patriotic as was each of these three Presidents. He is the kind of man the great State of North Carolina delights to honor. The President of the United States honors himself by praising that kind of man. Such a man stands as the symbol of freedom and dignity on this earth. We dedicate here today not merely a monument to great men of the past, but also to the greatness of free men now and forever.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:40 a.m. at the dedication of a monument to Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, and Andrew Johnson. In his opening words he referred to Willis Smith, Chairman of the Jackson-Polk-Johnson Monument Commission, R. Gregg Cherry, Governor of North Carolina, and Jim Nance McCord, Governor of Tennessee.

246 Address at the State Fairgrounds, Raleigh, North Carolina. *October* 19, 1948

Governor Cherry, distinguished guests, and fellow Democrats of North Carolina:

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the most cordial welcome I have received in the capital city of this great State today. Your Governor has been exceedingly kind and cordial to me, and to my family, and we have spent a most pleasant morning. The Governor took us to the Governor's Mansion for luncheon, and I want to say to you that it was *some* luncheon. Outside of Missouri, I never saw another one like it.

I am happy to be on this platform today with all these good North Carolina Democrats who are serving the Nation. To hear the chairman call the roll, it sounded as if North Carolina is running the Nation. If they had the Presidency, they would be. I have had some very fine friends from North Carolina, and I would like to name all of them, if I could, but it would take the rest of the afternoon, and I wouldn't have a chance to make my speech schedule.

There is one in particular I would like to mention, however, and one I made Under Secretary of the Treasury, and I also appointed him to be Ambassador to Great Britain. He was a former Governor of North Carolina—Max Gardner—a wonderful man.

And I want to say to your next Governor, Kerr Scott, that I appreciate most highly

what he had to say when he was here before this microphone, and I know that the next Senator, and the next Junior Senator from North Carolina—another friend of mine, Mel Broughton—will represent North Carolina, as North Carolina has always been represented in the United States, honorably and efficiently.

As I said before, if I took the time to mention and compliment the able and efficient public servants from North Carolina who are now serving the Government in Washington, I wouldn't have time to do anything else this afternoon.

For a long time now, some of my North Carolina friends have been telling me I ought to take a look at this great State Fair of yours. It wasn't necessary to urge me very much. I have always liked to go to fairs.

But I do have one complaint. Now, they make me one of the exhibits, and I don't get a chance to look at the others very much.

It's a wonderful thing, to be the President of the United States, the greatest honor that can come to any man in the world. But I have lived in Independence, Mo., since I was 6 years old, and for 58 years nobody paid much attention to me in Independence, except to be friendly with me and say "Hello, Harry," when I went there. Now, when I go to my old home in Independence, it takes the whole Independence police force and half the Secret Service to get me in the front door. I don't know what happens to people.

I can remember back the first time I ever saw a President, and that was in 1904, and I ran three blocks to get to take a look at the then candidate for President, and he was running on the Republican ticket, too. So I know that it's the office they want to see, and not the man.

I have to remember that all the time. If you don't, you get a bad case of "Potomac fever" in Washington.

This fall I have visited several State fairs. I met thousands of prosperous farm folk there, and it made me proud of the grand old Democratic Party to see so many farmers who had been rescued from Republican depression and given the break they deserved. You know, the farmers never were as prosperous in this country, as they are now. The first time in the history of the country that the farmers have received a fair share of the national income.

Not long ago I had to roll into the fair at Oklahoma City at a speed of 50 miles an hour. That was because I stopped to talk to so many people along the way that my train was a little late. But the train crew, being good Democrats, saw to it that I got there. I'm surprised the Republican candidate didn't order them shot at sunrise.

Out in Dexter, Iowa, I met a great farm gathering for the National Plowing Contest. And we plowed under a lot of Republicans out there.

I want to say that I used to run a plow back on the farm 30 years ago, and I told them that I would like to try my hand at it, if they could get me a team of four mules; but they ran everything with a tractor. So I told them I didn't want to be like the Republicans, I didn't want to turn the clock back, so if they wanted to go ahead and run it with a tractor, it was all right with me.

I also got a chance to look over some of the fine new farm machines they were exhibiting. And I want to report to you that among all the exhibits I have seen there has been a great omission.

Nowhere in the United States this year have I seen a single exhibit of that famous North Carolina farm invention—that product of ingenuity and hard times, of personal despair and political mockery—the Hoover cart.

You remember the Hoover cart—I didn't find that in Iowa, or anywhere else—the remains of the old tin lizzie being pulled by a

mule, because you couldn't afford to buy a new car, you couldn't afford to buy gas for the old one.

You remember. First you had the Hoovercrats, and then you had the Hoover carts. One always follows the other. Bear that in mind now, carefully.

By the way, I asked the Department of Agriculture at Washington about this Hoover cart.

They said it is the only automobile in the world that eats oats. They don't recommend it, and neither do I.

I don't mind being an exhibit here myself. I think I belong right here. I'm a homegrown American farm product. That product is just about the same in Missouri as it is in North Carolina.

And I'm proud of the breed I represent—the completely unterrified form of American democracy. I stand for the simple, straightforward, straight-line Democratic Party. That party has always stood for government in the interest of the farmer and the workingman and for all the people of this great country. That party does not represent special privilege, it represents the whole people.

And any time you have any doubts about the Democratic Party, all you need to do is take a good look at the Republican Party. That will always bring you right back where you belong.

This year we've all had a good look at the Republican Party and their candidate, and it's made me fighting mad. That's why I'm here today talking to you good people of North Carolina.

This year the Republicans are putting on a terrific advertising campaign in order to sell you the same old brand of Hoover carts. They're spending money in carload lots and are buying themselves all kinds of strange bedfellows. But there are some things that are not for sale in this country.

I don't believe that they're going to get away with it. Everybody—North and South—knows there's only one choice in this campaign. Either the standard Republicans will buy the election or the standard Democrats will win it.

Other parties simply don't stand a chance.

For a Southerner that ought not to be a hard choice. You know what Republicanism means in North Carolina and everywhere else in the South.

First, it means the rule of the carpetbaggers. Then it means rule by the moneybaggers. Either way, it means a rule that treats the South and the West as colonies to be exploited commercially and held down politically.

Republicanism means that the Federal Government is controlled by the powerful men and the greedy Wall Street interests that want cheap labor and the cheap farm products. Republicanism puts the almighty dollar first and is not above using a little tidelands oil money to grease the way to power.

Today big-money Republicanism is on the march, and to beat it we've all got to stand together. That's where we Democrats belong—together—shoulder to shoulder.

We are the great middle-of-the-road party—the party of the farmers and the workers and the small businessmen and the party of the young people. We all belong together. I believe in loyalty as the great force in politics—the loyalty of free men and women, freely given and honorably received.

But above all I treasure the basic principle of democracy itself—the right to disagree among ourselves, without letting differences of opinion lead us into temptation, or to betray our own best interests.

That is why I do not worry too much about the many violent arguments we Democrats have. I think that there will be plenty

of Democrats on election day, as long as we retain respect for free speech, and get a fair and honest count at the polls.

Just the same, I hope that somewhere in North Carolina you have a Hoover cart on display—lest you forget that the Republicans want you to take another ride in that same old wagon.

In the 1920's, the Republican Party could not fight the depression. It was incapable of bold action for the people. Big business owners of that dismal party said there was nothing to do but "ride it out." Ride it out! You did—in Hoover carts.

Today, the Republican Party stands convicted of being incapable of fighting inflation. Some of its present leaders have tried to put the blame for inflation on farm prices.

They want you to ride it out—ride it out!—in Hoover carts.

It was under a Democratic administration that Hoover carts gave way to real automobiles with plenty of gasoline in them.

Here at a great agricultural fair, let's take a look at your agricultural record in North Carolina in the Democratic years behind us. Your old-time money-crops are doing all right. Last year your tobacco brought you $380 million. In the Hoover year of 1932, your tobacco brought you $43 million. The price of tobacco got down to 8½ cents in the Republican depression. This year it is running close to 50 cents.

You don't depend on cotton as much as you used to. But you're getting more than three times as much money for your cotton, as you got in either the Republican depression of 1932 or the Republican "boom" year of 1929.

Your cash receipts are running eight times what they were in 1932. You didn't make that trip in a Hoover cart.

This year your milk and eggs alone are worth almost as much as your total farm production was worth in 1932. Think of that!—milk and eggs in North Carolina worth as much as your farm production was in 1932!

What I say of North Carolina is true of the whole advancing South in the years since the Democrats came to office in Washington under Franklin Roosevelt. It was the Democratic Party that rescued agriculture in North Carolina, in the South, in the whole United States.

The Democratic farm program treated credit as a farmer's tool instead of a rich man's toy. We made credit available to farmers on fair terms for the first time in American history.

The Democratic Party inaugurated the nationwide soil program.

The Democratic farm program brought you rural electrification. Back in 1935, only about three farms out of a hundred in North Carolina had electric service. Today the figure is about seventy in every hundred. And when the REA loans that are already approved are turned into actual power lines, eighty out of every hundred North Carolina farms will have electricity.

The Democratic farm program brought you farm crop insurance.

The Democratic farm program expanded and intensified scientific research.

The Democratic Party brought you support prices.

The Democratic farm program and the hard work of American farm families rescued agriculture from its sickness and made it strong again.

Because of this, our agriculture was a source of strength to the Nation, when we had to fight a war. When our lives and our freedom depended on it, our agriculture was equal to the task.

Thanks to the Democratic Party, this is your story—the story of progress from the

depths of despair to the heights of strength. You have a highly productive, efficient, and profitable agriculture, because you used the Democratic farm program and your own hard work to make it so.

But today the wreckers are at work.

The Republican Party for years fought the Democratic Party farm program. When they saw it couldn't be changed, then they changed tactics. Republican spokesmen are now saying: "Me, too; only we can do it better."

What they mean is, they can do you better!

Two years ago the Nation gave the Republicans their chance in Congress. The Republicans immediately slashed the soil conservation program. In fact, the Republicans in the House of Representatives voted to keep out the agricultural conservation program altogether. That was also a vote to kill the farmer-committee system that operates your program of price supports and tobacco quotas.

We beat this outrageous attack on self-rule in farming, but the Republicans did cut the agricultural conservation program in half.

They cut the rural electrification program. They undermined the Commodity Credit Corporation. They killed the International Wheat Agreement. They crippled the reciprocal trade agreements program on which the foreign markets for your tobacco and cotton depend.

They subjected farm cooperatives to a fear campaign under threat of a death tax. They cut the budget for the new research and marketing activities. They tried to kill the farm tenant purchase program.

And, now, despite the belated protestation of the Republican candidate, they are showing that they want to alter and destroy the whole structure of price supports for farm products. Even the Republican Chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture has warned that an effort is being made to make the farmer the "goat" for high prices in the United States.

This attack on the price support system comes at a time when many farm prices are dropping and the price support program is of the greatest importance to the farmer and to the United States.

The Democratic Party originated the farm price support program. We built it out of hard experience. We built it for the benefit of the entire Nation—not only the farmer, but the consumer as well.

The purpose of price supports is to prevent farm prices from falling to ruinously low levels. But the Republicans don't tell the city consumers that these supports apply only when farm prices have dropped below parity. They don't tell the people in the cities that everybody is really better off when the farmer gets decent prices.

The support price for wheat is not responsible for the high cost of bread. When wheat prices were going up, the price of bread rose steadily. It went up from 10 cents a loaf to 11 cents—to 12 cents—to 13 cents—to 14 cents.

Now wheat prices have fallen a dollar a bushel. But the price of bread has not come down one single cent.

The same with cotton. Nobody can blame the cost of a shirt on the cotton that goes into it.

The cost of tobacco in a cigarette is very, very small—a fraction of a cent.

The truth of the matter is that by encouraging the record production of the last few years, the support program has actually kept consumer prices down. Those who are wilfully trying to discredit the price support system do not want farmers to be prosperous.

They believe in low prices for farmers, cheap wages for labor, and high profits for big corporations.

That is what they call "efficiency."

You cannot dodge the issue. You stand for the Democratic farm program, or you stand for the Republican wrecking crew of the 80th Congress.

You stand with the Democratic Party or you stand against it.

You stand with the Democratic Party or for all practical purposes you stand with the Republican Party.

You stand for continuing progress of all the people, or you stand with those who for so many years thought farmers and Southerners should be content in a colonial status and on a second-class economic level.

I know that you good people of North Carolina are not responsible for the Republicans in the 80th Congress. But we can all learn a lesson from them. They have given us a sharp warning of what the Republican Party stands for today. And their record shows that the Republican Party stands for the same thing today that it did under Herbert Hoover.

That is the record on which the Republican Presidential candidate wants to be elected—that is the one on which he wants to be unified.

He has endorsed the record of the 80th Congress, which began the scuttling of the Democratic farm program. He is running on a platform that endorses the record of the 80th Congress. He is going around the country asking people to reelect the worst members of the 80th Congress. He says he is proud of that 80th Congress.

Well, if anybody with the welfare of this country at heart can be proud of that Congress, there is something wrong with his mind, or his heart.

And, when I say Congress, I mean the leaders of that Congress. There are a lot of good men in that Congress, but they have nothing to say about the policy, because they are in the minority. I want you to make those men members of the majority.

The Republicans ask you to vote for them, but they don't care whether you vote for the Republican candidate or for a third, fourth, or fifth party candidate. They know that a vote for any third or fourth or fifth party candidate is the same as a vote for the Republican candidate.

They hope they can fool enough of the people this time to capture the election by wasted Democratic votes.

I don't think you want to take another chance on the Hoover brand of Republicanism.

I don't think you have to be hit on the head twice to know who hit you the first time.

I don't think you are going to be the victims this time of the old Republican doctrine: "If you can't convince them, confuse them."

I think you know who your real friends are and who your enemies are.

I feel pretty sure that in 1948 the South is not hankering for another ride in a Hoover cart.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:05 p.m. at the State Fairgrounds. His opening words "Governor Cherry" referred to Governor R. Gregg Cherry of North Carolina. Later he referred to former Governor O. Max Gardner, Democratic candidate for Governor W. Kerr Scott, and Democratic candidate for Senator J. Melville Broughton, all of North Carolina.

247 Address on Radio Program Sponsored by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union Campaign Committee. *October* 21, 1948

[Broadcast from the White House at 10:05 p.m.]

I CERTAINLY appreciate the cordial introduction and support of Miss Bankhead. Miss Bankhead's father, the great Speaker of the House, Honorable William Bankhead, was a very good friend of mine. Miss Bankhead's uncle, the Honorable John Bankhead, with whom I sat for years in the Senate, was a fine gentleman and a great Senator. Also, I appreciate most highly the support of Miss Barrymore, the first lady of the stage, whom I've seen and admired in all her great roles.

I am happy to be on this program tonight to pay tribute to the liberal spirit of the forces of labor in the United States.

On such a program I want to reiterate emphatically my faith in the liberal philosophy of the Democratic Party. That philosophy is service for people—the greatest good for the greatest number. And upon that philosophy we have erected during the past 16 years a great progressive body of laws. We call those laws the New Deal.

The New Deal represents not merely our pride in what we have done, but the pattern for what we want to do.

It is a program for going forward. True liberalism looks to the future. True liberalism is more than a matter of words. It cannot hide behind the catch phrases of the Republican candidate for President—catch phrases like "unity" and "efficiency." Unity for what? And what kind of efficiency?

You remember that Mr. Hoover was an "efficiency expert," too. Also, as the Republicans presented him, he was the "Great Engineer."

We have been hearing about engineers again recently from the Republican candidate. He objects to having engineers back up. He doesn't mention, however, that under the "Great Engineer" we backed up into the worst depression in our history.

The Republican politicians never have liked the New Deal, and they would like to get rid of it—repeal it—put it out of existence.

When, in 1946, the Republicans gained control of the Congress, they began to whittle away at the New Deal laws. Now, they have tasted blood, and they are waiting eagerly for the time, when they can go ahead with a Republican Congress and a Republican President and do a real hatchet job on the New Deal.

Their candidate for President is the chief prosecutor against the New Deal. He has spoken against it, he has campaigned against it. He wrote a book called "The Case Against the New Deal." And now he wants to come to Washington and destroy it.

Now, let's take a look at the way the Republicans launched their attack on the New Deal as soon as they gained control of the Congress.

First, they started out after labor. One of the cornerstones of the New Deal was the Wagner Labor Relations Act, which gave national protection to the right of collective bargaining. Under its provisions, the labor movement had grown strong and healthy.

Well, our old reactionary friends didn't like that. They didn't have the courage or they didn't have the votes to repeal the Wagner Act outright. The fact was they knew

that they didn't have the votes to pass a straight-out repeal bill over my veto. So they passed, over my veto, the Taft-Hartley law. It converts the Wagner Act from a charter protecting the basic rights of workers into an instrument for union busting by anti-labor employers.

The Taft-Hartley law is not the only attack the Republicans have made against the New Deal. It is not the only attack in which they have been successful. It is only the beginning of the attacks they plan.

Mr. Hartley of the Taft-Hartley team has written a book about it. The title of this book is "Our New National Labor Policy, the Taft-Hartley Act and the Next Steps."

Get that: "the next steps." They aren't satisfied to stop with the Taft-Hartley Act. They are going even further.

On page 171 in Mr. Hartley's book appears a very frank confession. This is what Mr. Hartley says:

"No sooner had the Taft-Hartley law been enacted over the Truman veto than the Republican leaders of both House and Senate"—now get this!—listen to it very carefully!—"the Republican leaders of both House and Senate decided that no more legislation to which organized labor could object would be passed until after the Presidential election of 1948."

Mr. Hartley goes on. On page 193, he says: "I am well aware of the political difficulties of eliminating the New Deal social legislation. It cannot be repealed at a single stroke."

That should give you an idea of what to expect, if the Republicans get control of the Presidency, also.

The time has come for the working people and all the progressive forces of this Nation to realize the grave danger that confronts them.

For myself, and for the Democratic Party, I completely reject the idea that we should "eliminate" the New Deal. Instead, we should build upon it a better way of life. Let me be specific.

We should repeal the Taft-Hartley Act.

Then we should increase the minimum wage from 40 cents an hour to at least 75 cents an hour.

Social security insurance should be extended to the large groups of people not now protected.

The insurance benefits should be increased by approximately 50 percent.

We should expand our facilities for looking after the Nation's health.

The Federal Government should provide aid to the States in meeting the educational needs of our children.

The Congress should provide aid for slum clearance and low-rent housing.

We should do something, at once, about high prices.

All these things are on the record, my friends. I have made my position clear to the American people. The Republican candidate hasn't done that.

This is the program you can expect from the Democratic Party. You can expect it only from the Democratic Party.

Our program is for the people. And that's why we're going to win this election on November the 2d.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:05 p.m. from the White House. During his address he referred to former Representative William B. Bankhead and former Senator John H. Bankhead, both of Alabama, actresses Tallulah Bankhead and Ethel Barrymore, and Representative Fred A. Hartley, Jr., of New Jersey. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

248 Address in Scranton, Pennsylvania. *October* 23, 1948

THANK YOU, Mr. Mayor.

I am happy to be here today in Scranton, in the heart of the hard coal industry.

You know, the weather seems to have something to do with every visit I make as President. You know, I think about 20 years ago, on my way to New York City, Scranton was all fogged in, and New York was all fogged in; and Frank Walker found out that I was at an airfield in Scranton, and Frank came after me in a car, he brought me out here, and I had the greatest time I think I ever had. I don't think Scranton lost anything, and I don't think it gained anything, but I did, for I had a grand time.

Now that same situation is also on this trip. I was expecting to fly in here about noon, and the weatherman again said that the situation was expected to be pouring down rain in Scranton this morning, and it would be impossible to make a landing on the airport out here, so I came on the train.

I am very sorry I had to postpone my visit to Scranton 2 weeks ago, but it was necessary for me to meet with the Secretary of State in Washington. I had asked General Marshall to fly home from Paris between sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and that Saturday—October 9th—was our only chance to talk together about our plans for peace.

I understand that this great center of industry and mining has Democratic city and county administrations.

That's just the way it ought to be. And I hope, after November, that you will have a Democratic Congressman, too—in Harry O'Neill. You know, you are already helping to run the Government, and with a man with the record of Harry O'Neill in the Congress, this district will be well represented. Harry O'Neill has a wonderful record in the State Legislature.

When you look at the record of the last 2 years, I'm sure you know that electing a Republican from this district in 1946 was a mistake—one of those 1946 mistakes—when too many people stayed at home and didn't vote.

But it was a mistake which has cost every one of you a very great deal. In fact, more than you can possibly realize. But it has taught you a good lesson.

You can't afford to make that mistake again. This year, Lackawanna County ought to be firmly in the Democratic column from top to bottom.

I have just had the privilege of paying honor to the memory of John Mitchell. I wish I could be with you to help celebrate John Mitchell Day next Friday.

John Mitchell was a great leader. He laid the foundations of the United Mine Workers, which has grown from his day to ours until now it embraces most of the miners in the United States. John Mitchell was not only a great labor organizer, he was a great labor statesman. And they are few and far between. He pioneered in the development of effective collective bargaining, and he paved the way for good relations between mine operators and mineworkers.

We all know the kind of opposition John Mitchell was up against, in his day, in fighting for the rights of labor and for the principle of collective bargaining.

In the early days of this century, big business was trying to destroy the labor union movement. Those were the days of the coal and iron police.

Right after the First World War, the employers of this country, aided and en-

couraged by a Republican administration, launched their open shop drive to wipe out American labor unions. The Republicans in power first tried to strip the workingman of the protection of his labor unions, and then they led him into the worst depression in history.

In 1932, when 12 million Americans were out of jobs and hundreds of thousands of miners were on relief, the American people elected Franklin D. Roosevelt.

And I am sure we all thank God for that.

In 1932, miners who were lucky enough to have a job were being paid about $1.70 a day—and working only one or two days a week. Now, miners are getting $14 a day—or more—and working a full week. That increase is a direct result of the great advances of the New Deal.

President Roosevelt believed that the rights of the workingman were more important than the profits of the corporations. He saw to it that the power of the Federal Government was used, not to destroy the unions, but to protect them against unfair and evil practices of the employers.

The New Deal established the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively as the keystone of our industrial system. Labor is no longer a commodity, under Democratic rule. The Wagner Act was the Magna Carta of labor. And that great act stood firm and unchallenged, until the Republican 80th Congress got to Washington 2 years ago.

The Republican 80th Congress began all over again the old attack on the basic rights of the workingmen and women of this country. The 80th Congress passed that awful and shameful Taft-Hartley law. That law is only the beginning—it is only the first step in the long-range strategy of the Republican Party to crush organized labor to the ground.

The Taft-Hartley law is like a termite, undermining and eating away your legal protection to organize and bargain collectively. I vetoed the Taft-Hartley law, not only because it was bad in itself, but because it was only the first step in the drive to wipe out labor's rights.

Let me give you a specific example of how the Taft-Hartley law directly affects your rights.

The United Mine Workers and the mine owners have recently set up a welfare fund in the anthracite industry—the Anthracite Health and Welfare Fund. The contract on that welfare fund was signed in the office of the President of the United States. That welfare fund was obtained with the help of the President of the United States. Not only did I fight for it, but I forced the mine safety clause into that contract.

This welfare fund is the result of collective bargaining. It is a fine thing for the miners. It is conducting a program of research and treatment to find a cure for the disease of silicosis, the scourge of hard coal miners.

This disease causes nearly 25 percent of the so-called "natural" deaths of hard coal miners. I am sure I do not have to tell you about the terrible effects of this disease, or the suffering that it causes. At last, we can hope for a cure, for over half a million dollars is being devoted to this project. Think what a relief this will be to miners, not only here, but throughout the whole country and the world!

Now, I can't understand, and you can't either, why anyone would oppose a health and welfare fund which is doing such magnificent work. But there are some people—even now—who say that it is an outrage to ask employers to contribute to an employee welfare fund.

Yet by that contribution, the employers themselves keep the workers helpless.

These selfish, backward-looking men

slipped a provision into the Taft-Hartley law about welfare funds. They thought they fixed it so that an employer could refuse to bargain with a union about setting up a welfare fund.

But they were wrong. A Federal court only last month held they were wrong. That court said that employers have to bargain about welfare funds. Well, now these same people are planning to amend the law. They want it illegal for a union to ask for a welfare fund.

Congressman Hartley, of the Taft-Hartley team, who has decided that he can't get reelected this time, says he leaves the job to his successors.

Don't be fooled—they will outlaw your welfare fund, if they can.

If another Republican Congress is elected in November, the Republican leaders will do all they can to destroy the growth of union welfare funds.

They will try to close the doors to progress that are being opened up by American labor—progress such as finding cures for occupational diseases and giving relief and comfort to workingmen in their old age.

They will do it all under the hypocritical cloak of "correcting abuses" in our labor laws. They will do it behind the mask of what the Republican candidate for President calls "national unity." And, before we know it, they will have us all unified into a depression, the way the Republicans did in 1929. I don't think we want that, do you?

This attack on welfare funds may seem to be a small thing, but it means the difference between sickness and health, the difference, indeed, between life and death, to thousands of Americans. And it is a straw which shows the way the wind is blowing.

If, however, all of you go to the polls and vote in your own interests—in the interests of yourselves and your families—you can defeat this Republican strategy.

You know, when you exercise your right to vote, you are the Government. You decide what sort of government you want. When you do like you did in 1946, when two-thirds of you stayed at home, you get just what you deserved—you got that good-for-nothing 80th Congress.

Now, you can elect a Democratic administration, pledged to the protection of labor's rights, the expansion of social security, the improvement of education and health, the building of adequate housing, and the control of the cost of living.

You can do that now, if you exercise your right as a free-born American citizen to go to the polls and vote the straight Democratic ticket, and then you can't make a mistake.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:20 a.m. in Court House Square in Scranton. In his opening words he referred to James T. Hanlon, Mayor of Scranton. Later he referred to Frank Walker, former Postmaster General, George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, Harry P. O'Neill, Democratic candidate for Representative from the 10th District of Pennsylvania, John Mitchell, former president of the United Mine Workers of America, and Fred A. Hartley, Jr., Representative from New Jersey.

249 Address in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. *October* 23, 1948

THANK YOU—thank you very much. I certainly appreciate most highly the cordial and friendly welcome of your distinguished Mayor. He wonders how I stand the campaign! I will explain it to him.

When I was a very young man, I cam-

paigned in the township to be township committeeman, and I failed to make the grade. When I got to be a little older, I campaigned in the county to be county Judge, and I made that grade. Then on several occasions I campaigned through the whole State for Senator, and of about 114 counties in the State I made them all.

Now, as President of the United States, and head of the Democratic Party, it is my duty to let the people know just what I stand for, and what the Democratic Party means. And when I have a duty to do, it is never too great to be done.

I certainly appreciate the privilege of meeting former Sergeant Hopkins, who was in the 109th Field Artillery. I did happen to be on the ridge at Mont Blaineville and fired on two German batteries. I didn't know I was doing anybody any good at that time. I just saw these batteries firing, and put them out of commission.

That sometimes happens in politics, too.

It certainly is a pleasure to be in this wonderful city of Wilkes-Barre today.

A Democrat ought to feel at home here, in a city and county which have supported the Democratic Party consistently—except for a little mistake in 1946!

We can't afford to make mistakes like that this year. This election is too important.

Just one fundamental issue in this election this time, and that is the people against the special interests. And when you vote at the polls on November 2d, you will either vote for yourself or you will vote against yourself. Remember that.

I have just been telling your neighbors over in Scranton what the Republican 80th Congress has done to labor and what the Republican Party plans to do to labor, if it gets control of the 81st Congress and puts a Republican President in the White House.

You know, I exercised my power of veto oftener than any other President of the United States in the time limit, except Grover Cleveland, and each of those vetoes I felt was in the public interest. Suppose I hadn't been there!—the 80th Congress would have certainly fixed you sure enough, but they didn't have a chance to do all the things they wanted to do.

All you have to do to avoid a mistake like the 80th Congress is to come out and vote on November 2d.

Wilkes-Barre deserves to have a Representative in Congress who will vote in the interest of the people who live here—in your interest. You ought to have a Congressman who will vote to bring down high prices, to provide you with better social security, and good, decent, American homes.

You deserve to have a Congressman who will vote for you, and not against you. Don't make a mistake again. Send Dan Flood back to Congress where he belongs. He was a good Congressman.

Your city of Wilkes-Barre is a perfect example of what has made this country the leading nation in the world today—the greatest nation in the world on which the sun has ever shone upon. The greatest nation in the world today is the United States of America, and Wilkes-Barre made this country great. It is named after two great fighters for human liberty—John Wilkes and Isaac Barre. Wilkes-Barre has grown because men and women who loved liberty have come here from all over the world. You have fought for human liberty, too—in your businesses, in building up strong labor unions, and in the armed forces of this country fighting for freedom throughout the whole world in two great wars.

This is the real American way.

The ordinary common people of the world are just like we are. They want peace and

security, and that is what we are trying to obtain for them.

We know that the people of the world really want freedom and liberty. We understand the sufferings and the struggles of those in the lands from which we came. We know that they want freedom, no matter what regime may be imposed upon them by force or treachery.

The Democratic Party stands for aid to people of other lands in their struggles against tyranny. We know that the people of the world really want liberty and freedom.

During the 80th Congress, one of the pieces of legislation in which I was most interested was the displaced persons bill. This bill opens the door to a portion of those former victims of nazism, people from Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and other European countries, who have been persecuted by Germans and who don't want to go back to tyranny behind the Soviet Iron Curtain.

I wanted to see our country admit its fair share of these helpless victims. I wanted to see them come in without any discrimination, but the Republican 80th Congress passed a law which discriminates against certain groups.

It excludes nearly all displaced persons who belong to the Jewish faith, and it excludes an unfair proportion of those belonging to the Catholic faith. I don't think that is right. It is not American.

I asked the Republican Congress to change this law at the special session last July, but it refused to act.

Now, if you want to see these displaced persons, who have so much in common with us, treated on a fair and equal basis, you have got to elect a Democratic Congress on November 2d.

If you elect a Democratic Congress, you will be sure of getting laws which will help out all the people of the United States, and not just a powerful, wealthy few.

We need a law that will provide a half million units of low-rent public housing, clearance of slums, and rural housing. The Democratic Congress will give you that sort of law, because that is a part of the Democratic platform.

We need Federal aid to education. The Democratic Congress will give you that aid, because that is a part of the Democratic platform.

We need at least a 75-cent minimum wage. The Democratic Congress will give us that minimum wage. Now the Republican candidate says he is for a minimum wage, and I think the sort he wants is the smaller the minimum the better.

We need extension of social security to everybody in the entire Nation not now covered, and a 50 percent increase in benefits. A Democratic Congress will give us that extension and that increase.

The Republicans said they are for social security, but when they had the power and the Congress, they took social security away from a million people that had it.

We need controls on inflation. A Democratic Congress, I think, will give us these controls.

I am urging you with everything I have to vote the Democratic ticket straight November 2d, and then we can go on to build the kind of people's America that our great President Franklin D. Roosevelt had in mind when he gave us the New Deal.

We can build the kind of prosperous Nation we all want in a peaceful world that I want—and I am sure you want and need.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:40 a.m. in Public Square park in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. During his address he referred to Mayor Luther M. Kniffen of Wilkes-Barre, former Sergeant Robert Hopkins, Battery B, 109th Field Artillery, and former Representative Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania.

250 Rear Platform Remarks in Pennsylvania. *October* 23, 1948

[1.] LOCK HAVEN, PENNSYLVANIA (1:25 p.m.)

Thank you, Senator, I appreciate that very much. We really didn't have a scheduled stop here, but I am so happy to see so many people turn out and have a chance to see what the President looks like and to hear something about what he believes in. You know, there has been so much publicity about your President not knowing where he is going or what he is doing or anything of the kind that people are surprised when they find that he does know where he is going, and he knows what he is doing.

This campaign has been a campaign of the people against special interests. And when you go to the polls to vote on November 2d, just bear in mind that you are voting for yourselves. If you vote in your own interest, you can't do but one thing, and that is vote the Democratic ticket straight.

I have made it perfectly plain from one end of the country to the other, that the Republicans conclusively showed what they believed in, when the 80th Congress met on the 3d day of January in 1947. That Congress was not one bit different from the ancient idea that the Republicans have always had, that special interest comes first.

Voice: The worst one's right here!

THE PRESIDENT. You are just as right as you can be, and that goes from the grassroots up. They haven't changed their position a bit.

Now, just do one thing in your own interest. When election day comes, don't do like you did in 1946. You know, two-thirds of you stayed at home in 1946, and one-third of the people of this country elected that good-for-nothing, "do-nothing" 80th Congress.

Those of you who stayed at home got just what you deserved. Now don't do that this time. Go out and vote your sentiments. Vote in your own interest. Then I won't have to be troubled with the housing shortage, I will still live in the White House for another 4 years.

I am sorry Margaret and Mrs. Truman are not with me today. But they had to stay at home and get ready for the final windup of this tour next week. You see, tomorrow afternoon I will leave Washington again and start for Chicago and Cleveland, and Boston and New York City, and Brooklyn and St. Louis, Mo., and finally wind up at home on November 1st, in Independence. Kansas City is a suburb of Independence. Then, on the next day, everybody will vote, I hope, and then on the 3d of November we will know what the answer is. And I think I know what it's going to be.

NOTE: In his opening words the President referred to Senator Francis J. Myers of Pennsylvania.

251 Address in Johnstown, Pennsylvania. *October* 23, 1948

Mr. Chairman, and all these distinguished guests and candidates for office, and good Democrats all:

I'm highly pleased to be back in Johnstown today and to have this opportunity to talk with you about the issues of this cam-

paign. I'm especially glad to be in Buzz Wagner's hometown. Buzz was a great hero and a great American. All of us can be proud of him.

The people of Johnstown have reason also to be proud of one of Buzz Wagner's fighting comrades—Colonel Bob Coffey. He will make a fine Congressman from this 26th District, and I hope you give him a record total of votes on November 2d. If you do that, I won't have any trouble, either.

The great issue in this campaign—the great issue—is whether this country is going to be governed in the interest of all the people, or in the interest of big business and special privilege.

I have been criticized during this campaign for talking plainly to people about the issues, but that's the only way I know how to do business. I want you to know where I stand. I won't talk high-level platitudes that don't mean anything.

That's all the people are getting from the Republican candidate for President.

You know what G.O.P. stands for these days; it stands for "Grand Old Platitudes."

As President of the United States, I am worried about a lot of things—the same things that you should worry about.

One of these worries is high prices. Prices are so high now that they are cutting into people's savings. It is a terrible thing when a family has to dip into its savings to pay the grocery bill—savings which it had set aside for old age, to educate the children, or for the down payment on a home.

I have done my best to get that Republican anti-everything 80th Congress to do something about high prices. I called that 80th Congress back into special session twice and asked for legislation to control high prices. The Republican leaders refused to do anything about it. But if a Republican Congress is reelected this year, the same men will be in power again and they still won't do anything!

I'll tell you why they won't do anything. They won't do anything because their "big business bosses" won't let them. And a lot of the "big business bosses" of these Republican leaders are right here in Pennsylvania.

Big business is making too much money out of those exorbitant prices. Back during the war we had inflationary pressures just as great as we have today. But a Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress established price controls. Because of that, prices were held down—they stayed on an even keel right through the war.

When the war ended, big business decided to torpedo price controls. They wanted to take over the wartime savings of the American people. So the National Association of Manufacturers spent $3 million to fool the American people into believing that price control was a bad thing. The Republicans in Congress led the fight to end price control and, after they had ended it, they boasted about what they had done.

You know what has happened since. Prices have gone up 30 cents on the dollar. Food has increased in price almost 50 cents on the dollar. We have had to spend our wartime savings to pay the grocery bill.

Wages have lagged way behind prices, increasing only 20 cents on every dollar. Yet they will tell you that the increases in wages have caused high prices, and they tell the farmers that the increase in prices is caused by prices to the consumer. Now, none of these things has a word of truth in it. The truth is that the profits of the fellow who skims the cream off the people are what is causing high prices. He doesn't want those prices to go down.

Now, since price increases haven't gone into wages, where has the money gone?

It has gone just where big business and the Republican Party planned for it to go—into higher profits.

Corporation profits after taxes have increased 70 cents on the dollar since price control was killed. You know, when wheat was going up—when wheat was going up as high as $3 a bushel, bread was increased from 10 cents to 11 cents—12 cents—13 cents and 14 cents a loaf. Well, wheat has gone down more than a dollar a bushel. Are you getting any lower price for your bread now? Of course you're not.

Don't think big business doesn't appreciate all that the Republican Party has done for it. Don't think big business doesn't appreciate the fat profits that the Republican Party has laid in its lap by killing price control.

During this past summer, up to August 31, officers and directors of the country's largest corporations contributed immense sums to the Republican election campaign funds. Contributions since that time have not yet been published.

Thousands of dollars came from the railroad industry.

The railroad executives no doubt appreciate the fact that the Republicans passed the Bulwinkle bill over my veto. Now they don't have to worry about antitrust laws any more.

Thousands of dollars came from the steel industry to show their appreciation for the 75 percent increase in steel profits since the end of price control.

A quarter of a million dollars came from the big bankers. No doubt that's just a small token of appreciation for the $8 billion increase in corporation profits since price control was killed.

These contributions are not just appreciation of past favors. I was down in West Virginia the other day, and I picked up this sheet here [*indicating*]. It says: "Money in your pocket. The Republican 80th Congress reduced your income tax. The following table shows your saving under the new tax law." That is that rich man's tax bill which they passed over my veto, and they had to pass it three times before they could make a law out of it. Now they go on to say that a fellow making $2,500 saves about $78, if he has two children; and they go on to show the different savings all the way down. A man who gets $100,000 a year, they say he saves $16,658.44, if he has two children. Then they say down at the bottom, "If you want more of this constructive Government action," in the interests of special privilege—I am putting that in, *in the interests of special privilege*—of course, they didn't put that in! Then it says—listen to this, now: "Use your tax savings to make a substantial investment in a Republican victory." Now, if a Congress is in session for special privilege, it no longer represents the Government, and my friends, that is what I am trying to overcome. I am trying to tell you just what this Congress will do.

That is why they are trying to make perfectly sure that there will not be any price control with a Republican President and a Republican Congress.

But if you people here in Johnstown and the millions like you, all over the United States, come out and vote on election day, we will get a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress. Then I won't be worried with a housing shortage. I can stay in the White House another 4 years.

Then we can bring prices down.

Then we can bring prices down to where your weekly pay envelope will not only keep your family going for the week, but you will be able to put something aside for all the fine things you hoped to buy after the war and haven't been able to buy.

Then we will have a Government for the

people. That is what Government was set up for, to represent the people, not just a few of them.

We will have Federal aid to education.

We will have slum clearance, and half a million new low-rent houses.

We will have a 75-cent minimum wage. The Republican candidate says he is for a minimum wage. He doesn't say how much. I think the smaller the minimum the better.

We will have extended social security for every workingman and woman in the United States. The Republican candidate says he is for social security, yet this Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress took a million people out from under social security!

We will have health insurance to help pay the doctor bills of every American family.

These are what we need for a prosperous country, and a vast majority of the American people are in favor of every single one of these issues.

Big business is opposed to them.

We will never get them with a Republican President and a Republican Congress. You know, back in 1946 two-thirds of you stayed at home, two-thirds of you didn't exercise that great privilege you have of controlling the Government. One-third of you went to the polls and elected that 80th Congress, and you got just what you deserved—the two-thirds of you did, because you didn't go out and exercise your rights as American citizens must.

If you and millions of American voters like you go to the polls a week from Tuesday and vote the straight Democratic ticket, we can go forward together to build a richer, stronger, and better Nation for the American people and for the whole world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5 p.m. in Johnstown, Pa. His opening words "Mr. Chairman" referred to John R. Torquato, Cambri County Democratic Chairman. Later he referred to Lt. Col. Boyd D. Wagner, American aviator killed in World War II, and Robert L. Coffey, Jr., Democratic candidate for Representative from the 26th District of Pennsylvania.

252 Address in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. *October* 23, 1948

Mr. Chairman, and fellow Democrats of Allegheny County:

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this magnificent reception. I am always happy when I am with John Kane and Dave Lawrence, and Frank Myers and all the rest of the good Democrats of Pennsylvania.

I think a Presidential campaign is one of the most important elements in our democratic process. It's a chance to get things out in the open and discuss them and make decisions. I am an old campaigner, and I enjoy it.

This is about my 230th meeting, and I am still going strong, and I will be going strong at midnight of November the 1st.

You know, I would enjoy this campaign a lot more if my opponent had the courage to discuss the issues. The American people have the right to know where I stand and where my opponent stands on the issues that affect every person in this country.

Now, the people know where I stand. But the Republican candidate refuses to tell where he stands.

My opponent is conducting a very peculiar campaign. He has set himself up as some kind of doctor with a magic cure for all the ills of mankind.

Now, let's imagine that we, the American people, are going to see this doctor. It's just our usual routine checkup which we have every 4 years.

Now, we go into this doctor's office.

And, "Doctor," we say, "we're feeling fine."

"Is that so?" says the doctor. "You been bothered much by issues lately?"

"Not bothered, exactly," we say. "Of course, we've had a few. We've had the issues of high prices, and housing, and education, and social security, and a few others."

"That's too bad," says the doctor. "You shouldn't have so many issues."

"Is that right?" we say. "We thought that issues were a sign of political health."

"Not at all," says the doctor. "You shouldn't think about issues. What you need is my brand of soothing syrup—I call it 'unity.' "

Then the doctor edges up a little closer.

And he says, "Say, you don't look so good."

We say to him, "Well, that seems strange to me, Doc. I never felt stronger, never had more money, and never had a brighter future. What is wrong with me?"

Well, the doctor looks blank and he says, "I never discuss issues with a patient. But what you need is a major operation."

"Will it be serious, Doc?" we say.

"Not so very serious," he says. "It will just mean taking out the complete works and putting in a Republican administration."

Now, that's the kind of campaign you have been getting from the Republicans. They won't talk about the issues, but they insist that a major operation is necessary.

Take this vague talk of the Republican candidate about the "failures" of the present administration. That puzzled me for a little bit.

I thought of the fact that our national income is now running at the rate of over $220 billion a year—over five times as much as it was in 1932.

Is that what he calls a failure?

Or perhaps he was worried about the profits of the corporations. In 1932, corporations lost $3 billion—lost $3 billion. Now corporate profits are running at the rate of $19 billion a year, after taxes.

Is that what he calls a failure?

Perhaps he was thinking about our mighty undertakings to assist the free nations of the world to protect themselves against the inroads of communism. These efforts are proving successful.

Is that what he calls a failure?

In his speech here in Pittsburgh just a few days ago, the Republican candidate pretended to be upset about the way my administration has treated labor—about the terrible condition that labor was in in 1946. That's the excuse he gives for the passage of the Taft-Hartley law.

All right—all right, let's examine that.

In 1946, more people had jobs than ever before in the history of the country. Unions were healthier and had more members than ever before. And the workingmen and women of the United States produced more goods in 1946 than in any previous peacetime year.

The world wasn't perfect in 1946. But before any Republican begins complaining about that, he had better take a look at 1932—the last Republican year.

The Republican candidate talks about the workdays lost from strikes in 1946. Our industrial production in 1946 was three times as much as it was in 1932. And the days lost from strikes in 1946 were less than 1½ percent of the total days worked that year.

Republicans don't like to talk about 1932—and I don't blame them. Do you? But it is a good year for you to remember when you start out to vote on election day.

When the Republican candidate finished telling you, here in Pittsburgh, how labor had suffered under my administration, he told you who had come to the rescue of labor.

Now, who do you think it was?

It was the Republicans, according to the Republican candidate.

Now, how do you suppose they did it?

They did it with the Taft-Hartley Act. That is how they came to the rescue of labor.

Yes, sir. The Republican candidate marched up proudly and embraced the Taft-Hartley law—lock, stock, and barrel. No workingman can have any doubt about that any more.

And in praising the Taft-Hartley law, he displayed his characteristic tendency of claiming credit where no credit is due. He tried to tell you that it is the Taft-Hartley Act that is driving the Communists out of labor unions.

Now, if you want to know how much truth there is in this claim, ask Bill Green—ask Phil Murray. They will tell you who got the Communists out.

It's being done in the good American way—the unions are doing it themselves.

Now in this speech the Republican candidate made here in Pittsburgh, he admitted, with characteristic modesty, that he is going to lead the country—and, indeed, the whole world—out of all its troubles. And he made a lot of promises.

He opened his mouth and he closed his eyes, and he swallowed the terrible record of that good-for-nothing Republican 80th Congress.

Now, 4 years ago this same Republican Presidential candidate went around the country saying that he was in favor of what the Democrats had done, but he could do it better. He said he was in favor of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage and Hour Act, the Social Security Act, and "all the other Federal statutes designed to promote and protect the welfare of the American workingmen and women"—but he could do it better.

For some reason or other the American people did not believe him in 1944.

This year the same candidate is back with us, and he is saying much the same thing; that he likes the Democratic laws, but that he can run them better than we can.

It sounds to me like the same old phonograph record; but this year the record has a crack, and the needle gets stuck in that crack every once in a while.

Now the crack in the soothing syrup of that record was provided by the Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress.

Now, in 1948, every time the Republican candidate says, "I can do it better," up comes an echo from the crack which says, "We're against it."

So the sounds coming out of the Republican Party this year are not very harmonious. And they are even less believable than they were in 1944.

The candidate said, and I quote: "The present minimum wage set by law is far too low and it will be raised."

Now, that's fine. I am glad he said that.

We're right with the candidate on that. In fact, we are 'way out ahead of him.

Time and time again in the last 2 years I urged the Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress to raise the minimum wage from the present 40 cents an hour to at least 75 cents an hour.

But that Republican Congress—that crack in the record—said, "Nothing doing—we're against it."

And the minimum wage stayed where it was. Now, the Republicans like to say they are for a minimum wage, but it is perfectly clear that the smaller the minimum the better.

Now, let's look at another song on the

record the candidate played for you here in Pittsburgh.

That Republican candidate for President said, and I quote: "We will overhaul the Social Security System for the unemployed and the aged, and go forward to extend its coverage and increase its benefits." That is a direct quote from his speech, made right here in Pittsburgh.

Now, that sounds good, although it's a little vague. But that's the candidate speaking. Where do the Republicans actually stand on social security?

As your President, I made every effort to get the Republican 80th Congress to extend social security coverage and increase social security benefits. What did that Congress do?

They took social security benefits *away* from nearly a million people.

What do you believe—campaign promises, or plain facts of Republican action?

Now, again that cracked record gives them away. It says, "We're against it."

In my recommendations to the special "do-nothing" session of Congress in July, I pointed out the desperate need to increase old-age insurance benefits at least 50 percent. At the present time the average insurance benefit payment for an old couple is less than $40 a month.

The Republican Congress did nothing about it—and neither did the Republican candidate for President.

He was silent as the tomb while the Congress was in session. Now, while he's campaigning, he suddenly takes quite an interest in increasing social security benefits. And I ask you: "Can you believe that kind of a campaign promise?"

That Republican outfit went to Philadelphia and wrote a platform, and that platform was the most hypocritical document that ever was written; and I called them back to Washington to see whether they meant what they said in their platform. And they didn't.

Take another promise in that Pittsburgh speech. The Republican candidate said, and I quote: "We will make the Labor Department equal in actual Cabinet status to Commerce and Agriculture. It will make an important contribution to the national welfare." Doesn't that sound nice?

That promise is ridiculous in the face of what the Republicans in the 80th Congress did.

The Republican 80th Congress stripped the Mediation and Conciliation Service from the Labor Department.

The Republican 80th Congress cut the appropriations for the Bureau of Labor Statistics almost in half—apparently to prevent the Bureau from showing what's happening to the cost of living.

That's the plain factual record of what the Republicans have done to the Labor Department in the last 2 years.

Remember, the Republican candidate has said he is proud of the record of the 80th Congress.

But that crack in the record gives them away.

Here's another one of his promises. Here in Pittsburgh, the Republican candidate said, and I quote again: "We will bring a new and vigorous leadership to the Federal Conciliation and Mediation Service so that major disputes are settled before they become strikes."

Now that's a very, very peculiar promise. The present director of the Mediation Service is a well-known industrial leader named Cyrus Ching. Mr. Ching has been widely praised for his work in mediation. I think the Republican candidate is a bit confused here. And that is not the only thing he is confused on, either.

Let me take another campaign promise, here in Pittsburgh. The Republican candi-

date said right here: "We will encourage unions to grow in responsibility and strengthen the processes of collective bargaining."

I know it's hard to believe, but that's exactly what he said.

And he said it in the very same speech in which he went all out for the Taft-Hartley law.

Now, in this case, the candidate has fallen in the crack with the Republican Congress. He makes a promise, but the record says they're both against it.

Here's another promise by the Republican candidate; and I quote again: "We will vigorously and consistently enforce and strengthen our antitrust laws against business monopolies."

Now that's really fantastic. The Republican Party is notoriously favorable toward big business monopolies. The record of the Republican 80th Congress furnishes plenty of proof. They passed over my veto a bill to exempt railroads from antitrust laws. And at the same time they refused to pass, as I recommended, the O'Mahoney-Kefauver bill to plug loopholes in the antitrust laws.

In the face of that record, the candidate now claims that the Republicans will strengthen the antitrust laws.

How can the Republican candidate say such things with a straight face?

But here's another—here's another! Here in Pittsburgh again, he said, and I quote: "We will break the log jam in housing so that decent houses may be provided at reasonable cost for the people."

For 2 solid years I tried in every way I knew to get the Republican 80th Congress to break the log jam in housing by passing the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill.

The Republicans would not act.

In the face of pleading and urging from Governors and Mayors, from veterans and plain people all over the country, the Republican Congress refused to pass the housing bill. And I gave them four chances to do it.

But now—now in the middle of the campaign—the Republican candidate has the gall to promise that the Republicans will take action on housing.

I certainly wouldn't have believed it if I hadn't seen it in print.

Let me quote just one more campaign promise from that incredible Pittsburgh speech.

"We will make sure," said the Republican candidate, I quote: "we will make sure that soaring prices do not steal food and clothing and other necessities from American families."

Now that one completely stops me.

Everybody in this country knows that the Republican 80th Congress refused, time and time again, to pass the laws we need to stop high prices. In November 1947, in January 1948, in July 1948, I asked that Republican Congress to act against inflation.

They didn't do a thing about it.

And neither did the Republican candidate. All through the time when the Congress was in session, stalling and blocking anti-inflation legislation, the Republican candidate was silent as the grave.

But now—now that he's trying to persuade the people to vote for him—the Republican candidate says the Republicans will do something about high prices. It looks to me as though it's a little late in the game for that promise, anyway.

Now, the candidate says—the Republican candidate says: "Me, too." But the Republican record still says, "We're against it." And if you return the Republicans to power, you will have that same clique in control of the Congress that is in control of it now.

These two phrases, "me, too," and "we're against it," sum up the whole Republican campaign.

My friends, it isn't funny at all. It's tragic, tragic for the everyday citizen.

This soft talk and double talk, this combination of crafty silence and resounding misrepresentation, is an insult to the intelligence of the American voter. It proceeds upon the assumption that you *can* fool all the people—or enough of them—all the time.

In this campaign you don't have to rely on promises. This time, you have the record.

You don't have to play just the Republican side of that record. Turn it over.

Our side—the Democratic side—doesn't say, "We're against it." It says, "We can do it." And we will do it—if you will give us a chance.

Our side is the Victory March—a victory on November 2d for all the people and for the people's party—the Democratic Party.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. at the Hunt Armory in Pittsburgh. His opening words "Mr. Chairman" referred to John J. Kane, chairman of the Allegheny County Board of Commissioners. Later he referred to David L. Lawrence, Mayor of Pittsburgh, Francis J. Myers, Senator from Pennsylvania, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and Cyrus S. Ching, Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

253 Statement by the President on Israel. *October* 24, 1948

THE REPUBLICAN candidate for President has seen fit to release a statement with reference to Palestine. This statement is in the form of a letter dated October 22, 1948, 10 days before the election.

I had hoped our foreign affairs could continue to be handled on a non-partisan basis without being injected into the presidential campaign. The Republican candidate's statement, however, makes it necessary for me to reiterate my own position with respect to Palestine.

I stand squarely on the provisions covering Israel in the Democratic platform.

I approved the provisions on Israel at the time they were written. I reaffirm that approval now.

So that everyone may be familiar with my position, I set out here the Democratic platform on Israel:

"President Truman, by granting immediate recognition to Israel, led the world in extending friendship and welcome to a people who have long sought and justly deserve freedom and independence.

"We pledge full recognition to the State of Israel. We affirm our pride that the United States, under the leadership of President Truman, played a leading role in the adoption of the resolution of November 29, 1947, by the United Nations General Assembly for the creation of a Jewish state.

"We approve the claims of the State of Israel to the boundaries set forth in the United Nations' resolution of November 29 and consider that modifications thereof should be made only if fully acceptable to the State of Israel.

"We look forward to the admission of the State of Israel to the United Nations and its full participation in the international community of nations. We pledge appropriate aid to the State of Israel in developing its economy and resources.

"We favor the revision of the arms embargo to accord to the State of Israel the right of self-defense. We pledge ourselves to work for the modification of any resolution of the United Nations to the extent that it may prevent any such revision.

"We continue to support, within the framework of the United Nations, the internationalization of Jerusalem and the protection of the holy places in Palestine."

I wish to amplify the three portions of the platform about which there have been considerable discussion.

On May 14, 1948, this country recognized the existence of the independent State of Israel. I was informed by the Honorable Eliahu Epstein that a Provisional Government had been established in Israel. This country recognized the Provisional Government as the *de facto* authority of the new State of Israel. When a permanent government is elected in Israel it will promptly be given *de jure* recognition.

The Democratic platform states that we approve the claims of Israel to the boundaries set forth in the United Nations resolution of November 29, 1947, and consider that modification thereof should be made only if fully acceptable to the State of Israel.

This has been and is now my position.

Proceedings are now taking place in the United Nations looking toward an amicable settlement of the conflicting positions of the parties in Palestine. In the interests of peace this work must go forward.

A plan has been submitted which provides a basis for a renewed effort to bring about a peaceful adjustment of differences. It is hoped that by using this plan as a basis of negotiation, the conflicting claims of the parties can be settled.

With reference to the granting of a loan or loans to the State of Israel, I have directed the departments and agencies of the executive branch of our Government to work together in expediting the consideration of any applications for loans which may be submitted by the State of Israel.

It is my hope that such financial aid will soon be granted and that it will contribute substantially to the long-term development and stability of the Near East.

NOTE: On October 22 Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate for President, reaffirmed his position that the Jewish people were entitled to a homeland in Palestine. His views were expressed in a letter to Dean Alfange, chairman of the American Christian Palestine Committee of New York.

For the President's statement announcing *de facto* recognition of the State of Israel, see Item 100. On January 25, 1949, a permanent government was elected in Israel, and on January 31 the White House announced that the United States had extended *de jure* recognition to the Government of Israel.

A summary of the United Nations resolution of November 29, 1947, providing for the partition of Palestine into independent Arab and Jewish states, is printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 17, p. 1163).

254 Rear Platform Remarks in Indiana. *October* 25, 1948

[1.] GARRETT, INDIANA (9:53 a.m.)

Thank you very much. I am certainly glad to be here in Garrett this morning and to talk to you about this great campaign. I appreciate the introduction by the next Congressman from this district, Mr. Edward H. Kruse, Jr. I know you are going to send him to Congress because you need that sort of representation there these days.

I was most highly entertained and well treated while I was in Indiana before by your great Democratic candidate for Governor, former Governor Schricker, and I am looking to see Indiana in the right column all the way down the line this time.

It has been a good campaign for me. It has been a hard campaign. I have traveled from one end of the country to the other, telling millions of people about peace, prices, and places to live, and the other issues which face the Nation today. My opponent has talked a great deal too, but he said almost nothing about where he stands on the major issues facing the American people today. He just keeps on giving the people high-level platitudes. You know, that's what "G.O.P." means in this day and age—it means "Grand Old Platitudes."

The Republican candidate has gone from one doubtful State to another trying to bail out the campaigns of hopeless reactionaries who ran the Republican 80th Congress. He is trying to help those birds that ran that good-for-nothing 80th Congress. He is trying to get them all reelected. One of these salvage operations is being carried on right next door here in Illinois. The Republican candidate is hoping to save that hard-shelled isolationist reactionary, Curly Brooks, who has been the Senator from Illinois for quite some time. I think that should give you a pretty good idea of just how meaningless all these fine words are.

You know, one of the high-sounding lectures we have been hearing from the Republican candidate over and over again concerns communism. The Republicans are trying to pretend that my administration has been friendly to communism. That bit of campaign propaganda reminds me a lot of the stories we heard during the war and are now hearing from the Communists in Russia. They believe that if you tell a big enough lie, somebody is bound to believe it. If anybody in this country is friendly to the Communists, it is the Republicans who are trying so hard to be elected. It's not the Truman administration—I can tell you that.

The Communists are doing everything in their power to beat me. They have taken over the Third Party and are using it in a vain attempt to split the Democratic Party. The Republicans have joined up with this Communist-inspired Third Party to beat the Democrats. They finance the situation right here. The Republicans financed the Third Party to get on the ballot right here in Indiana in a number of counties. We have got straight-out evidence on that, and I can prove it. Right here in Indiana the Republican State Committee did its best to get that Third Party on the ballot. Over in Illinois the Republicans are still trying to get the Third Party on the ballot. They even went all the way to the Supreme Court to get them on there. "By their friends ye shall know them."

Don't fall for their cheap promises. Vote for the party that has a program for peace and for prosperity and for places to live. Vote for the future of this Nation. And the way to do that is to vote for your friends. You know, you are the Government, when you analyze it, when you exercise the privilege of the vote on election day. You control the government absolutely, and you get the kind of government you want when you vote. Back in 1946 about two-thirds of you stayed at home and didn't vote, and you got the 80th Congress—and look what you got!

Now, don't do that this time. Go to the polls on election day and vote the Democratic ticket straight and you will be voting for yourselves and your own interests.

NOTE: During his remarks the President referred to Edward H. Kruse, Jr., Democratic candidate for Representative from Indiana's Fourth District, former Governor Henry F. Schricker, Democratic candidate for Governor of Indiana, and C. Wayland Brooks, Senator from Illinois.

255 Address in the Memorial Auditorium, Gary, Indiana. *October* 25, 1948

THANK YOU, thank you very much. It's a very great pleasure to me, and a very high honor to be so cordially welcomed to this great industrial district. I appreciate most highly the Governor's introduction. I appreciate what Congressman Madden had to say—and, of course, I know you are going to send Congressman Madden back to Congress, because you did that in 1946, when a lot of other Indiana districts went wrong. And I don't have to fear but what Indiana is going to do just what the Governor said it was going to do—going to elect the Democratic ticket from top to bottom. I understand that I'm in the hometown of Chet Fleming, who is running for Secretary of State in this great State of Indiana—and I don't think that is going to take any votes away from me, is it?

I heard a story not long ago about an elderly man who was driving into Gary, and he gave a lift to a young fellow who was going his way. During their talk, the older man asked the young fellow, "What takes you to Gary?"

The young man kind of hesitated, put his head down, and finally said: "I am working for the Republican State Committee. They are sending me to Gary to see what I can do to get the people there to vote the Republican ticket."

The old man was silent for a while, and then he said: "Son, I've listened to a lot of sad stories for the last 50 years, but that's the saddest one I've heard yet."

I agree completely with the old gentleman. I can think of no harder job than to try to sell the Republican Party to the men and women of Gary, who lived through those dark years of the Republican depression in 1930, 1931, and 1932.

More than 12 million able-bodied Americans couldn't find work in those years, and the average hourly wage in industry at that time was only 45 cents, and the take-home pay was barely $17 a week.

There was no unemployment compensation, or work relief—just had breadlines.

Thousands of farmers lost their farms in those years, and the Republicans did nothing to help save them. Millions of Americans lost their homes, their jobs, their savings, and their hopes.

What did the Republicans do for the people they had treated that way? They just did absolutely nothing. The Democrats cured the depression by political action—and the Republican Party has never forgiven us for that.

By 1932 the American people had had all they could stand. They elected a great Democratic President—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

President Roosevelt brought the capital of the United States back to Washington from Wall Street and it's going to stay there just as long as the Democratic party controls the Government.

You all know what the Democratic Party has done for industrial workers in great cities like Gary. Your right to organize and bargain collectively was established by the Wagner Act, and protected by the National Labor Relations Board. Your standard of living was protected for 5 years of war and reconstruction by the price control law.

You know what the Republicans did, the very first thing, when they got into power in the Government? They introduced in the Congress—they didn't control the Government, thank goodness; I was still there. The first thing they did, you know, was to pass that rich man's tax bill. They had to pass that three times, because I vetoed that every

single time, and they finally mustered up enough votes to pass it over my veto. Then they passed the Taft-Hartley Act. They said they were going to put labor in its place. They began to tear down the Wagner Act, which is the bill of rights for labor in this country.

After the war, we restored free collective bargaining to help you adjust wages so as to protect your purchasing power which the country needs to insure its prosperity.

Now, you have got to have good pay—the workingman—and the farmer has to have good prices; and the two go side by side—they go together. And in this day and age—in the year when the greatest national income in the history of the world is this country's income—that income is evenly and fairly distributed so that the farmer gets his fair share, labor gets its fair share, the little businessman gets his fair share. That's not what the Republicans want. They want special privilege. They don't want you to have good wages. They don't want the farmer to have good prices. They immediately began to legislate to undermine all that Democratic program known as the New Deal.

Now, we put a floor under wages—by the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. And I have been trying to get them to increase that floor. They say they are for minimum wage—but I have come to the conclusion that the smaller the minimum the better they like it.

We outlawed child labor. We set up overtime pay at the rate of time and a half for every hour worked over 40 hours a week. We gave all industrial workers protection against unemployment and old age by the Social Security Act of 1935.

That Republican Party said it couldn't be done. We did it.

Now, this Congress—this 80th "do-nothing" Congress, elected in 1946, because two-thirds of you didn't go to the polls—has been trying to tear down every bit of that program, and if you let them go back, and give them a President, too, they will succeed in tearing it down—and that will be your fault. I don't think you're going to do it. I know you're not going to do it here in Gary.

We are today the most prosperous nation on earth. More than 61 million Americans have jobs. They said that was impossible too, the Republicans did.

The average hourly rate of pay in industry is $1.33 an hour, instead of 45 cents as it was in 1932. More than three times as much—three times as much under Democratic administrations.

Average weekly earnings are $52.96, instead of the measly $17.05 that you got in 1932.

I don't see how any man—any farmer, any laboringman—can go to the polls on November the 2d and do anything else but vote in his own interests—and if he does that, he will vote the Democratic ticket.

Our farmers have money in the bank and the Government protects it by the Federal Deposit Insurance law. The Republicans said that couldn't be done either. Their farms are almost free of debt and they no longer fear foreclosure and eviction by the moneylenders.

The profits of businessmen are running so high that it's almost unbelievable. They are running at the rate—after taxes—of nearly $20 billion a year.

Yes, today we have so many blessings that the Republicans say that it is time for a change—things are too good.

The special privilege boys are at work throughout the land, crooning "unity," hoping you will open your mouths, shut your eyes, and swallow that soothing syrup, and go to sleep and not go to the polls. That's what they are trying to do.

Don't be deceived, my friends. They took

you to the cleaners in 1929. They want to do it again.

They love labor and the farmers in October, but it's a little bit different after election.

They say that the Democratic Party has been in power too long. What they mean is they'd like to return the capital of the United States to Wall Street.

I say it's time for them to change. It's time for them to change their habit of opposing everything that is done in the interests of the people. It's time for them to change the Taft-Hartley Act—and repeal it. That's what ought to be done with it. It's time for them to change, and support us in raising the minimum wage to at least 75 cents an hour.

They talk about cooperation between the President and the Congress. Cooperation for what, I wonder? I say it's time for them to cooperate with us in trying to do the right thing.

They ought to cooperate in widening social security protection, increasing unemployment benefits and raising old-age payments.

I say it's time for them to cooperate to bring down those Republican high prices.

Yes, I agree. I certainly agree that it is time for a change. It is time for them to mend their ways, for you, the people, to elect a Democratic Congress to cooperate with a Democratic President. That's the sort of a change we need.

It's time for them to prove that they understand and respect human rights.

I have said it before and I say it again: "The real issue in this campaign is the Democratic Party and the people against the special interests and the protected profits for the privileged few." That is the sole issue in this campaign. It is the people against the special interests.

Now, I trust the people. Every good Democrat does. I trust their commonsense, their decency, and their sense of justice. That's why I'm talking with you right now. We beat this Republican outfit in 1932. We beat them in 1936. We beat them in 1940. And we beat them 4 years ago.

We'll do it again.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:03 p.m. in the Memorial Auditorium in Gary, Ind. During his address he referred to Henry F. Schricker, Democratic candidate for Governor of Indiana, Ray J. Madden, Representative from Indiana, and Charles F. Fleming, Democratic candidate for Secretary of State of Indiana.

256 Address in the Chicago Stadium. *October* 25, 1948

THANK YOU, thank you very much. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this most cordial Chicago welcome that no city in the world can equalize. It's a real pleasure to be here this evening in Illinois. One of the reasons for my special fondness for this great city, is the memory of a man who was the last great Governor, a distinguished Democrat and my friend. I refer, of course, to that great Governor, Henry Horner. I hope that the people of Illinois will do all they can to bring back the same high ideals of government that he so much represented, in electing as your Governor, my good friend, Adlai Stevenson. And, if Illinois is to be properly represented in Washington, you'll want to elect to the Senate that able and outstanding liberal, Paul Douglas. While you're doing that, you might just as well elect the whole Demo-

cratic ticket here in Illinois. I know you're going to pay tribute to Governor Horner's memory at the unveiling of a monument in Grant Park. I have always had the utmost admiration for Governor Horner, who was truly a great humanitarian. Racial and religious prejudice were unknown to him. He truly believed in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. I sincerely regret that my schedule does not permit me to be here longer in person. You can be sure, however, that I will be here in spirit.

It is certainly inspiring to recall that in this hall, 16 years ago, the Democratic Party gave the Nation our great leader, Franklin D. Roosevelt. And, when I think of Chicago, I can never forget that 4 years ago the Democratic Party honored me with the nomination for Vice President of the United States, right here in this hall. There were 30 policemen getting me from the back of the hall to the platform. Tonight it took about 330.

We have passed through many stormy and exciting days since the election of 1944. We were fighting a terrible war then. We won that war for freedom, and we are now engaged in an even greater struggle—the struggle to preserve freedom and peace all over the world.

Now, the principal objective of my administration as President has been to create worldwide conditions of a just and lasting peace. I have never turned from that objective.

And, my friends, I would much rather have peace in this world—a permanent peace in this world—than to be President of the United States, or to hold any other office in the world. I have never turned from that objective. I never will stop working for peace.

I have worked hard for peace, because I know that peace is no idle dream. It is a real and living possibility.

In our generation, mankind has taken some long steps toward this goal.

Thirty years ago, a great Democratic President gave voice to the conscience of the world when he proposed the League of Nations. The President—that great President—was Woodrow Wilson. Vicious partisan attacks kept the United States from joining the League, but Woodrow Wilson opened up a great vision for all those who have come after him.

Because we did not live up to our God-given opportunity, after World War I, the League of Nations failed to prevent the most tragic war in history—World War II.

I sincerely hope that we have learned that lesson. Now we have another chance. We have a chance, this time, to build an enduring peace. We have that chance because of the vision of another great Democratic President.

Franklin Roosevelt's wisdom and foresight inspired the nations of the world to forge a new and stronger instrument to keep the peace—the Charter of the United Nations. Today, any nation that dares to contemplate aggressive war knows that it must face the collective judgment of the United Nations and the combined forces of many countries.

We all know that we have a long way to go before the threat of war is finally lifted. The United Nations still lacks much of the power which it must have to do its work successfully. But we are working to get that power for the United Nations, and eventually we will get it. We are on our way, and, please God, with courageous and sustained effort on the part of the free nations of the world, we can do more than merely avert war.

We can preserve for our children and our grandchildren the liberty and freedom which we enjoy today. We must do more than just avert war. We must also preserve here

in the United States the kind of life we believe in and want to keep. That's why I am going to talk tonight about the attacks on our American democracy which are going on right now inside this country.

The American way of life which most of us have been taking for granted is threatened today by powerful forces of which most people are not even aware.

Everybody knows about the contemptible Communist minority. We all detest that Communist minority. Everybody knows, too, about the crackpot forces of the extreme right wing. We have a vociferous representative of that force here in Chicago. We are on our guard against them, however.

The real danger to our democracy does not come only from these extremes. It comes mainly from the powerful reactionary forces which are silently undermining our democratic institutions.

I am going to tell you just what these forces are.

We must not imagine, just because we love freedom, that freedom is safe—that our freedom is safe. Eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty.

Other people have also loved freedom, but have lost their liberty with tragic suddenness.

It happened in Italy 25 years ago. It happened in Germany 15 years ago. It happened in Czechoslovakia just a few months ago. And it could happen here.

I know that it is hard for Americans to admit this danger. American democracy has very deep roots. But, if the antidemocratic forces in this country continue to work unchecked, this Nation could awaken a few years from now to find that the Bill of Rights had become a scrap of paper.

My friends, that must never happen! Look back over history, and you will find that wherever ruthless men have destroyed liberty and human rights, certain economic and social forces had paved the way for them.

What are these forces that threaten our way of life? Who are the men behind them? They are the men who want to see inflation continue unchecked. They are the men who are striving to concentrate great economic power in their own hands. They are the men who are setting up and stirring up racial and religious prejudice against some of our fellow Americans.

I propose to state in simple, unmistakable language, just exactly how each of these three groups of men—working through the Republican Party, if you please—is a serious threat to the future welfare of this great Nation.

Let's take that first group—the men who want to see inflation continue unchecked. Believe it or not, there are such men. They know that inflation—since price controls were killed just over 2 years ago—has sent corporation profits soaring to the fantastic level of nearly $20 billion a year.

They are so blinded by the glitter of gold that they forget that inflation—if it is not stopped—will bring on another terrible crash like the one of 1929.

We were fortunate to be led from that depression to new prosperity by a great and true lover of democracy—Franklin Roosevelt. But we cannot always count on being led—in time of economic trouble—by a man with genuine faith in the people. When people are hungry—and homeless—and frightened—they are easy victims for clever demagogues. In our own time, we have seen the tragedy of the Italian and German peoples, who lost their freedom to men who made promises of unity and efficiency and security.

I have had all this in mind in the long, hard fight I have been making on inflation. When I asked the Republican 80th Congress to pass laws to check inflation, I was think-

ing not only of high prices, not only of our housewives and the daily budget.

I was thinking also of the urgent need to prevent another boom and bust cycle that would surely endanger our democracy.

When those Republican leaders of the 80th Congress failed to act against inflation, they proved themselves blind to the lessons of history.

The American people cannot afford to entrust their future to men of such little vision. The Bible warns us that where there is no vision, the people perish. That is why I urge the election, on November the 2d, of a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President.

We must never again entrust our political destinies to men who lack the will to safeguard our future and our freedoms.

I say to you, if you want to protect American democracy, you must elect a Congress and an administration that will meet the peril of inflation squarely, and conquer it.

Now, the record conclusively proves that you cannot rely on the Republican Party to do that. The Democratic Party, and the Democratic Party alone, has led the fight on inflation.

Now, let's look at that group of men who are jeopardizing the future of democracy in the United States through their concentrated economic power. This is just as dangerous as inflation. Again and again in history, economic power concentrated in the hands of a few men has led to the loss of freedom.

When a few men get control of the economy of a nation, they find a "front man" to run the country for them. Before Hitler came to power, control over the German economy had passed into the hands of a small group of rich manufacturers, bankers, and landowners. These men decided that Germany had to have a tough, ruthless dictator who would play their game and crush the strong German labor unions. So they put money and influence behind Adolf Hitler. We know the rest of the story.

We also know that in Italy, in the 1920's, powerful Italian businessmen backed Mussolini, and that in the 1930's, Japanese financiers helped Tojo's military clique take over Japan.

Today, in the United States, there is a growing—and dangerous—concentration of immense economic power in the hands of just a few men. That's a dangerous situation. The Democratic Party has been fighting that ever since the Democratic Party has been in existence. This 80th Congress I talk so much about was the tool of that sort of a situation in this country. They contributed towards the concentration of wealth.

Great corporations have been expanding their power steadily. They have been squeezing small business further and further out of the picture. The lobbies which work for big business found that they could get what their bosses wanted from the Republican leaders of the 80th Congress.

That 80th Congress was beset by more lobbyists and more powerful lobbyists than any Congress in the history of these United States.

Now, my friends, the record of that 80th Congress is a sad tale of the sellout of the people's interest to put more and more power into the hands of fewer and fewer men. The Republican Congress, acting for big business, has already begun its attack to break the strength of labor unions by voting the vicious Taft-Hartley law. I vetoed that bill and fought to prevent its passage with all the strength I had as President of the United States. That Taft-Hartley law is the opening gun in the Republican onslaught against the rights of the workingmen in this country.

The Republican 80th Congress repeatedly flouted the will of the people. And yet the Republican candidate has the gall to say,

and I quote him verbatim: "The 80th Congress delivered as no other Congress ever did for the future of this country."

Well, I'll say it delivered.

It delivered for the private power lobby. It delivered for the big oil company lobby. It delivered for the railroad lobby. It delivered for the real estate lobby.

That's what the Republican candidate calls delivering for the future. Is that the kind of future you want? Well, I'm sure you don't, so be sure you elect a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress on November 2d.

In the last 2 years, I have had to use my veto power time and again on major pieces of legislation to prevent the Republican Congress from turning the country upside down and shaking out its pockets.

The actions of the Congress lead to one inescapable conclusion—Republican leaders stand ready to deliver to big business more and more control over the resources of this Nation and the rights of the American people.

In 1933, the Democratic Party drove the moneychangers out of the temple and brought new life to our democracy. Now, this Republican Party is making soapbubble promises to behave better in the future. Those bubbles are pretty, those promises are fine, but they will vanish at the first touch of reality. You cannot expect the Republican Party suddenly to turn and bite the hand that has been feeding it—the hand of the special interests, and the hand of big business.

To preserve freedom and democracy in this country, we must put control of the Congress back in the hands of the American people. This means we must have a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President.

Now, I must speak of the third evil force which works secretly to destroy freedom—racial and religious prejudice.

The tragic story of what happened in Germany is all too fresh. We know how Hitler used anti-Semitic propaganda as a way of stupefying the German people with false ideas while he reached out for power.

This was not the first time such a thing has happened. The persecution of minorities goes hand in hand with the destruction of liberty.

This country has been mercifully spared extreme racial and religious strife. But in recent years there has been a new outcropping of demagogues among us. Dangerous men, who are trying to win followers for their war on democracy, are attacking Catholics, and Jews, and Negroes, and other minority races and religions.

Some of these demagogues have even dared to raise their voice of religious prejudice in the 80th Congress. We need only remember the shocking displaced persons bill passed in the second session of the 80th Congress, which cruelly discriminated against Catholics and Jews.

We must do everything we can to protect our democratic principles against those who foment racial and religious prejudice.

This evil force must be defeated. I shall continue the fight. And I pledge to you that I shall never surrender.

Racial and religious oppression—big business domination—inflation—these forces must be stopped and driven back while there is yet time.

At any cost, we must prevent the threatened depression and the big business rule which would begin the destruction of our liberties.

We must continue the fight to assure full human rights to all our citizens.

Now, my friends, the Democratic Party

is the only party which the people can rely on to serve these great ends.

Republican leaders, of course, give lip-service to the principles of democracy. But the Republicans preach one thing and practice another. The actions of the Republican 80th Congress opened the gate to forces that would destroy our democracy.

The gate is open just a little bit, right now.

We need to slam that gate shut on November 2d with an overwhelming vote for the Democratic Party.

Now, you people here in Chicago have a clear-cut example of the difference between the Democratic and Republican concepts of government.

The whole country recognizes that the Democratic administration of Chicago is doing a grand job. It is providing first-rate local government. And the whole country knows, also, that the Republican administration of this State has been reactionary, feeble, and opposed to every forward piece of legislation.

Such is the spirit behind government by Republicans in this great State. In that spirit, democracy can be destroyed and tyranny born.

That is why I say to you that we are now engaged in one of the most important battles in our history. It is a crusade for the right, a crusade for the people against the special interests. I want you to join me in this crusade.

This is not just a battle between two parties. It is a fight for the very soul of the American Government.

The facts show the Republican Party is unwilling to check inflation and has sponsored repressive labor legislation. The facts show that the Republican Party is working today, as it worked throughout most of its history, to deliver this country into the hands of the special interests and big business.

In this battle, the independent voters of the United States will decide the issue. By throwing their weight to the Republicans or the Democrats, they will choose the forces which are to compose our Government.

Day by day, ever since this campaign began, more and more independent American voters have been lining up with the Democratic Party.

They have learned the facts, and the only way they could learn those facts was to learn them from the President of the United States; and I have talked to more than 6 million people in this United States, and they know the facts now. They are determined to sweep back the forces that threaten democracy in this country.

All over the Nation, I have seen unmistakable evidence that the American people are waking up to the tremendous issues which confront them in this election.

We are sweeping toward victory, my friends.

Everywhere I go, I hear news and see faces that make me know the tide is rolling for us.

In the next few days, it is going to roll even higher.

With your help, your unflagging courage—with your enthusiasm in a great cause, we are going to win this election on November the 2d.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:04 p.m. at the Chicago Stadium. During his address he referred to former Governor Henry Horner, Democratic candidate for Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, and Democratic candidate for Senator Paul H. Douglas, all of Illinois. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

257 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Indiana and Ohio. *October* 26, 1948

[1.] SOUTH BEND, INDIANA (Rear platform, 9:35 a.m.)

Governor Schricker, and ladies and gentlemen—and fellow Democrats of this great city of South Bend, Indiana:

I am extremely happy to be here this morning, and I wish I could stay longer. This is not my first visit to South Bend. I have been here on several occasions, when I was Chairman of the Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program in the Senate. I paid two or three visits to this town, and I found that the people of this town and the manufacturers of this town were making a great contribution to the war effort. I never found any fault with what they were doing, and that was unusual. I would like also to stay long enough to see the great Notre Dame football team in action. I have seen them in action. But, as you all know, I have a job to do, and I can't stay very long in any one city. That job is to tell the American people just exactly what is at stake in this election. They aren't finding out from the Republican candidates—they aren't finding out from the Republican-controlled newspapers, either. But I believe, and I believe that the Democrats believe that the people ought to know the truth. That is why I am here.

Now I am going to tell you about one of the differences between the Democratic and Republican Parties that shows which party really has the interests of the people at heart. South Bend is one of the great melting pots of this country. Families of a great many races and religions work here together side by side as Americans, for the welfare of this great Nation of ours.

You know that being an American is more than a matter of where you or your parents came from. It is a belief that all men are created free and equal and that everyone deserves an even break. It is a respect for the dignity of men and women without regard to race, creed, or color. That is our creed. That is the creed of the Democratic Party.

Unfortunately, there are some people in the United States who have not learned that lesson yet. They seem to forget that their own ancestors did not get over here very long ago either, comparatively, when you speak about the age of the world and the age of the countries in the world. All of our ancestors are newcomers, no matter how much we may brag about them.

Some people don't want the victims of World War II to come to the United States and get a fresh start in life. The Republican 80th Congress has a lot of men who felt this way, and their record proves it.

After World War II, when millions of Europeans were drifting around homeless, afraid to return to their birthplaces because the Communists had taken over or because their homes were totally destroyed, I urged the Congress to help them.

When I was in Potsdam in 1945 I paid a visit to the displaced persons camps over there and I found about 1,200,000 displaced persons in those camps. They were from all the countries of Europe which had been overrun—they were Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians, and Romanians—people from Austria and France and other countries in those camps. They were so arranged that I suggested that we send 100,000 Jews to Palestine, that we take 400,000 people in this country—400,000 of those people in this country—send 400,000 to South America, and let the British

colonies take another 400,000.

Now all the other countries fell in with that idea, to some extent, but our own country failed to act.

I asked the Congress to admit those 400,000 displaced persons to the United States. That is our fair share of the displaced persons in Europe. And they were good people, the finest in the world—I looked them over. Nobody would be ashamed to associate with any of them. And we needed people in industry here so badly we could have done it easily without displacing anybody or losing anybody his job.

But that Republican Congress said, "oh, no; 400,000 is too many"—and they waited 3 years. And so the 80th Congress passed a law to admit only 202,000 people. They did that grudgingly, at the end of the present session. And to make it worse the Republican leaders wrote so many restrictions into the law which discriminate against people of certain religions—and will serve to keep them out of the United States.

I asked the Congress to change that law and make it a decent law—an American law, which we could be proud of instead of ashamed of. But the Republican leaders absolutely refused to change that law. This means that we will be leaving at least 200,000 homeless people in Europe—people whom we ought to have working right here in the United States, now.

A majority of the Democrats in both Houses—in the House and in the Senate, voted for amendments to improve the displaced persons bill. They know we need the courage and the skills of the Europeans now, just like the country needed your ancestors and mine.

A majority of the Republicans in both House and Senate voted to keep the laws they passed, because they don't want homeless, suffering Europeans of certain religions to get into the United States.

If this country is to move ahead in our position of world leadership, we must demonstrate to the world that we practice what we preach.

When we tell the world that we believe that all men are entitled to earn a decent living, without regard to race or national origin, or religion, we have got to live up to what we say.

If we are to live up to the ideals which have made this country great, then we must elect a Congress and an administration that believes in the principles that have made this Nation great.

You people here in South Bend have a fine candidate for Congress in Thurman C. Crook. He is as straight as they come. You are going to have the opportunity on November 2d of electing a man who will vote for the interests of the plain people of this country—and the plain people of all the world. The Democratic Party has a great many fine candidates like Thurman Crook. The Republican Party, unfortunately for this country, has very, very few.

Now, if you fail to vote, as two-thirds of you did in 1946, you will get another Republican "do-nothing" Congress, the kind of Congress that refused to help you meet the rising cost of living, or find a decent home, a Congress that refused to do anything about the frightfully crowded conditions of our schools and hospitals.

It is your duty, as an American citizen, to vote. It is your duty to study the record and know just exactly where the two parties stand.

If you want decent housing, lower prices, better schools, more social security, more doctors and hospitals, and a government that acts American and doesn't just talk American, you must go to the polls on the 2d day of November, and vote that Democratic

ticket straight from top to bottom—and you will have a Democratic Governor and a Democratic Congressman.

And you will have a President in the White House who believes in the welfare of the people—and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage.

[2.] ELKHART, INDIANA (Rear platform, 10:15 a.m.)

Governor, I appreciate that prophecy, and I think you are a good prophet. You are going to be the next Governor of Indiana and I am going to be the next President of the United States—I am sure of that.

It is a great pleasure to be here in Elkhart this morning. This is a fine turnout. It proves that the people of Elkhart are concerned about the great issues facing the country today, just as the people are every place I have been on my trips in the last 6 weeks.

This campaign has made two facts perfectly obvious to everyone.

The first fact is that the Republican candidate for President is in complete sympathy with the desire of the reactionary Republican leaders of the 80th Congress to run this country backwards to the Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover days when the Government in Washington was run for the benefit of the wealthy, privileged, special interests.

The second fact in this campaign is that the Democratic Party is always fighting on your side—on the side of the people. That has been the case ever since the Democratic Party was organized by Thomas Jefferson. It has been the party for the people and not for special privilege.

We are determined to keep our Government a people's Government. We believe that the Government should work for the prosperity of the farmer, of the laboring-man, of the small businessman, and the white-collar man.

The Democrats believe that everybody should have a fair share of the national income. We do not believe, as the Republicans do, that the rich should skim off the cream and leave the leftovers for the rest of us. They tried it once and it didn't work. The money just did not trickle down as they said it would.

Now, for 2 long years I had to fight the Republican 80th Congress to keep them from selling out, lock, stock, and barrel, to the lobbies of big business. I used to think that the election of the 80th Congress was a tragedy for this country. Now I think maybe it was a blessing in disguise, because it has brought home to all of us exactly what the Republican Party stands for, and it showed us exactly where the Republican candidate for President stands today. He is standing squarely on the record of that "do-nothing" 80th Congress. He boasts about it.

Now, the Republicans refused to pass a housing bill.

They refused to pass a health bill.

They refused to extend social security.

They refused to increase the minimum wage.

They refused to do anything about the crisis in education.

And they refused to do anything about high prices.

But they did exempt the railroads from the antitrust laws. They did try to tear down our public power policy. They did take social security away from nearly a million workers. They knocked the props out from under the farmers' prosperity. They did all they dared to crush the strength of organized labor by passing the Taft-Hartley Act.

Every time big business snapped its fin-

gers, the Republican leaders in Congress obeyed orders.

Now you know what the remedy is. You must get out to the polls on November the 2d and vote the Democratic ticket straight, and then you will have the remedy.

We got the 80th Congress because only a third of the voters in this country took the trouble to go to the polls in November 1946. I have here in my hand a report of an interview by one of the leading public opinion experts in this country. This man said, and I quote: "If everyone in this country voted, it would be hard to elect any Republicans."

What is true of the country is true of Elkhart, Ind. If every one of the registered voters here goes to the polls, I know you will elect a straight Democratic ticket. You learned your lesson from the Republican 80th Congress. You know what you would get from a Republican President and another Republican Congress.

If you want to bring prices down, if you want good places to live, if you want prosperity in this country fairly shared by everybody, and if you want a strong United States that can lead the world to peace, then go to the polls on the second of November and elect Henry Schricker here Governor of Indiana, and send Thurman Crook to Congress. That is the best thing you can do for your own safety. Vote for yourselves. When you vote for yourselves you will vote a straight Democratic ticket—then you will be on the safe side.

If you will do that, you will have public officials who will work for me for peace and prosperity in the next 4 years—and for places in which to live while you enjoy the prosperity that is justly yours, and the peace which you won for this Nation by the shedding of the blood of your sons and brothers and cousins.

I want you now to vote in your own interests on election day. I reiterate that, and keep reiterating it, because when you do that you cannot do but one thing—you can't do anything but vote for the party that is working always in the people's interests, and that is the Democratic Party.

Now, go out to the polls on November 2d and vote that Democratic ticket straight, and you can go home and be satisfied that the country will be in safe hands for another 4 years.

[3.] Toledo, Ohio (Civic Auditorium, 2:02 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, I thank you most sincerely for that cordial welcome. I appreciate most highly the introduction of your next Congressman from this district.

This is not my first visit to Toledo. I have been here on several occasions, and I have always had a most cordial welcome. The last time I was here it was late at night, and there were more than 7,000 people down at the station from Toledo to greet me. And I think that shows that people are interested in this campaign and the campaign issues. Now, I have been in nearly all the great cities of the country—and I will be in the rest of them before this campaign is over—and I haven't had any more cordial welcome than I had here in Toledo.

Now, here in Toledo, in the heart of the "Arsenal of Democracy," I want to talk to you about national defense. I don't mean bombs and ships, and I don't mean guns and planes. I mean people—you people right here in Toledo, and your neighbors. The basis of our national defense is not weapons—it is the spirit of the men behind them—the spirit of the men and women who make up this great Nation.

It is the American spirit, not our wealth, that gives us strength. It is the spirit of

a free people, devoted to liberty and justice. It is the spirit of people who are peaceful—peaceful and unafraid.

That is the kind of national defense I believe in. This is the kind of national spirit which makes America's strength so important a force for peace in the whole world.

National defense begins at home. It begins with the things that make life worthwhile for the average industrial worker, for the average farmer, for the average small businessman.

Now the leaders of the Republican Party just don't understand that sort of defense. They may understand munitions contracts on a cost-plus basis, but they don't understand human rights on a man-plus basis.

I sometimes wonder what would have happened if Pearl Harbor had come 9 years earlier, 1932, when the Republicans were in power—when we had 12 million unemployed; when the farmers were desperate, losing their farms, thousands a day; when the banks were being closed—you were afraid to go into a bank in those days, afraid it would blow up in your face; when our whole free enterprise system was tottering and there was talk of revolution.

We would have pulled ourselves together, of course, and we would have won the war just the same. But it would have taken much longer and cost many more thousands of American lives.

Fortunately, when the war did come, we were better prepared. We were better prepared because this Nation had been made strong by a great Democratic President—Franklin Roosevelt.

President Roosevelt knew that national defense started with the welfare of the people. He knew that a nation is best defended by people who have a stake in that nation.

It is exactly the same today as it was in the 1930's.

The strength of America in the world-wide struggle against hunger and hatred, against fear and distrust, lies in our eagerness to defend a form of democracy that has given us so much to live for.

The strength of this great Nation lies in its people and in their happiness and prosperity. It lies in its people and in their happiness and prosperity—I repeat that. It lies in the Four Freedoms proclaimed by Franklin Roosevelt—freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion.

The Democratic Party believes in that kind of America. The Democratic Party has a practical program for seeing to it that we have that kind of America.

We have a program for better health and medical facilities—more hospitals, more doctors, more nurses—paid through a system of regular insurance payments. And you know, the Republicans have spent more by misrepresenting that health program than nearly any other one thing in this campaign. They talk about the medical profession being slaves to the Government. They talk about socialized medicine. And they add a lot of other foolish things that have no connection whatever with this plain, common-sense program of mine which would help the doctors and help the nurses and help the hospitals; and it would give the great middle class of this country, who do not have the proper medical care, a chance to pay the doctor by an insurance system that is perfectly sound. Sometime or other I am going to explain that to you in detail and show you just how far wrong these people are who are misrepresenting this health insurance program of mine—and it is my program.

The Democrats stand for that. Do you know what the Republicans say? They say: "We're against it." You will find that the

Republicans were against every forward-looking measure that Franklin Roosevelt brought forward—and they haven't changed a bit.

The defense of this great United States of America lies in more and better schools, more and better homes in American towns and cities and on American farms.

The Democrats stand for that. But here again the Republican Party has said: "We're against it." They want special privilege. They don't want anything that's good for the everyday citizen.

I won't read off the long list of things on which the two parties differ. You know them as well as I do. You know that the Republican Party is responsible for high prices and that the Democratic Party tried to control inflation. You know that just as well as I do. I have merely mentioned a few because they show that there is a vast difference between the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. It is the difference between a weak America and a strong America.

I do not say that the Republican candidate wants a weak America, but I do say that he doesn't know how to get a strong America, and I do say that the Republican Party would not, and could not, let him take these steps which are absolutely necessary to maintain and develop the strength of this great Nation. He would have the same old leadership in the 81st Congress that I had in the 80th if he were elected with a Republican Congress—and he couldn't do a thing about it.

On this point, I have made my position plain. A strong United States is absolutely essential if the world is to remain at peace.

Peace is the most important question in the world today. I know that the American people do not want any part in the horrors of modern war. And I say that advisedly. I think I can speak on that better than anybody here. I know that none of the people of the world wants any part in the terrible destruction locked up in the atom and in other new and deadly weapons. That is why we must not let our strength be destroyed.

I hold that it is the solemn duty of the President of the United States to take every possible step to lead to peace.

Now, I don't believe in peace at any price—no honest man does. But I don't believe that because peace is difficult that war is inevitable.

For peace, I took it upon myself to make one of the most terrible decisions that any man in the history of the world had to make. Near the close of the Japanese war, I had to order the dropping of the atomic bomb. That was the most terrible decision that any man in the history of the world had to make.

I studied that question with everything I had. I called in the most able men that I could get who would give me advice. I talked to the Secretary of War. I talked to the Chief of Staff of the Army. I talked to the Chief of Staff of the Navy. I talked to the Secretary of War, who at that time was Mr. Stimson. I talked to the Secretary of the Navy, who at that time was Mr. Forrestal. I talked to General Marshall. I talked to Admiral King and Admiral Leahy, and discussed the program. And the judgment of all these able and distinguished men was that it would be a life-saving proposition to bring the war to a close as quickly as possible, and that while we might find it necessary to wipe out a couple of Japanese cities devoted entirely to munitions manufacture, in the long run we would save a quarter of a million young Americans from being killed, and we would save an equal number of Japanese young men from being killed. And I ordered that bomb to be dropped. I never

want to have to do that again, my friends. I never want to have to do that again. Right then and there I made up my mind that that must never happen again if it could conceivably be avoided. My friends, I am working for peace, and everybody knows it. Everybody knows that I am doing everything I possibly can as President of the United States to get a just and lasting peace—and that, my friends, is the most important thing in this world. I would much rather have that peace than to be President of the United States. I am trying to dispel the dark cloud of fear and suspicion—and everybody knows that too. And I am keeping the United States strong and firm as well as fair and friendly—and the whole world knows that.

That's what worries the Communists. The Communists want a Republican victory. Think about that carefully now. They are helping the Third Party to split the Democratic Party so the Republicans can win, and the Communists want a change in administration. They are supporting that Third Party—and they know that it has no chance of winning—but they do hope that the Third Party will take enough votes away from the Democrats so the Republicans can win.

I know there are many fine people in this country who are accustomed to voting the Republican ticket. But they should consider well the strange bedfellows the Republican Party has this year.

Communists count on a reactionary Republican administration to make all the mistakes that ignorance and greed can inspire. And they expect that a Republican administration will reduce the American people to another Hoover depression that will undermine the Marshall plan and pave the way for world revolution. That's what they want. That's what the Communists want.

The Communists believe that a Republican victory means a weak United States. And that is exactly what I think—we're together on that. But I am going to beat them and there won't be a weak United States.

Now, we mustn't let that happen. There is only one way to stop the spread of communism in this Nation and in the world, and that is by the application of real Democratic principles. We must keep on working for the Democratic programs that make this Nation strong. That is our best national defense. That is our answer to the threat of world war and the plan for world revolution.

Because it is the right answer, I know we are going to win this election for that very reason.

American democracy is on the march. The Democrats are leading the way, as in the past, to peace and justice. We are leading the way to a victory for freedom—freedom here at home and freedom and peace everywhere in the world.

Now, my friends, that situation is entirely in your hands. You, on the second day of November, will either vote for yourselves and your own interests or you will vote against yourselves and your own interests—or you will do like you did in 1946 and not vote at all, and get another 80th Congress—which will be called the 81st Congress, but it won't be any different from the 80th if you stay at home and don't vote.

Now, the best thing you can do for the welfare of this great Nation and for your own interests is to get out early on election day and vote the Democratic ticket straight—and you will be safe then.

I can't thank the great city of Toledo, Mayor DiSalle, the police department, and everybody concerned, enough for this most cordial and kind reception that you have given me, and have given me a chance to explain to you what I think is one of the

vital issues in this campaign.

I hope that on November the 3d you will send me a telegram of congratulation.

[4.] SANDUSKY, OHIO (Rear platform, 3:37 p.m.)

I am very happy indeed to be here this afternoon. I can't tell you how much I appreciate this wonderful turnout. I sincerely hope that you will send Dwight Blackmore to the Congress. We need Democrats in this next Congress to look after the interests of the people, and you can't do better than to send Dwight Blackmore to the Congress. I know very well that you are going to elect Frank Lausche as Governor.

I have it in my bones that you are not going to put a new occupant in the White House.

I wish I had time this afternoon to make an inspection of Sandusky Bay, which is certainly one of the finest natural harbors on the Great Lakes. I have been there before. You know, I believe in doing everything I can to develop our natural resources, and I have been fighting throughout my term as President for the St. Lawrence Seaway. I believe that the St. Lawrence Seaway would bring a tremendous new boom to ports like Sandusky, and that it would bring great benefits to the whole Middle West.

I can't see for myself how any Congressman or Senator in the Great Lakes region can be against the St. Lawrence Seaway project, because it makes every city on the Great Lakes a seaport.

The Democratic Party has always believed in building up the resources of the country. We don't stop at just developing natural resources, however. We work just as hard to improve the welfare and well-being of the people, who are the greatest natural resource that this country has.

We believe that all Americans, whatever their job, or whatever their income—wherever they live or whatever their race or creed, are entitled to a good education, good medical care, and a decent place to live.

I have been doing everything in my power to raise the level of the health in this country. Each year, about 325,000 Americans die needlessly for lack of proper medical care. I believe that there should be a national health program to correct this shocking condition. I also believe that we need a program of Federal aid to the States to help them meet the acute crisis in education. Now, we had an education bill that passed the Senate in this last Congress, but the Republican leadership in the House would not let the House vote on that education bill.

Now I believe very deeply that we must have a comprehensive national housing program to clear away city slums, and provide better rural houses and public low-rent housing projects. That bill passed the Senate and was known as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. It was killed in the House, because the leaders would not let the House membership vote on it.

I not only believe in these things, I have been fighting for them—and so has the Democratic Party.

If there ever was any doubt in anybody's mind about what the Democrats believe in, this campaign has taken care of those doubts. Everybody knows now what we have been doing, because I have been telling them exactly what we have been doing. That is the only way you can find out, because most of the press—90 percent of the press—are against me and my administration, so I have to come out and tell you exactly just what I stand for.

Now I have faced at least 6 million people in these United States and have explained to them just exactly how I stand on every

fundamental issue before the people today. Now if you can get the Republican candidate to do that, you are good. He hasn't been able yet to tell anybody what he stands for.

There are some papers in this country, however, that give us a fair deal. Just the other day, I saw a copy of the newspaper called Labor, which is published by 15 railroad labor organizations. In this issue of Labor, it makes recommendations on which Congressmen and which Senators to vote for in this election. Now, 92 percent of the men recommended in that publication, that railroad labor newspaper, recommended 92 percent Democrats. That is not surprising. The workingmen and women of this country know that the Democratic Party stands for programs that will benefit them, and benefit the country as a whole. The farmers know that the Democrats stand for programs that will benefit them too. The small businessman and the white-collar man know that the Democratic Party is their party.

If you are interested in government which will help build a better Sandusky, and a government that works for all the people and not for just a few big interests, then the best thing for you to do on election day is to go to the polls and make no mistake—just vote the Democratic ticket straight, then you will be voting for yourselves and your own interests.

I believe that is what you are going to do.

[5.] Elyria, Ohio (Rear platform, 4:24 p.m.)

Thank you, thank you very much. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this wonderful turnout here in Elyria. It is wonderful—that fine band, these military contingents turning out to pay respects to the Commander in Chief. I can't tell you how much I appreciate it, and then to see all these good voters come out to find out what this is all about.

I know one thing you are going to do, and that is to send Walter Huber to Congress. You can't help but do that after studying what the 80th Congress did to you.

I am on a campaign to tell the American people the truth about the issues in this election. They are not getting the truth from the Republican candidate, who is trying to pretend that there aren't any issues. He is just going around the country saying he likes some of the Democratic laws and programs of the last 16 years so much that he would like to run them for awhile, and his slogan is, "Me too, but I can do it better." I don't think you want a President like that.

One of the big reasons why the American people have prospered since 1933 is because they have received the active support of the Government. The Democratic Party has always believed in working for the people and with the people. The Republican Party doesn't believe that. They worked against the people for 12 years, from 1921 to 1933, and as a result we got the worst depression in the history of this country. And when the Republicans got control of the 80th Congress 2 years ago they proved they haven't changed a bit. They began working against you and began working for special interests.

I have had to come right out here and tell the American people just what is going on, just how their interests are being sabotaged by the Republicans. Perhaps a good name for this train ought to be, "The People's Special," because my campaign is being fought for the benefit of all the people.

Let me give you one example of how the Republican Party has been working against you for the benefit of the big corporations. The Republicans don't believe in cooperatives because it means that big business can't get a rakeoff. The Republicans opened a congressional investigation against coopera-

tives with noisy smears. The Republican chairman of the investigating committee claimed that cooperatives were a threat to democracy. He said this, and I quote him: "Communism will be on the march. Red fascism will have arrived, and representative government will have become a farce and a delusion." That is what the Republicans think of our cooperatives.

You know that these wild and silly accusations are not true. Cooperatives right here in Lorain County have benefited the farmers, and the great prosperity of our farmers has brought benefits to all the businessmen in this area.

I talked about cooperatives as an example to show you how the Republican leaders think in terms of doing whatever they can to help big business and special interests, and nothing for the farmer and the workingman. They think the same way about the workingman, the small businessman, and the white-collar man as they do about the farmer.

This November you will have your choice at the polls. You can vote for the party that believes in working for and with the people, or you can vote for the party that is interested only in doing things for special interests. If you want to do something for yourselves, if you want to exercise your right to run this Government—and when you exercise the right to vote you are the government—don't fail to go to the polls on election day; and to be absolutely sure that you are voting in your own interests, just vote a straight Democratic ticket—and then you will have a Democratic Governor in Ohio, a Democratic Congressman from this district, and a Democratic President in the White House. If you do that you are taking care of your own interests. You know that, because all you need to do is just study the record and study the platforms of the two parties. Look at the promises in the Republican platform—and when I called them back into special session in July and gave them a chance to carry out those promises they said I was just playing politics. Well, I was playing politics. I was playing politics in your interest, and I have been going around this country letting you know just what these interests are.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on October 26 the President referred to Democratic candidate for Governor Henry F. Schricker and Democratic candidate for Representative Thurman C. Crook, both of Indiana; Mayor Michael V. DiSalle of Toledo, Democratic candidates for Representative Thomas H. Burke and Dwight Blackmore, Democratic candidate for Governor Frank J. Lausche, and Representative Walter B. Huber, all of Ohio; Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of War; James Forrestal, former Secretary of the Navy; Secretary of State George C. Marshall, former Chief of Staff of the Army; Fleet Adm. E. J. King, former Commander in Chief, United States Fleet; and Fleet Adm. William D. Leahy, Chief of Staff to the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Armed Forces.

258 Address in the Cleveland Municipal Auditorium. *October* 26, 1948

THANK YOU, thank you—thank you very, very much. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate that reception. I want to say to you tonight, Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen—I am going to let you in on a secret. We have got the Republicans on the run.

Of course, the Republicans don't want to admit that. They've got a poll that says they're going to win.

Well, we all know that for 12 years the Republicans have been poll-happy. In 1936 the Republicans had a poll that told them they had a sure thing. And they did. They

met a sure defeat in 1936!

In 1940 the Republicans had a poll that told them they had the edge. Well, it was a mighty sharp edge. They got cut to ribbons on election day, if you remember.

In 1944—you know that on that ticket in 1944 the Republicans had a poll that told them things were pretty close. It looked mighty promising for the Republican candidate, so the poll said. Now, that promise was all he got. In fact, the Republicans have been full of promises ever since.

This year the Republicans have some polls right down the same old line. The Republican candidate is putting out polls.

These polls that the Republican candidate is putting out are like sleeping pills designed to lull the voters into sleeping on election day. You might call them sleeping polls.

You know that the same doctor I told you about in Pittsburgh the other night—that Republican candidate—keeps handing out these sleeping polls, and a lot of people have been taking them. The doctor keeps telling the people: "Don't worry. Take a poll and go to sleep."

Most of the people are not going to be lulled to sleep or be fooled. They know that sleeping polls are bad for the system. They affect the mind and the body. An overdose could be fatal—can so affect your mind that your body will be too lazy to go to the polls on election day. "You don't need to vote, the election is won—all I have to do is get Truman out of the White House."

Now, these Republican polls are no accident. They are part of a design to prevent a big vote, to keep you at home on November 2d, by convincing you that it makes no difference whether you vote or not.

They want to do this because they know in their hearts that a big vote spells their defeat. They know that a big vote means a Democratic victory, because the Democratic Party stands for the greatest good for the greatest number of the people. The special interests now running the Republican Party can't stand a big vote—they are afraid of the people.

My friends, we are going to win this election, because the people believe what the Democrats stand for—they also know too well what the Republicans stand for.

And, believe me, the Republicans and the Democrats do not stand for the same thing. You can tell that very plainly by looking at the candidates you have to vote for here in Cleveland.

Just consider the man who will be your next Governor—Frank Lausche. Frank Lausche is a man of the people, who, like Cleveland's great mayors, Tom Johnson and Tom Burke, thinks with his heart as well as with his head.

This is a State of great Democrats—honest, able, fearless men—senior statesmen like my friend Bob Crosser here, and the younger men worthy to fight at their side, like Steve Young, who is going to be your Congressman at Large.

Men like Mike Kirwan, the Chairman of the Congressional Campaign Committee, whose work to assure the election of a Democratic Congress will never be forgotten in the history of the Democratic Party.

Men like your own great Mike Feighan, and like Walter Huber.

The Republicans can't win against candidates like these men when the people get out and vote.

They can't win with a candidate for President who dodges the issues, either.

The American people want to know what kind of government they can expect from the men and women they elect to office. And, thanks to the record that has been made, this is one time the voters can tell

just what to expect.

The record of the Democratic Party is blazed across the face of the Nation in a story of a better, healthier, happier life for all Americans. The Democratic record is a record of performance, and not a record of false promises.

The record of the Republican Party was a story of obstruction, objection, and reaction from the days of the Hoover depression to the end of the 80th Congress.

And then there came a faint ray of hope—a suggestion that the Republican Party might mend its ways.

In June of 1948 the Republican Party wrote its platform in Philadelphia. That platform failed to mention many of the issues, but it almost caught up with the Democratic platform of 1932.

Now, for 2 long years I had been urging the Republican Congress to do something about high prices and housing, and to bring social security and the other welfare measures up to date. All this time, the situation had been getting worse. Prices had become unbearable for most people. Now, in this 1948 platform, the Republican Party had indicated that it might be willing to do something.

Encouraged by this platform, I called a special session of the 80th Congress. The Republicans had a chance to promise in Philadelphia. And I gave them a chance to perform in Washington.

I did this because I believe that it is the President's job to get decent laws for the benefit of the American people and because the people were demanding action.

Seldom in history has a party had such an opportunity to show good faith by converting its platform promises into legislative performance.

But did the Republicans take advantage of that opportunity? They did not. They cared nothing about their platform promises or for the legislation which was so urgently needed for the public good.

Let me remind you what the Republicans said when they found out what my recommendations were. The Republican leaders issued an official statement, and this is what it said: "The President's quarrel with the 80th Congress is not the failure to enact legislation, but a fundamental difference in government philosophy between the President and the Congress."

I am going to read you that quote again, because that is of vital importance in this campaign: "The President's quarrel with the Congress—with the 80th Congress, is not its failure to enact legislation, but a fundamental difference in government philosophy between the President and the Congress."

To put it in plain English, it means that I believe in one kind of government: government for the people. The Republicans believe in another kind of government: government for special interests.

Now, the question in this election is—which of these two kinds of government do you want? Do you want government for all the people, or do you want government for the privileged few?

Let's get one thing clear. When the Republican leaders made their statement they had already picked their candidate for President. That candidate stands for the same fundamental philosophy as that Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress does. Now, just in case there was ever any doubt about that, the Republican candidate has since indorsed the record of that 80th Congress.

But all the while the Republican 80th Congress was in session, that candidate was very, very quiet about it. And although he has said he is proud of the record of the 80th Congress, he has been trying to make us forget what that Congress actually did and

failed to do. He has treated it like a poor relation; he shut it up in the backroom, so that its bad manners and terrible record won't frighten the voters he is entertaining in the front parlor.

And the reason is that in everything it said and did, the Republican 80th Congress showed exactly what the difference is between the Republican kind of government and the Democratic kind of government.

And it is my duty to make that difference perfectly clear, and that is what I am trying to do for you. The best way I know of doing that is to explain what I asked the special session of the 80th Congress to do.

I know this is going to be painful to the Republican candidate. He is having such a high-level tea party with the voters that he is horrified, whenever anybody mentions the facts of life.

Here I am proposing to drag out the old reprobate of a Republican 80th Congress out of the backroom, and disclose him to the guests as the candidate's nearest and dearest relative. I'm going to tell the folks exactly how I gave that old sinner a chance to repent in the special session. I gave him a chance to mend his ways—only 3 weeks after he had taken the pledge at Philadelphia—and how he refused, and backslid again into the gutter of special privilege.

The Republican Party can change platforms and candidates, but it can't change its fundamental philosophy of government.

If you believe in the things I recommended to the special session of the 80th Congress, you must vote the Democratic ticket straight.

My first recommendation to the special session of that Congress was for effective action to hold down high prices. But this was contrary to the fundamental Republican philosophy. It would have interfered with the excessive profits of the big corporations. So the Republicans are against it.

I'm still in favor of action to hold down the cost of living, and I believe that you are. And if that is what you want, you can get it by voting the straight Democratic ticket on election day.

The second recommendation I made to the special session was for the passage of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill. This bill had already passed the Senate and would have passed the House within an hour if the Republican leaders had permitted it to come to a vote. But the real estate lobby wanted it blocked, so the masters of the Republican Party blocked it.

That is their fundamental philosophy on housing, and I'm glad it's different from mine.

This question is going to be before you on election day just as plainly as if it were on your ballot. And to get housing for the masses, you must vote the Democratic ticket on November 2d.

If you are for slum clearance—if you are for Government aid for housing at reasonable prices—if you are for immediate action in the people's interest—you must vote the Democratic ticket.

Now, let's look at the next question I put up to them. That's Federal aid to education. I don't have to tell you how crowded the schools are and how much we need more classrooms and more teachers at better salaries.

This is a matter of national concern. And I have urged that the Congress help the States in meeting the present crisis.

It is certainly a disgrace on the richest country in the world not to have rooms enough for its children to go to school, and to be so picayune with the teachers that they can't afford to teach in the schools for the pay they get.

Here again, a bill had already passed the Senate and could have passed the House very

quickly. And here again the masters of the Republican Party refused to let the representatives of the people even vote on this vital matter. That's the kind of efficiency you get from the Republican Party. And they are always talking about efficiency!

It seems incredible that the Republicans should admit that their fundamental philosophy requires them to oppose adequate schools—but admit it they did. With them, money comes ahead of schools.

Remember, you will be voting for or against better schools, more teachers at better pay, on election day. And if you want better schools, more teachers at better pay, you must vote the Democratic ticket.

Then I gave this special session a chance to raise the minimum wage. It's only 40 cents an hour now. Suppose some of these Republican Congressmen had to try to raise a family on $16 a week. Maybe they would change their minds about that minimum wage.

But, as of last July 28th, a higher minimum wage was contrary to the fundamental philosophy of the Republican Party. Their candidate says he is for a minimum wage, but I have come to the conclusion that the smaller the minimum the better it will suit him. Now, to raise that minimum wage, you have got to vote the Democratic ticket on November the 2d.

I asked the Congress to do something else, too. Oh, I gave them a number of chances. I asked them to increase the social security insurance payments. The average payment to an old couple is less than $40 a month. That's a pitifully inadequate sum to try to live on, isn't it? But it's enough to satisfy the fundamental Republican philosophy.

In fact, if you judge the Republicans by their actions and not their campaign promises, they are opposed to social security altogether. The kind of action the Republican 80th Congress took was to strip social security insurance benefits from nearly a million people who already had them.

If you don't want to take a chance on having your social security benefits whittled away, you had better vote the Democratic ticket on November the 2d.

Now, there was something else I asked this special session to do. That was to correct an injustice this same Republican 80th Congress had perpetrated at its regular session.

The Congress passed a displaced persons bill at the regular session which discriminated against Jews and Catholics. This display of intolerance aroused such a storm of protest from all fairminded people that I thought the Republicans might be glad of a chance to correct the injustice they had done to the good people of those two faiths. I gave them that chance. Did they use it? They did not.

This was one question on which the Republican candidate felt he couldn't afford to keep silent. So he asked the Republicans in Congress to act. And what did they do? They told him who was really riding the elephant. Now, if that's unity, I don't know unity when I see it. And that is what the Republican candidate is asking for.

I gave them a chance to correct another wrong, too. Oh, I was as generous as I could be with that Republican special session!

Earlier, at the regular session, when they had acted on appropriations for electric power projects, they had really messed up our national power policy. They had made so many cuts in funds, and included so many restrictions, that a severe power shortage is likely to result in many sections of the country. They even refused funds for the Tennessee Valley Authority to build a steamplant to help furnish power needed for our work on atomic energy.

I thought they would be glad of a chance

to correct this mistake. But no, sir. They must have consulted their Republican candidate for President and learned his view that the TVA is wonderful, but we ought never to do anything like it again.

Finally, I urged the special session to act on legislation to protect the basic rights of citizenship and human liberty. The Republican Party has been paying lipservice to legislation for this purpose for many years. But when the showdown comes, they never quite manage to act upon it.

The performance of this "do-nothing" 80th Congress during the past 2 years, and particularly the "do less than nothing" special session, has given the country a foretaste of what will happen if the Republican Party is successful at the polls.

The people of Ohio, particularly the residents of Cleveland, will long remember 1932, when the Republican Party was in power.

Many of you can remember the smokeless smokestacks, the idle plants, the closed banks, the long breadlines, the soup kitchens. You can also remember the assurance you received from the Republicans that prosperity was just around the corner.

Now, it was the Democratic Party that lifted the Nation from the worst depression it has ever known, under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

It was the Democratic Party that inspired and inaugurated a program of social legislation that restored democratic government to its proper place as the servant of the people and not the agent of the privileged few.

The Democratic Party stands ready to serve the Nation—ready to serve all citizens and not just the vested interests, ready to carry on its "fundamental philosophy" that has done so much for the people of the United States in the last 16 years.

Now, during the last 2 years, the Democratic Party has had to spend most of its time and energy in saving the Democratic program—the New Deal—from the Republican attacks upon it.

As Democrats, we don't like this. We feel it is a bad thing to spend so much time preventing the Republicans from turning the clock back.

We would much rather have the clock go along and go forward. And I would like to go forward with it.

Now, what this country needs is not a new President. What this country needs is a new Congress—a Democratic Congress.

Now, all I am asking you to do is to go to the polls on November the 2d and vote for yourselves. Vote in your own interests. If you do that, you will have a Democratic administration here in the great State of Ohio, you will have a Democratic President in the White House, and you will have a Democratic Congress that will be willing to serve the people and not the special interests.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. in the Municipal Auditorium in Cleveland. In his opening words he referred to Ray T. Miller, Chairman of the Cuyahoga County Democratic Executive Committee. Later he referred to Democratic candidate for Governor Frank J. Lausche, Mayor Thomas A. Burke of Cleveland, former Mayor Thomas Johnson of Cleveland, Democratic candidate for Representative Stephen M. Young, and Representatives Robert Crosser, Michael J. Kirwan, Michael A. Feighan, and Walter B. Huber, all of Ohio.

259 Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Massachusetts and Connecticut. *October 27, 1948*

[1.] PITTSFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS (Station platform, 8:14 a.m.)

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, and my good friends of Pittsfield:

It's good to be back in this great State again. I have always had a great respect for the citizens of Massachusetts. It's good to be in a State that has given every Democratic Presidential candidate for the last 20 years a majority—and I think you're going to do it again.

And I am most happy to have with me today in this great State its former Governor and my Secretary of Labor, Maurice Tobin. He is an able and distinguished public servant, and it is an honor to any President to have him in the Cabinet.

I am particularly pleased to be in Berkshire County. The Republicans probably are trying to keep it a secret. But you know, it was always here in western Massachusetts that the real progressive movement began in this country, and it began just after the Revolutionary War.

I remember hearing about a Congressman from this district who represented you for a long time in the Congress, and they tell me that that Congressman was very astute—that was before the invention of the radio and television and things of that kind—and he used to tour the mill towns of Berkshire County and tell them how strong he was for Roosevelt and the New Deal. Then he would go up in the hard-shell Republican hills and tell them he was against it. I think that is where the Republican candidate got his ideas this year—that the smart way to campaign is to be on both sides of every issue and never discuss it.

But we have learned a good deal about the world since your old Congressman used to get himself elected with double talk. This year you should send Pat O'Malley down to Washington to help me in the big job of cleaning out the special interests and their lobbies down there in Washington. And I'm very sure that's what you are going to do—I mean, cleaning out the mess made by the Republican 80th Congress. "The Great Lobby Congress," I call it. There were more lobbies in Congress with more money than ever before in the history of this great Nation, and it's a disgrace. You ought to clean them out. I think you're going to do it.

I would like to tell you a little bit about what this Republican Party did to mess up your interests, the interests of the people. I want to tell you what they did to the United States Department of Labor, to which I have just appointed Maurice Tobin. The Democratic Party sponsored the creation of the Labor Department way back in 1913 under a Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson. The Democrats in Congress passed the law that created the Labor Department against the violent opposition of the Old Guard Republicans. Woodrow Wilson named a Pennsylvania Democrat, William B. Wilson, to be the first Secretary of Labor. And after World War I, when the Republicans gained control of the Government, they favored, as they always do, labor-baiting, union-busting, open shop, yellow-dog contract policies. That is the Republican history whenever they get control of the Government. The gains made by the workingmen and women under 8 years of Democratic administration, from 1913 to 1921, were lost.

Twelve years later, in 1933, when we had 12 million able-bodied Americans out of jobs as a result of Republican misrule, we elected a great Democratic President, Franklin

Roosevelt. The new Democratic administration began immediately to build up the Labor Department. One of the first steps was to create the United States Employment Service in 1933 to deal with unemployment. And I want to say to you that I set up the United States Employment Service in the great State of Missouri. Miss Perkins called me up and asked me if I wouldn't set it up on a-dollar-a-year basis—and I never got the dollar. This Service did great work during the 1930's, finding jobs for men and women and jobs they were best fitted to fill. During the war the United States Employment Service placed 39 million workers on war jobs. That Service helped to win the war. After the war it helped to shift 10 million workers from warwork to peace employment. In the reconversion period that United States Employment Service did a wonderful job for the welfare of this country.

And what did the Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress do for the United States Employment Service? Why, they took it away from the Labor Department, where it belongs—they took it out of the Labor Department where it belongs, and deliberately weakened it. They deliberately weakened the Labor Department by doing that.

Another great part of the Labor Department built up by Democratic administrations of the last 16 years is the Conciliation Service. It has settled—now listen to this—it has settled more than 15,000 labor disputes, involving nearly 8 million workers, since the end of World War II. That's a record. It settled 15,000—more than 15,000—labor disputes. What do the Republicans think of this kind of work? What do they think of this fine work of the Conciliation Service? Well, the 80th Congress showed its contempt for labor by taking the Conciliation Service away from the Labor Department. That's another straight blow at labor. Only a few nights ago in Pittsburgh the Republican candidate for President said he would replace the present head of the Conciliation Service, who has done a magnificent job and who, incidentally, happens to be a New England Republican, but he doesn't belong to the Old Guard—that's what's the matter with him.

And that is only a part of what the 80th Congress did to the Labor Department. The Republicans slashed so much off the Department budget that it is scarcely able to run. They cut 25 percent off the Wage and Hour Division. They cut the Unemployment Service by 60 percent. They cut the Conciliation Service by 20 percent. They cut the Bureau of Labor Statistics by 60 percent. Do you know why they did that? They don't want the facts about the cost of living, employment, and high prices. That's the reason they cut down the Bureau of Labor Statistics. They just don't want the facts. The facts knock them in the eye, and they can't stand them. They completely wiped out the Division of Labor Standards.

There you have a fine example of how the Republican Party keeps its campaign promises. In 1944 the Republican platform promised a strong Labor Department, and they are promising a strong Labor Department now. But you can only judge them by their acts—and their acts say they don't want a strong Labor Department. They don't want any other department that's strong enough to protect the interests of the people. When the Republicans got control of the Congress they tore up the Labor Department.

In 1948 the Republicans are again promising a strong Labor Department. You ought to read their platform. It's the most hypocritical, deceitful document that was ever written in the history of political parties.

The Republican candidate has already given away the plot this time. He has already said during this campaign that he would like to take away just about everything else that is left in the Labor Department.

So that's why I ask you to turn out on November 2d and send Pat O'Malley down to Washington. Help me to get back some of the real gains which we made during the last 16 years, and which the Republican Party will sabotage if it ever gets complete control of the Government. Think of your interests, your own interests, the people's interests, and then vote for yourselves. You know, you are the Government when you exercise your rights and privileges. In 1946 two-thirds of you stayed at home and didn't vote. And that's what caused the 80th Congress. Now, I sincerely hope that all of you, three-thirds of you, will vote on election day, on November 2d, and be sure that you vote for yourselves. Vote for lower prices, and better homes, vote for better health and educational facilities. Don't stay away from the polls and then wonder what happened when you get a Government that works for special interests and doesn't work for you.

I am asking you with everything I have: Go to the polls on November 2d, and to be absolutely sure you're right, just vote the Democratic ticket straight and you will be all right.

[2.] THOMPSONVILLE, CONNECTICUT (Rear platform, 10:35 a.m.)

Thank you very much. Thank you. I would like very much just to stand here and listen to those cheers all day, but I know you want to hear a little something from me.

I would like to tell you just what the Republican Party has done to the Labor Department in which you are vitally interested. I want to tell you what they did to the United States Department of Labor. The Democratic Party sponsored the creation of that department in 1913 under Woodrow Wilson. That department was inaugurated and Woodrow Wilson appointed William B. Wilson the first Secretary of Labor, and I have just appointed the last Secretary of Labor, former Governor Tobin from Massachusetts. After World War I, when the Republicans gained control of the Government, they favored, as they always do, labor-baiting, union-busting, open-shop, yellow-dog contract policies. The gains made by the workingmen and women under 8 years of Democratic administration, from 1913 to 1921, were largely lost. Twelve years later, in 1933, we had 12 million able-bodied Americans out of jobs as a result of Republican misrule. We elected a great Democratic President who remedied that. We put Franklin D. Roosevelt in office.

Now, the new Democratic administration of 1933 immediately began to build up the Labor Department. One of the first steps was to create the United States Employment Service in 1933 to deal with unemployment. This service did great work during the 1930's finding jobs for men and women, jobs they were best fitted to fill. During the war the United States Employment Service placed 39 million workers on jobs. That Service helped materially to win the war. After the war it helped shift 10 million workers from warwork to peacetime employment.

Now, what did the Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress do to the Labor Department and the United States Employment Service? The Republicans took it away from the Labor Department where it belongs. They deliberately weakened the Labor Department by taking the Employment Service away from it.

Another great part of the Labor Department built up by the Democratic administra-

tions of the last 16 years was the Conciliation Service. It settled more than 15,000 labor disputes involving more than 8 million workers since the end of World War II. Now, that's a record. What did the Republicans do with that Service? Why, the 80th Congress showed its contempt of labor by taking the Conciliation Service away from the Labor Department. And that's another blow at labor.

That's only a part of what the 80th Congress did to labor. The Republicans slashed so much money off the department budget that they were scarcely able to run. They cut 25 percent off the Wage and Hour Division. They cut the Unemployment Service by 60 percent. They cut the Conciliation Service by 20 percent. They cut the Bureau of Labor Statistics by 60 percent. They don't want the facts about the cost of living, employment, and high prices. That's the reason they cut the Statistics Department. They completely wiped out the Division of Labor Standards. There you have a fine example of how the Republican Party keeps its campaign promises.

Now, out in Pittsburgh—out in Pittsburgh, Pa.—the Republican candidate for President said that he was going to institute a Labor Department equal to the Commerce Department and the Agricultural Department. Five days later, in Rensselaer, Ind., when he was speaking for Charlie Halleck, he gave away the last thing in the Labor Department. If he could get elected he said he would put that in a new department that he was going to set up.

Now, my Republican opponent's logic reminds me of a story at a New England town meeting. There was a citizen at the town meeting who made a motion to appropriate $50,000 to build a new city hall. An old gentleman got up and made an amendment to the motion and said that he would like to make it $100,000, but that he wanted to make some conditions before they had the $100,000. He said he would like to build a new town hall—this was condition one—on the site of the old one. Then he said he wanted to use every stone in the old town hall to go into the new hall. Then he said he didn't want the old town hall torn down till the new one was built.

Now, that's the way the Republican candidate feels about the Labor Department. That's the way he feels about all the issues in this campaign. He's afraid to discuss them. You haven't heard him mention a single Republican administration or a single Republican President. He can't point to them with pride because whenever they have had the chance, they have tried to give the country to special interests. The Democratic Party stands for you and for your interests.

Now, if you believe that, get out early in the morning on election day, elect Chester Bowles Governor and the whole Democratic ticket in Connecticut, and send me back to the White House with a Democratic Congress so we can get things done.

[3.] Hartford, Connecticut (11 a.m.)

Thank you very much. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this warm and cordial welcome in Hartford today. It is—well, words just can't express it. You can't say what's in your heart, because there aren't words to express that sort of feeling.

Thank you for this fine reception.

I've always enjoyed being in the great State of Connecticut, and I'm especially happy to be here today when there are so many fine Democrats traveling with me.

On the way down here from Springfield, I've been visiting with Chester Bowles and talking to him about high prices. If anybody in the country knows what soaring

prices mean, and what high prices will do to the country, it's Chester Bowles.

I was highly pleased to see my friend and colleague, Brien McMahon on the train. He is noted, as you know, for the law that bears his name that controls atomic energy in these United States—and the Republicans are trying to tear it up, don't forget that!

Now, Chester Bowles and I fought many a tough battle in Washington, trying to keep strong, effective laws on the books so that people wouldn't suffer from postwar inflation.

You know what happened. Too many people wanted easy profits. Not enough people were alert to the danger, and so the Republican leaders in the Congress led the successful fight against price control.

Those Republican leaders, I remember, used to boast about how they'd kill OPA. They have been pretty quiet about it recently, with an election coming up. I haven't even heard the Republican candidate for President mention the fact that there are high prices.

But don't think for one minute that they have done all they are going to do to you. They're not through yet!

They refused to reestablish price controls and other curbs on prices that I repeatedly asked for. I even called the Congress back into special session twice just for that purpose.

You got no relief from the Republicans at all. And you won't get any.

If the Republican Party wins this election—and they aren't going to—you'll have to expect some more of the same bad medicine from them—medicine to pep up special privilege—medicine to lull you to sleep while they shake out your pockets.

We already have been given a preview of what to expect from the next Republican Congress.

It has been given to us by the real estate lobby, which has always found it easy to get what it wants from this Republican Congress.

The National Apartment Owners Association held a convention, which ended just 2 weeks ago, in California. And the Wall Street Journal, which is a good paper to read if you want to know what the Republicans have in mind, carried a full report of this convention.

I have a copy of that Wall Street Journal for October 13 right here in my hand, and I want to read you a quotation:

"Coronado, California"—And it says, "The Nation's landlords are going after rent control this year with a double-barreled shotgun.

"One barrel, repeating the single-shot blast used before, will renew a direct appeal to Congress to 'kill' this last remaining wartime control.

"The other, aimed at enlisting John Q. Public in the 'hunt' will pepper him with landlord laments and pleas to help get rid of restrictions which, he'll be assured, are working to his own disadvantage."

Now, that's the direct quote from the Wall Street Journal, as to what these people are going to do to you if they get a chance.

The apartment-house owners say that they intend to spend a quarter of a million dollars to get rent control repealed next month. Now, that is one of the most disgraceful things about this last Congress. In this Republican-controlled 80th Congress, there were more lobbies in Washington, and there was more money spent by lobbies in Washington than in all the history of the Congresses put together before that time. It is a disgrace to the country.

This real estate lobby predicts that, if it is successful in killing rent control in March, rents will not be increased more than 20

percent.

Now, is there anybody here in Hartford who wants his rent jumped 20 percent next March? All you have got to do is send that leadership back that ran the 80th Congress.

I don't have a doubt in the world that rents would be that high, or maybe even higher, if the Republican Party should win this election.

If the same Republicans who ran the 80th Congress are back there next spring, they'll kill rent control just exactly like this lobby wants them to.

The reason why rents would go up so quickly is that we still have a very bad housing shortage in this country. I don't have to tell you how hard it is to find a place to live at a price you can afford to pay.

Nearly 3 million veterans and other families are living doubled up. A great many of them are living in garages. As I said the other day, you remember when the Republicans promised "two chickens in every pot." Now they are promising "two families in every garage."

Five million American families are living in the slums.

To correct this shocking condition, I have been urging the Congress for 3 years to pass a comprehensive housing law. We need to clear slums. We need to build at least half a million low-rent housing units.

And we most definitely need to retain rent control until the housing emergency is over.

The housing bill was killed by the Republican leaders in the 80th Congress just the way price control was killed, just the way they will get rid of rent control next spring if they get a chance.

I think the people of Hartford and the people of Connecticut have had enough of that kind of Republican reaction.

You have had enough of Republican neglect of your interests in favor of special privilege.

What we need is a Democratic forward-looking Government that will keep this Nation strong and prosperous.

We must pass that Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill to provide houses that everyone can afford.

And we must repeal that other Taft-named bill, that Taft-Hartley Act.

We must have at least a 75 cents an hour minimum wage.

We must broaden and extend social security.

We must pass the Federal aid to education bill so that our States can provide our children with the best education it is possible to give.

These are some of the specific things we must do.

These are the issues in this campaign.

They are not generalizations. They aren't the things that the Republicans want to tear down. These are down to earth Democratic programs that will develop our country and our people.

You will listen in vain for any such specific recommendations or plans from the Republican Party.

This raises a question that you must ask yourself: What are the Republicans up to when they refuse to deal with the facts in this campaign?

There is just one answer. The Republicans are afraid to take the people into their confidence. They know you wouldn't stand for it. You wouldn't elect a single Republican candidate, if he would come out squarely and tell you what the Republicans stand for in this campaign.

You need an administration that tells the people the facts of life and an administration that trusts them.

You will find no Democratic candidates talking about the "dead hand of Government," as the Republican candidate for President does.

That was the purpose of the Democratic Party. Thomas Jefferson had faith in the people. The Democratic Party is still the Jeffersonian Party that it always was—the party of the people. And it will always remain that way, as long as I have anything to do with it!

The Democratic Party believes in our form of government.

And we will defend it against all comers.

On November the 2d, it is up to the people of Connecticut to decide whether the Government in Washington will continue to serve the people's interests, or whether it will serve the special interests.

If every registered Connecticut voter makes it his personal responsibility to be at the polls on November the 2d, they need not worry that our country will be turned over to special groups.

Now, 2 years ago, in 1946, a lot of good Democrats stayed at home and didn't vote. Forty thousand Democrats right here in Connecticut didn't vote in 1946. You mustn't do that this time, because the Government is yours when you exercise your right to vote. It is in your hands—in nobody else's hands—to say whether we are going to have a government of, by, and for the people, or whether we are going to have a government by special interests.

Get out there on November the 2d and vote the Democratic ticket straight and the country will be in safe hands.

[4.] SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS (12:25 p.m.)

Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Mr. Mayor. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this wonderful reception you have given me here today. No man on earth could ask for more than that.

After a few hours in this part of Massachusetts, I sometimes wonder why anybody wants to leave here. It's beautiful here—it's almost as beautiful as Missouri!

But I didn't come to Springfield to talk about the weather or the scenery.

I am traveling about the country explaining what the issues in this campaign are. Here in Springfield, I'm going to talk about education and about our veterans of World War II, who are back in school getting a delayed education.

Maybe the schoolbooks don't talk about it, but right here in Springfield, Mass., was the first GI revolt in our history—Shays' Rebellion.

Captain Daniel Shays fought in the Revolutionary War. When that war was over, the men who had done the fighting faced a very bad inflation situation, and the great-grandfathers of the Republican Party had no more interest in their welfare than the Republican 80th Congress had in yours.

Shays' Rebellion didn't last long, but the conservatives were so frightened that they were scared into supporting the Constitution of the United States, and it accomplished that great thing for Massachusetts.

I don't suppose that any man has ever visited all the schools and colleges in New England. Some of them are maintained by the States, but most of them are independent.

Practically all of them are crowded with former servicemen on the GI educational grants. This program of helping veterans complete their education is tangible evidence of our gratitude to our veterans, for what they did to save the country in this great war.

Of course, they deserve much more than a good education, which we are doing our

best to provide them with. They deserve decent housing. This, I am sorry to say, we have not yet provided, because the Republican 80th Congress refused to pass a housing bill which we so badly need.

Our veterans deserve relief from high prices, which we are making every effort to meet. They are the ones who are suffering the most from high prices. Everyone on a fixed income is suffering from high prices. They aren't getting any relief, because the Republican 80th Congress refused to restore price control.

And our veterans deserve assurance that they won't ever have to go to war again. I can't make the promise that this country will never be forced to defend itself again, but I can say that we are doing everything in our power to create a just and lasting peace in the world.

It only takes one nation to make war. But it takes two or more to make a peace. And we are having difficulties with some of our former allies to get this peace implemented. But we are going to succeed before we get through.

I am convinced that we are on the right track. So long as we are fair, firm, and friendly, there will not be another war.

There is something else that our veterans deserve, too. That is decent schooling for their children.

The first public schools in this country were founded here in Massachusetts. Ever since then, democracy and the public schools have gone hand in hand.

Today public schools all over the Nation face a tremendous crisis. Classrooms are overcrowded, buildings are antiquated, and teachers are underpaid.

Time and again, I urged the Republican 80th Congress to pass legislation, to extend Federal assistance and aid to the States for the school systems, just like the Federal Government helps the States build highways. You'd think everybody would agree that schoolchildren are at least as important as the highways over which the school buses carry them to school. The Republicans didn't think so.

That Republican Congress said, "Nothing doing—we're against it!"

The Republican candidate has committed himself on this issue of education in words he cannot deny. He's against it, too.

I have right here in my hand a couple of telegrams from two great Governors of this great United States of ours. The Governors of the two great States are the Governor of Utah and the Governor of Maryland.

Both bear witness to the vicious attack which the Republican candidate for President made on this Nation's schoolteachers at the last Governor's Conference in Portsmouth, N.H.

Here is what Governor Lane of Maryland wired me. Governor Lane of Maryland says in his telegram that the Republican candidate said, and I quote:

"The school lobby," he said, "is the most vicious and dishonest lobby in the country. It is worse than all of the rest of them put together. One of the lies"—now, the schoolteachers tell lies—"they tell is that Russia spends more money on public education than we do in this country."

Now, that is the end of the quote, and that's what the present Republican candidate for President said right up here in your neighboring State.

Governor Lane of Maryland reports that the Republican candidate said that.

The Republican candidate made that statement in the presence of nine Governors of this great country.

Governor Maw of Utah confirms that fact. Governor Maw says in his telegram that the Republican candidate said that the teachers' lobby would destroy the State governments of the Nation by supporting only those can-

didates who would give them what they wanted.

Maybe the Republican candidate is afraid the teachers will support only those candidates who believe that teachers are entitled to good pay and a living wage.

Now, the Republican candidate has said that the teachers' lobby is more vicious than the power, or real estate, or oil, or liquor lobbies of this country. Now, I don't think the teachers deserve to be placed in that class. I think the teachers have a right to an organization to present their petitions and to show what they believe to any legislative body in the country, if they so desire.

Those are the Republican candidate's views, as reported in this telegram from the Governor of Utah and the Governor of Maryland.

Now, I know only one way to combat that totally un-American point of view on the public schools.

That is to maintain a Government at Washington that represents the people, and not the special interests and the privileged groups.

Schoolteachers are people. Schoolchildren are, too. It is very distasteful to me to have them lumped in with oil and liquor.

We must have a Government that trusts the people, a Government that respects human rights.

That is the kind of government the Democratic Party stands for.

And if I know New England, you people here feel exactly the same way as I do about it. So all I ask you to do, not for me but for yourselves, is to do your duty and go to the polls on November 2d. And if you vote for your own interests, you can't do anything else but vote a straight Democratic ticket. I understand that Foster Furcolo is your candidate for Congress here. Send him down there so he can cooperate with the President in doing the right thing.

Vote for better schools and better homes.

Vote for the party that will carry on your fight for peace and freedom.

Remember, you are the Government when you exercise the control you should on election day. Two-thirds of you didn't do that in the last election in 1946. Two-thirds of you either were not interested, were too lazy to go to the polls, or just didn't care, and you got the 80th Congress—and look what you got! Now, the best thing you can do for your own interests is to go to the polls on election day, as I told you a while ago, and vote the straight Democratic ticket. And if you do that, I won't be troubled with the housing shortage—I'll be in the White House for another 4 years.

I am delighted to have here on the platform with me the former Governor of Massachusetts and my Secretary of Labor, the Honorable Maurice Tobin. And I am also highly pleased and delighted to have the Floor Leader of the Democratic Party in the House of Representatives—who didn't go along with these Republicans on these things—John McCormack, from Massachusetts.

[5.] WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS (2:28 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor and ladies and gentlemen:

It is a real pleasure to be here in the heart of the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts. I wish I could stay longer. I had a fine reception, I remember, when I was here 4 years ago, and I have always had a warm spot in my heart for this great city.

You know, your Fourth Massachusetts Congressional District was one of three districts in the United States which unseated mossback, standpat Republican Congressmen in 1946, and you did a great thing by replacing them with able, enlightened, liberal Democrats.

I sincerely wish a lot more cities had done what you did in 1946. Your Congressman, Harold Donohue, has been a member of that group of Democrats in the 80th Congress which has fought for forward-looking measures in the people's interests. And I am assured that you are going to elect Paul Dever for Governor in this State and make a clean sweep of it. The country needs more men like these two gentlemen. I have the greatest privilege and pleasure today to have with me my new Secretary of Labor and former Governor of the great State of Massachusetts—Maurice Tobin. You are also lucky to have another distinguished Democrat here, your able Mayor, Charles Sullivan. He is going to be the next Lieutenant Governor of your great State. Mr. Sullivan tells me that for the first time in history you have a Democratic majority in both houses of the City Council. That shows that you are thinking right and you are acting right. I think that indicates that you people, like the vast majority of all the people in this great United States of ours, have lost faith in the Republican Party—and I am glad you have.

You have lost faith in the Republican Party because that party has failed to represent your interests—the interests of all the people. I don't need to go into your reasons for rejecting the Republican Party. You know all about the record of the "do-nothing" 80th Congress. I would like to talk to you about something more important than that. I would like to talk to you about peace. I would like to tell you about the only way we can make our will for peace prevail in this troubled world. That way is to keep the United States strong and prosperous. The greatest single factor working for peace today is our American standard of living. It is our high standard of living, achieved during the past 16 years, that enables us to help the free nations of the world to resist Communist aggression.

The Communists are all against me, and I am very happy that they are. It shows that I am right!

The policies of the Republican Party as demonstrated by the record of the 80th Congress and endorsed by the Republican candidate for President, would result in a drastic reduction in the American standard of living. That would be a catastrophe and a blow at our efforts to achieve world peace.

The policies of the Democratic administration in the last 16 years have resulted in the greatest prosperity this country has ever seen. No other country in the world has ever had such prosperity as we have had in the 3 years since the close of World War II.

You know, I think that we are living in the greatest age in history. We are living in an age like no other age in the history of the world; and because we are living in the greatest age in history, eventually we are going to get a permanent peace that will enable that to continue for our children and our grandchildren.

Now, our national income is nearly $220 billions this year. That income is fairly shared by workingmen and women, by farmers, by white-collar workers, and by small businessmen. The policies of the Republican Party as demonstrated by the record of the Republican 80th Congress, and as stated by the Republican candidate for President, would wreck that fair distribution.

The Republicans believe in what they call the "trickle down" theory. They want the big, rich, and wealthy, the privileged special interests groups to get the lion's share of the income and let the scraps fall down for the rest of us.

The first thing the Republicans tried to do in the 80th Congress was to pass a rich man's tax bill which would have given tremendous benefits to the rich and left the heavy tax burden on low-income groups.

I vetoed their tax bill three times, but it was finally passed over my veto. And you know what the Republicans are doing now? They are sending out duns to everybody who got a cut in income tax to contribute something to the Republican campaign fund because they want to do it some more. If that is not bribery, I don't know what is.

You take a man making $60 a week, if he got a cut of a $1.50 a week in his income tax, that has been wiped out by high prices. But the fellow that got $100,000 a year got more than a $16,000 cut. Those are the guys they are trying to get money from—they want them to turn that $16,000 over to them; and I think they are doing it, because they have unlimited funds.

The Democrats never did win an election with money. We win it with votes!

The Republicans' next move was to pass harsh labor legislation. That shameful Taft-Hartley Act is a deliberate effort to crush the power of organized labor so that labor unions will not be able to bargain for better wages and better working conditions. That Taft-Hartley Act is only a first step. The Republicans have said that, if they get a chance, they will pass even more restrictive labor laws.

You know, Mr. Hartley published a book. You ought to read that book, all you people who are interested in the welfare of labor. He tells you just exactly what they are going to do to you, if they get control of this Government.

The Republican leaders have knocked the props out from under farm prosperity by refusing to pass permanent, long-range farm legislation, and by depriving many farmers of price supports to which they are entitled.

Corn, right now, in the corn belt, is selling for 47 cents below the support price, for the simple reason that the Republicans refused to allow the Commodity Credit Corporation to set up bins in which to store that corn, as they have always done in years past. Farmers are beginning to wake up. They are beginning to find out who their friends are, just as labor and the regular ordinary citizen is finding out, that the Democrats are for them.

The Republicans are for special interests, and if you don't believe that, just read the record of the 80th Congress. I have been putting it out all over the United States. I have faced more than 6 million people, just like I am facing this great audience today, and I have told them the facts. You can't get them from the newspapers, you can't get them from the radio commentators, but you can get them from me, all right, if you listen to what I have to say.

Every housewife in the country knows how the living standard of the family has been hurt by the Republican Congress' refusal to do anything about soaring prices. The Republicans killed price control, and they refused ever since to do anything to give you relief from skyrocketing prices. The Republican leaders seem to be so eager to help the special interests make a killing that they are endangering our future prosperity and our national safety.

We cannot remain a strong nation if the Republicans are allowed to continue their raid on the people's rights.

The only kind of unity they are thinking about is unity in behalf of a privileged few. I believe we should have unity on behalf of the people of this country, not just a few.

As next Tuesday approaches, give some thought to the Republican record on housing, their record on high prices, their record on labor legislation. Remember how weak we were in 1932, after 12 years of Republican rule. Twelve million people were unemployed—banks were failing by the dozen—farms were being foreclosed by the thou-

sands.

And now consider how prosperous and strong we are after 16 years of Democratic administrations. Sixty-one million people have jobs—nobody who wants a job but what can have one. No bank failures in 3 years—farmers practically out of debt, with the largest income they have ever had in their history. Only a strong and prosperous United States will remain a free United States. Only a nation where the government works constantly for the benefit of the people and not for just a privileged few will be able to lead the world to peace.

Now, the continuation of this situation is in your hands. You are the Government when you exercise your privileges. You did not exercise that privilege in 1946, and you got the 80th Congress. This district performed all right, but the majority of them in the United States did not vote. Two-thirds of them stayed at home—look what we got!

Now you are the Government when you want to evercise that privilege, and you are the Government only when you go to the polls on election day and exercise that privilege to vote. Then you decide who and what your Government will be.

Now, on November the 2d, for your own interest, get up early and go to the polls and vote the straight Democratic ticket, and then you will have a Democratic administration in the great State of Massachusetts, you will have a Democratic administration in Washington, and I won't be troubled with the housing shortage.

[6.] FRAMINGHAM, MASSACHUSETTS (Rear platform, 3:40 p.m.)

Thank you, thank you very much. I certainly appreciate most highly that cordial introduction. I have had a most wonderful reception in this great State, and I certainly wish I could visit every corner of New England and every town in it.

Now, this city of Framingham has a reputation of being a forward-looking community. I had heard about it long before I ever arrived here. I know that you want to keep right on going forward along the lines laid down by the Democratic Party in the last 16 years. You proved that in 1946 when you sent a fine Democrat to Congress, Harold D. Donohue. If more cities and congressional districts had followed your example, how much better off we would all be! We would never have had that backward-looking 80th Congress if every city and community had done what you did the last time.

I am satisfied that the American people are very sorry that they let so many mossback Republicans slip into that 80th Congress. I believe the voters all over the country are going to send those reactionary Republicans back to private life in November. I believe the voters are going to turn thumbs down on the Republican candidate for President, a candidate who won't tell you where he stands or what he believes in. He goes around preaching platitudes. You know, he has given "G.O.P." another meaning. It now means "Grand Old Platitudes." I believe the American people are entitled to hear from the Republican leaders the full and honest convictions of the candidate.

You certainly know where the leaders of the Democratic Party stand. I have gone all over the country, from one end to the other—north and south and east and west—and you understand exactly where I stand; and I have tried to make it perfectly clear to you where the Republicans stand too. I defy you to say what the Republicans stand for—what the Republican candidate for President stands for except for the Republi-

can Party. And if he can stand for that, he can stand for anything!

In the last 16 years your Government has been headed by men who have done everything possible to promote the welfare of the people as a whole. By "the people" I mean all the citizens of the United States. We don't restrict our sympathies to the people who make $100,000 a year. We mean everybody in the country. We want to build millions of low-priced houses for workingmen and their families. We want to get rid of the vicious Taft-Hartley law, passed by the Republican Congress under the whip of the millionaire manufacturers. We want to provide Federal aid to education so that all our children will have a chance to get a decent schooling. We want to put a national health program into effect so that all Americans can get good medical care and good dental care.

We can do all these things if everybody goes to the polls and votes the Democratic ticket straight in November. You can vote for a Federal housing program, a Federal aid to education program, a Federal health program, by marking your ballot for the Democratic candidates.

You have a stake in this election. It will affect your job, your chance to get a raise, your chance to get a better home, your chance to control the high prices that rob you of all gains you had before those prices went up. It will mean the difference between moving ahead and going backward.

The people's campaign is rolling to victory. I can assure you of that. The West is with us, the Central States are with us, and the East is swinging into line. If you would see the people I have been talking to since I came East, you would understand what I mean when I say the East is beginning to find out what side its bread is buttered on.

All I ask you to do is vote for yourself, vote for your family. When you come right down to the analysis of our Government, our Government is the people, and when the people exercise their right to vote on election day they control that Government. When they don't exercise that right then you get—then you get an 80th Congress. So, two-thirds of the people of the United States entitled to vote in 1946, stayed at home. They didn't have energy enough to go and look after their political interests on election day—and they got the 80th Congress. Don't do that again. Don't do that again.

The Democrats are not afraid of the people. The Democrats know that when the people exercise their rights the country is safe.

I am urging you with everything I have: on November 2d, everyone of you, get up early and go to the polls and vote the Democratic ticket straight—and then you'll have a Democratic President, a Democratic Congress, and a Democratic organization and government here in this great Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

I appreciate your coming out very much.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on October 27 the President referred to Mayor Robert Capeless of Pittsfield, Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin, Democratic candidates for Representative Patrick O'Malley and Foster Furcolo, Mayor Daniel B. Brunton of Springfield, Representatives John W. McCormack and Harold D. Donohue, Mayor Charles F. Sullivan of Worcester, and Democratic candidate for Governor Paul A. Dever, all of Massachusetts; Democratic candidate for Governor Chester Bowles and Senator Brien McMahon, both of Connecticut; former Secretaries of Labor William B. Wilson and Frances Perkins; Governor William P. Lane, Jr., of Maryland; Governor Herbert B. Maw of Utah; Representative Fred A. Hartley, Jr., of New Jersey; Representative Charles A. Halleck of Indiana; and Cyrus S. Ching, Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

260 Address at Mechanics Hall in Boston. *October 27, 1948*

THANK YOU, thank you very much. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate that magnificent reception. And the reception on the street this afternoon was something out of this world.

Thank you, my good friends and fellow citizens.

Twenty years ago another Democratic candidate for President came to Boston. He was that great, outstanding American, Alfred E. Smith.

You gave him a tremendous reception. And when the cheers had subsided, he took all of you to his heart with one phrase. He said, "It's good to come home."

I know just how Al Smith felt. For Massachusetts is home to every American who loves freedom and trusts the people.

From the first days of our Nation, the spirit of the men and women of the Bay State has impressed upon American life the love of freedom and the hatred of tyranny.

Even before the end of the Revolutionary War, Massachusetts freed her slaves—all of them—because the people held that liberty was not for any one race or creed.

Here in Boston, you still stand among the Nation's foremost fighters for freedom and against intolerance.

Now, many of you recall that campaign of 1928, when Al Smith ran for President against that well-known engineer—Herbert Hoover. He was one engineer who really did a job of running things backward.

That campaign of 1928 was one of the most shameful political campaigns in our history.

A vile whispering campaign was spearheaded by the Ku Klux Klan and by Klan-minded people to discredit Al Smith. The Republican appeal was based on religious prejudice because of Al Smith's Catholic faith.

The leaders of the Republican Party served notice on America then and there that they would stop at nothing in order to gain power.

Don't think that the elephant has changed his habits in the last 20 years. This Republican elephant is not that kind of elephant. They're trying to make you believe he has that new look, but he hasn't.

That Al Smith campaign of 1928 was fought with different arguments from those we hear today. But, fundamentally, the issue was the same—that is, the rights of all the people against special privilege for the few.

I have often thought what a different and better world we would have had if Al Smith had been elected President.

But that didn't happen. And the great engineer we elected backed the train all the way into the waiting room and brought us to panic, depression, and despair.

Here at home, we had boom and bust.

In our dealings with other countries, we had Republican high tariffs, political isolation, and economic confusion—forces that helped to bring on World War II.

I say to you people of Boston that if Al Smith—and not Herbert Hoover—had been chosen President in 1928, we and the world would have been spared untold misery and suffering.

Unfortunately, there was no mechanical Republican substitute for Al Smith's great heart. No engineering equivalent could be found for his moral courage, his passion for justice, and his love of humanity.

After the Republicans had made such a mess of our domestic welfare and world

security, we brought to the Presidency a Democrat—that courageous leader and great humanitarian, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Under Roosevelt's leadership, we licked the Hoover depression, we rebuilt a strong America, and we won the greatest war in all history.

I am proud to have been a part in Roosevelt's great fight for the rights and liberties of humanity.

At the end of the war, in 1945, the people of this country were more prosperous than ever before in their history. The Democrats planned it that way. And in spite of the scorn and derision which the Republicans in Congress expressed about Government planning, that planning paid off.

Labor was stronger than ever before. The farmers were more secure than ever before. Business was making more money than ever before. Our homes and our earnings were protected against inflation and rising prices.

We seemed to be headed for a period of safe and wholesome progress in this country.

But in November 1946 we suffered a misfortune which now threatens to destroy our hopes and our safety with a new wave of blind and selfish reaction. Two years ago, when it was the responsibility of the people to elect a new Congress, millions of Americans failed to vote. Almost two-thirds of those entitled to vote did not vote. And the result was the notorious "do-nothing" Republican 80th Congress—the Congress that owes its election to Democrats who didn't bother to vote.

You know the record of that Congress.

You know how it refused to deal with inflation and how it let prices keep on rising.

You know how it failed to provide low-rent housing and how it remained faithful to the slogan of "Two families in every garage."

You know how it played the game of big business lobbies at Washington and how it shackled labor with that awful Taft-Hartley law.

And now the Republicans tell us that they stand for unity. In the old days, Al Smith would have said, "That's baloney." Today, I think he would say, "That's a lot of hooey." And if that rhymes with anything, it is not my fault.

They made their great mistake when they decided that the election of 1946 was a mandate—a mandate, mind you—to destroy the New Deal.

Two years ago the people lost control of the Congress. Control passed to big business—to special privilege—to the owners of the Republican Party. Big business and special privilege have only one idea—to charge all that traffic will bear. Through the action of the 80th Congress they have given you warning of worse things to come.

But less than a week from now you will have a chance to regain control of your Government. You can elect a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President.

My friends, there will never be a time in your life when you can spend 2 hours to better advantage than by voting on this election day, November the 2d. For more than your prosperity hangs on the result of that decision.

The peace and freedom of the entire world depend on the courage and imagination of a people's Government at Washington.

Yesterday, the free peoples of the world were threatened by the black menace of fascism. The American people helped to save them. Today, the free peoples of the world are threatened by the red menace of communism.

And again, the American people are helping to save them.

I think that I speak for every loyal American—Democrat and Republican alike—when

I say that we detest what Communists stand for, and what they have done to the free peoples under their control.

If the people of some other country freely choose a Communist form of government, that is their own business. But we don't want any Communist government in the United States of America.

And if the people of other countries don't want communism, we don't want to see it imposed upon them against their will.

We have been taking positive and successful action, everywhere in the world, to halt the threat of communism.

There are some Republicans who have been trying to make you believe that your Government is endangered by Communist infiltration. That is just a plain, malicious lie.

But that is not a new form of attack. The Republican candidate for President in 1944, who is trying again this year, said here in Boston—now listen to this—he said, right here in Boston—that Franklin Roosevelt was soliciting the support of Communists. He said that the Communists were seizing control of the New Deal.

Those statements were absurd and ridiculous. They were just as absurd as the reasons this same Republican candidate gave in 1944 as to why the New Deal could not provide jobs after the war. I wish you would ask him about that now.

Ask him how many jobs there are today. He was going to blame us if there were no jobs. So, if he will give us credit for the 61 million people working today, that will be all right. He won't do that. Sixty-one million!

I said 61 million people. There are more people at work today than ever before in the history of the country. There isn't a man in the United States who, if he wants a job, can't find one—and with good pay. I wish you would ask that Republican candidate sometime how many jobs the Republicans were providing in 1932.

All of this Republican talk about communism in 1944 and again this year is in the same pattern with their appeals to religious prejudice against Al Smith in 1928. They are afraid to go before the American people on the merits of the policies they believe in. So they try to distract the people's attention with false issues.

I want you to get this straight now.

I hate communism. I deplore what it does to the dignity and freedom of the individual. I detest the godless creed it teaches.

I have fought it at home. I have fought it abroad, and I shall continue to fight it with all my strength.

This is one issue on which I shall never surrender.

Now, my friends, the truth of the matter is, the Communists are doing all they can to defeat me and help my Republican opponent.

Just take a look at the facts.

The Communist Party of the United States is today supporting a third-party candidate in an effort to defeat me.

In State after State the Republicans have worked to get this Communist-supported candidate on the ballot in order to defeat me, and with me, the party of the people who want no share of this unholy alliance.

You can all see the Republican point of view—it is anything to get votes.

But you may wonder why the Communists, with their supposed hatred for capitalism, are working night and day for the victory of the party of big business.

Well, I'll tell you why.

The Communists don't want me to be President, because this country, under a Democratic administration, has rallied the forces of all the democracies of the world to safeguard freedom and to save free people

everywhere from Communist slavery.

Our goal is peace—a lasting peace in the world.

It is our conviction that peace in this atomic age is an absolute necessity. But only a peace that is based on human rights and freedom will be a lasting peace.

I propose to keep on doing my level best to win a lasting peace.

That must be done, not only for the people of the United States, but for people everywhere in the world.

In March of last year I announced a fundamental decision of your Government, designed to preserve the freedom of the world. In stating that doctrine, I said: "It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

Our first step under that doctrine was to give economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey, two countries right under the shadow of Communist domination.

The whole world knows of the success of this policy. Now, the Communists will never forgive me for that.

This was only the first step in a broad program to check the spread of communism.

The next step was the European recovery program, know as the Marshall plan.

You have heard of the heartening results which are now being achieved under this program in 16 European countries. Not only are hungry people being fed, but industries have been reconstructed and farms restored and railways and mines set in order.

As a result of these wise measures the European recovery program is driving back the threat of communism.

And the Communists will never forgive me for that, either.

Let's take three European countries—Italy, France, and Germany—and see why the Communists hate your President so bitterly.

Our aid has given Italy a new lease on freedom. Our aid has helped really decisive popular support for the freely elected government of Italy. It has shown the Italian people that they can solve their economic problems under democracy.

I wonder what would have happened to Italy without our help? I think we all know. The salvation of Italy from Communist tyranny is one of the great achievements of our recovery program.

And for that the Communists will never forgive me.

Our aid has also been a bulwark of free democracy in France. There, as throughout Europe, we are using our economic strength to raise the living standards of the people, and thus to avoid the danger of a Fascist reaction or a Communist tyranny.

And, the Communists hold that against me, too.

In Germany, we have taken the frank and firm position that communism must not spread its tentacles into the Western Zone.

We shall not retreat from that position.

We shall feed the people of Berlin, and the people of Germany will be given their chance to work out a decent life under a democratic government.

Now, the Communists hate me for that, too.

As an American, as well as your President, I resent the contemptible Republican slur that charges me with being "soft" where Communist tyranny is concerned.

Under your Democratic administration, the people of the United States have thrown themselves wholeheartedly into the support of freedom and democracy against the predatory pressures of communism.

Our sustained, unprecedented worldwide fight against the spread of communism has brought new hope to people everywhere in the world.

Now, on the strength of that record, it is

clear why the Communists would like to bring about my defeat, and elect a Republican President.

But I am surprised that the Republican Party should lend assistance to this Communist intrigue.

Let me remind you that the Communist Party in this country reached its maximum strength in 1932, under a Republican President.

Communism thrives on misery. Human suffering nourishes the Communist menace. That menace withers away where there is prosperity, justice, and tolerance.

The real threat of communism in this country lies in the danger of another major depression. The real threat of communism lies in widespread unemployment and arrogant injustice, such as we had in 1932.

The real threat of communism in this country grows out of the Republican policies of the 80th Congress—policies which threaten to put an end to American prosperity.

The real threat of communism in this country grows out of the submission of the Republican Party to the dictates of big business, and its determination to destroy the hard-won rights of American labor.

You can fight communism on November 2d with a Democratic vote, and you can defeat Republican reaction at the same time.

Reactionary Republican policies invited communism in 1932. We were saved then, but we cannot afford to take that risk again.

If the Republican candidate wants to rid the country of Communists—and I believe he has some of them right in his own State of New York—he ought to begin by shaking off the hand of reaction which now has a stranglehold on the Republican Party.

But somehow, I don't see him doing that.

It all falls into the same old Republican pattern—appeal to the passions of prejudice and intolerance, and hope to get the votes.

All I can say is that I'm proud to be a Democrat. We are engaged in a great crusade—a crusade for freedom, for tolerance, for the rights and welfare of all the people.

This fight is Al Smith's fight.

This fight is Roosevelt's fight.

And now it is my fight.

More than that, it is your fight.

And I'm proud to be making this fight with you for the things in which we believe.

With your help, and your courage, and your enthusiasm, we are going to win this fight on November the 2d.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 p.m. in Mechanics Hall in Boston. During his address he referred to Alfred E. Smith, former Governor of New York and Democratic candidate for President in 1928.

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[1.] QUINCY, MASSACHUSETTS (First Parish Church, Quincy Square, 7:30 a.m.)

Thank you, Mr. Mayor. I can't tell you how highly I appreciate the compliment which you gave to the President of the United States, and to your wonderful citizens of this great State who are with me this morning, by turning out at this time of day.

I am very glad to be here in this historic city this morning, and it is a very high honor to be presented to you on the steps of this church where two great men and their wives are buried.

You know, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were political enemies, but they

became fast friends. And when they passed away, on the same day, the last words of one of them was, "The country is safe. Jefferson still lives." And the last words of the other was, "John Adams will see that things go forward."

You can't beat that in a Republic like this, my friends. That is what makes this country great. We can have our political fights, but we understand that the other fellow has a perfect right to his views no matter what they may be, and he has a right to express them. That is what makes the Constitution of the United States the greatest document of government in the history of the world.

I have known about Quincy all my life, of course, because it is and has been the home of these two great men. Now, I sincerely hope—I sincerely hope that you good citizens here will send David Concannon to the Congress because I will have somebody I can work with, if you do that.

And I know very well that you are going to elect the whole Democratic ticket here in this great State, if this is any index—the way you turned out this early in the morning.

The way Boston gave me a welcome yesterday and last night, I am just as sure as I stand here that Massachusetts will turn in a hundred thousand majority for the Democrats.

I learned a lot about this great city when I was Chairman of the Special Senate Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program. I came to have a very great admiration for the magnificent work that you did here in your shipyards. Ships from your yards fought all over the world, and you people who built them helped win the war just as surely as did the sailors who sailed them.

Now, we have another big job to do, and that is win the peace. It is much harder to win the peace than it is to win a war, because everybody is behind you when you have to fight for the welfare of your country. But when you have to fight for the peace, everybody has his own idea of what that peace should be, and it is a very difficult matter to get people together on just exactly what it should be.

Only one country, you know, can start a war, but it takes two or three, four or five, to make the peace. I have been working ever since V–J Day to establish conditions for a just and lasting peace in the world.

This Nation has a serious problem in stopping the menace of communism. I have fought communism here in the United States, and I have led in the fight against communism all over the world.

Communists don't like me very well. They are all against me, and I am glad of it. I don't want them for me. I hate communism, and because I have fought so much to prevent its spread, the Communists hate me. They are doing their very best to prevent my election.

I know that the best way to stop communism in this country is to make sure that every citizen has a good standard of living, and a job all the year round, a decent place to live, and good schools with medical care for his family.

I have been fighting for those things ever since I have been President and long before.

The Republican Party has blocked my efforts wherever it could. Republican leaders in the Congress killed price control, and as a result, prices have gone through the roof. Every family's living standard has suffered as a result of the inability to control the spiral that will lead to inflation. I called the Congress back into special session twice, but the Republicans refused to do anything about high prices.

I have been fighting for a decent housing bill, too, and I believe that every American family has the right to a decent home. The

Republican Party does not believe that, because the Republicans in the Congress killed the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill.

I also believe that we should protect and extend the rights of labor. The Republican Party does not believe that. They passed the Taft-Hartley law. Now they say that is only the beginning of what they will do to labor if they get a chance next year. I don't believe you are going to give them a chance.

I don't have to tell you any more about the issues in this campaign, but I want you to study the record of the two parties. I want you to go out and vote in your own interests next Tuesday.

Vote for the control and lowering of prices.

Vote for decent housing.

Vote for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Vote for the party that knows that the way to beat communism is by keeping this Nation strong and prosperous.

And, finally, my friends, just vote in your own interests, and when you vote in your own interests and exercise your right to control the Government by voting, you can't help but vote just one way, and that is to vote the Democratic ticket straight. Then this great Commonwealth will have the sort of administration it ought to have—a Democratic administration; and I will stay in the White House another 4 years.

[2.] Brockton, Massachusetts (8:20 a.m.)

Thank you very much. I appreciate that prophecy, and I think it is going to come true. It is a great pleasure indeed to be here in Brockton this morning. I have been hearing about Brockton's shoes for a great many years—and now I am well fixed. I not only have two pairs of shoes for myself, but I have two pairs for my wife and daughter. Isn't that nice—just think what that will mean for the "old man." Your record of production for shoes of the Armed Forces during the war was almost unbelievable. Nobody knows more about that than I do, because I had to make an investigation of the shoes sent out to the Army when I was in the Senate of the United States. I think you turned out 18 million pairs of shoes for the Army, Navy, and Air Force. You know, that is a wonderful record.

But prices are now so high that many people in the country are finding it difficult to buy the necessities of life, like good shoes.

I think you all know who is to blame for it. The blame rests on the leaders of the Republican Party—and nowhere else.

The National Association of Manufacturers put on a great campaign to fool the American people into believing that we would have more production and lower prices if we got rid of price control. The Republican leaders took part in that conspiracy just to deceive the everyday person.

Right in the halls of Congress, Republican leaders made the flat statement that prices would fall, if controls went off. Well, you know what happened. Prices have been going up and up and up, they have gone all the way off the chart. Those fellows running the Wall Street Journal can tell you just what things are doing.

The Republicans always seem to be willing to do what the lobbies of big business want them to do.

Here in Brockton, like nearly every city in the country, there is a housing shortage. The Democrats believe we ought to have a comprehensive Federal housing law. We believe that the Federal Government ought to help the cities and the States clear away slums and build large-scale and low-rent public housing projects.

The real estate lobby does not want such a law, because the real estate owners couldn't

make so much money if there were plenty of housing.

Under the prodding of the real estate lobby, the Republican leaders in that "do-nothing" 80th Congress killed the housing bill which we need so badly.

Now, another lobby is getting ready to start to work on the next Congress to kill rent control. This lobby, the National Apartment Owners Association, is getting ready to spend a quarter of a million dollars to influence Congressmen against rent control so that the Congress will not extend rent controls next year.

The awful and most disgraceful thing about that 80th "do-nothing" Congress—as I call it—was the fact that it was controlled absolutely by lobbies. There were more lobbies in Washington and more money spent in Washington by lobbies during the 80th Congress than in all the history of preceding Congresses. It is shameful and a disgrace to this country that a Congress would let a lobby tell it what to do. They did not work for the people, because that is the reason I have been fussing at them all over the United States, and it is beginning to hurt. People are beginning to find out what the truth is.

Now, the apartment owners are getting ready to spend all that money to take rent controls off. If you return the same leadership to the 81st Congress that we had in the 80th Congress, they will succeed in it.

If you folks here in Brockton want your rent raised 20 percent next spring, stay at home and don't vote—like two-thirds of you did at the last election.

If you don't want that, you had better go to the polls on election day and vote for yourselves.

Vote for the Democratic Party and then you will be right.

All you need do is look at the record—the record of the Democratic Party and what it has been doing for the people in the last 16 years. And then look at the sorry record of how the Republicans sold out to the lobbies in the last Congress. That was a blessing in disguise, that we had a taste of what the Republicans did to you good people who didn't vote in 1946. That was a blessing in disguise, I say, because I think our country has awakened to the fact that the Democratic Party, under Democratic leadership, is working for the welfare of all the people, and not just a few.

You see, I am anxious that you know the facts. You don't suppose I would go from one end of the United States to the other, backwards and forwards and crossways, informing the people of what the situation is, if I didn't think it was in your interest to do that. This is about the 270th or 280th appearance I have made before such public audiences—from Maine to California, from Washington to Florida. I want to say to you that this situation right here in Brockton is the result of the policies of the Republican Party.

Now, if you believe in honest government, if you believe in the welfare of the people as a whole, you won't stay at home this time.

Go to the polls and elect a Democratic Governor and a Democratic Congressman from this district, and elect the whole Democratic ticket—and then you will be safe, and your President won't be troubled with the housing shortage—he will still stay in the White House for another 4 years.

[3.] TAUNTON, MASSACHUSETTS (9:05 a.m.)

Thank you very much. Isn't that lovely—[*a silver plate*]—that's beautiful. I am certainly glad that it has my name on it, because if it didn't I know a young lady by the name of Margaret who would have possession of it.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this royal welcome given me here in the

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. They tell me that in this town here the first flag of the United States was raised in 1774 on the liberty pole right here in this park. What I have been trying to do is raise liberty poles all over the United States by telling the people just exactly what we are faced with during this campaign.

The Republicans have been putting out a lot of polls. They call themselves the pollsters of this campaign, and I want to say to you that on the morning after election, there are going to be more red-faced pollsters than the country has ever seen before in its history.

I am just as sure as I stand here that this great State is going to vote in its own interests and that it is going to vote for the welfare of the people as a whole, and not vote for the special interests. That will mean that you will vote the Democratic ticket from top to bottom—you will elect a Democratic Congressman from this district—you will elect a Democratic Governor—and the whole Democratic ticket, and then the country will be safe because you will still have a Democratic President.

You know, they have been talking about a change—the need for a change. I will tell you the sort of change we need: we need to change the Congress. What we need is a Democratic Congress to go along with a Democratic President, then the rights of the people will be safe. I think that is just what you are going to do.

You know, one of the first things that this Republican 80th Congress did when it came into power was to begin to tear up the rights of labor. The Democratic Party under Franklin Roosevelt gave to American labor the Wagner Act, which is the bill of rights for labor. Well, this Republican 80th Congress, just as soon as they got into power, passed this Taft-Hartley law. I want that Taft-Hartley law repealed, and the best way to get it repealed is to elect a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress.

I understand that they are trying to pass Taft-Hartley legislation right here in Massachusetts on the ballot. I am just as sure as I am standing here that you are not going to let that happen here, either, in this great State.

You know, the welfare of this country is wrapped up in the welfare of the whole population. Last year we had a national income of $217 billion. This year it is going to be over $220 billion, and that income has been so distributed that the farmer has his fair share, the workingman has his fair share, and the small businessman has his fair share.

Now that is not what the Republicans want. They want special privilege to get the majority of that income. That is what they want. They have sent out letters to people asking for campaign contributions as a result of their rich man's tax bill which they passed—the most outrageous tax bill that has ever been passed in this country. They passed that tax bill three times, and I vetoed it three times. They had to pass it three times before they could make a law out of it. I want to say to you that if I hadn't been standing there with the veto power, there is no telling what they would have done to the people of this country.

Now I want you to remember these things—that the welfare of the country is in your hands. You must yourselves exercise that power which makes you the government, and that is to go to the polls and vote on election day.

If you don't do that, and you get something like the 80th Congress in the next Congress, you have got nobody to blame but yourselves for it—you can't quarrel with

anybody about it. You are the Government when you want to exercise that privilege.

I sincerely hope that every person within the hearing of my voice, who has the right to vote on November the 2d, will go and vote. That's all I ask. If you do that, I am not a bit worried about what the result will be, because you are going to vote in your own interests, you are going to vote for yourselves. That means that you are going to vote the straight Democratic ticket on November 2d, and I will stay in the White House, and we will have a Democratic Congress, and we will have a Democratic administration in the great State of Massachusetts.

Thank you very much.

[4.] FALL RIVER, MASSACHUSETTS (South Park, 9:55 a.m.)

Thank you—thank you. Thank you, Mr. Mayor, for that most cordial introduction. I hope I shall continue to deserve your good opinion and the good opinion of the fine people of Fall River and the great State of Massachusetts. I am more than happy this morning to be in Fall River. I sincerely wish I could have also gone to New Bedford, but I couldn't go to both places. I went to New Bedford in 1944, and didn't get to Fall River. This time I changed it about. I hope the people of New Bedford will understand that it is necessary for me to be in New York City tonight at 5 o'clock. It is necessary for me to be there because we are going to carry the great State of New York as well as Massachusetts.

I have been going all over the United States from one end of the country to the other, telling the people what the issues in this campaign are. That is the only way you have been able to find out about them, for the simple reason that the Republican candidate for President will not discuss the issues in this campaign. He is afraid to discuss the issues, because the Republicans are on the wrong side of every issue that affects the people of the United States.

There are more people at work under this Democratic administration than ever had jobs before in the history of the world in any one country. Sixty-one million people have jobs and they have jobs at living wages.

The pay of textile workers is three and a half times what it was under the last Republican administration. That did not come about by accident. That was the result of legislation which the Democratic administrations put on the books. That was the result of the Walsh-Healy Act, the Wagner Act, and Fair Labor Standards Act.

Of course, the first thing the Republicans did when they got in the Congress—got control of it—was to try to tear up these things that made labor's rights in this country a great deal better. They immediately went to work to repeal the Wagner Act, and they passed that Taft-Hartley Act which I think ought to be repealed.

Now, I understand that they are trying to do the same thing right here in this great Commonwealth. They are trying to pass a local Taft-Hartley law, and I hope you won't let them do it. I don't think you will.

Last year we had the greatest national income of any country in the history of the world—$217 billion. This year it is running over $220 billion. That income is fairly distributed to all the people. The farmers got their fair share of the farm income. This year it is the highest it has ever been in history—$18 billion for the farmers. The farmers in 1932 had an income of $2½ billion. That's the difference.

The wages of labor are three times what

they were under Republican administrations. We want to keep them that way. We want to see that the farmers get their fair share of the national income, that labor gets its fair share of the national income, and that business gets its fair share of the national income.

But the Republicans don't want it that way. They want special privilege to control this country. The legislation which they passed in this Congress—most of it over my veto—was for special interests and not in the public interest.

Now the Democratic Party has a different philosophy. The Democratic Party has always been the party of the people ever since Thomas Jefferson organized it. Thomas Jefferson organized that party way back yonder in 1800, and Andrew Jackson implemented it in 1828 to 1836. Woodrow Wilson revived it and gave it new life in the 8 years in which he was President of the United States.

And Franklin D. Roosevelt and I have carried on those policies for the people and not against them.

This fight I have been making, as I told you last night in Boston, is the fight that Al Smith was making, the fight that Franklin D. Roosevelt was making, and now it is my fight, and I want you to help me win that fight—and I am sure you are going to do it.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this wonderful turnout. It is a wonderful welcome. I think it means an overwhelming victory in Massachusetts next November the 2d.

I want to urge you again, with everything I have, to go to the polls on November the 2d and vote for yourselves—vote in your own interest.

When you do that, vote the straight Democratic ticket and you will have a Democratic President, a Democratic Congress, and a Democratic administration from top to bottom in the great State of Massachusetts.

[5.] PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND (City Hall, 11:15 a.m.)

Governor Pastore and the good people of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations:

It is always a pleasure for me to come to Providence—a great Democratic city in a great Democratic State. Rhode Island shows them the way!

Rhode Island has produced two of the finest Senators in the Congress of the United States—Theodore Francis Green, a leader in the fight for social progress; and Howard McGrath who is carrying a double load of Senator and serving as the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. You have two wonderful Congressmen from this great State in Congressman Forand and Congressman Fogarty. Rhode Island is going to do that same thing again, you are going to keep two Democratic Senators and two Democratic Congressmen in the Congress.

You proved your devotion to democracy by the enthusiastic support of those outstanding Senators and Congressmen, and by electing as Governor of Rhode Island my good friend, John O. Pastore.

You good Democrats of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations are entitled to be the first to hear some good news. I am going to tell it to you right now.

All through the dark days of Democratic defeatism spread by phony polls, and Republican publicity experts, Rhode Island has stood firm as a rock. You stood firm for the Democratic Party and for the Democratic faith which I am preaching all over the United States.

Now, see the results. I have just come out of Massachusetts this morning, and here is the good news:

Massachusetts is going to have a Demo-

cratic majority of at least a hundred thousand.

There are going to be a lot of other surprises for those pollsters on the 3d day of November.

Massachusetts is on our side in this fight just the same as Rhode Island has been in the forefront.

The Republican pipedream of victory next Tuesday is going up in smoke as 60 million voters prepare to go to the polls on November the 2d.

I told the people of Cleveland two nights ago that we have the Republicans on the run.

The Republican candidate is on the run, too. He is running right behind me! That is exactly where he belongs.

The American people can't be fooled. They have seen through this expensive Republican propaganda. State after State that the Republican bosses boasted were in the bag are swinging back to the Democratic Party—where they belong.

From North to South, from East to West, I am getting reports that States are with us. The people's crusade is rolling along to victory, and it is going to leave the Republican polltakers flat on their faces on November the 3d.

The Republican Party forgot that it was founded by a man who said that you can't fool all the people all the time. They have completely forgotten that man. That is what the Republican candidate has been trying to do. He has been trying to fool all the people, trying to lull them to sleep and give them soothing syrup so they would not go out and vote on November the 2d. You are not going to be fooled that way—and I know it.

Now, the Republican candidate tries to stand on both sides of every fence, and put himself for and against every question that is before the people. He had a picture taken the other day against a farm gate, and the gate was upside down. I hope you all noticed it.

Apparently, he thinks that the task of political leadership consists of saying "me too" to everything and everybody. The American people resent being treated that way. They want to consider the issues. They want to size up the candidates. They feel that the citizens of a free country are entitled to make up their own mind, and that is particularly true here in Rhode Island.

I agree with that. That is why I am doing my level best to talk to the American people about the issues as I see them, so that you can judge for yourselves.

I told you where I stand on housing, and prices, and education, and medical care, and social security. I have told you where I stand on the Taft-Hartley law, and the iniquitous displaced persons bill. I have told you what I have been doing in our efforts for world peace, and every American knows where I stand. Every American citizen in this country understands exactly what I believe in and what my philosophy is.

Now, if you can find out where that fellow stands who heads the Republican ticket, you are better than I am—I can't find out.

But, I defy you to say where the Republican candidate stands on anything. He won't tell you. He won't talk to you man to man, face to face, about what he would do if he were elected. That is because he doesn't dare tell the people the real plans of the Republican Party.

I want to thank you Rhode Island Democrats for your steadfast faith and for your unfaltering support. Here in the cradle of our civil and religious liberty, I have only one wish to express: I hope that I may prove worthy of your loyalty and your fine democracy during the next 4 years. That is all I pray for, to be worthy of the job that you

are going to give me to do after November the 2d. After you have gone to the polls on November the 2d, watch the returns. Don't say I didn't warn you that this country is going to come through with another good old Democratic victory.

This country can't stand a Republican administration at this time. This country needs housing, this country needs educational help, this country needs to be in the forefront to the world—this country needs to lead the world.

To do that, you have got to have a forward-looking administration. You can't have a man in the White House who wants to turn the clock back—and that is what they want to do. He is running on the record of the 80th Congress, and he can't get away from it. That is the Republican program.

I am asking you now, for your own protection, to go out on November the 2d, every one of you, and vote for yourselves. Vote for your own interests. Vote for the welfare of this great Nation, and the world.

Vote the Democratic ticket straight!

[6.] NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT (Rear platform, 12:42 p.m.)

Thank you, thank you. Thank you very much. I'm very glad, my friends—very glad to be here in New London this afternoon. New London is world famous. The submarines that were built here were a vital power to the United States Navy during the war. The "Silent Service" never got the publicity that it deserved. But I know that the histories of this war will make it clear how great a part you people who built submarines, and the gallant submarine crews, had in winning the war.

The Coast Guard Academy here in New London and the Naval Base are important parts of our national defense. We intend to keep both the Academy and the Naval Base as strong and as active as possible.

Now, my friends, the real basis of our strength is a strong economy in this country. We are now enjoying a great prosperity, but a number of storm warnings have been hoisted. We are in a boom period that can turn into a bust period unless we are very, very careful. I have repeatedly warned the Congress and the country that we must take strong measures to prevent another depression. The Republican candidate for President says that I shouldn't even mention depression. He says I'm helping the Communists by talking about a depression. Talking about a depression won't help the Communists. What would help them would be to have a depression.

The only thing in the world which can endanger our leadership for peace would be a bust, brought on by failure to stop skyrocketing prices. The Republicans in Congress took the lead in killing price control 2 years ago. I have been urging Congress since then to pass price control laws. And I called the Republican 80th Congress back into special session twice for that very purpose.

The Republican 80th Congress made it perfectly clear that the Republican Party does not believe in doing anything about high prices. They prefer to let things run their course. The Republican candidate for Congress and the Republican candidate for President endorsed the 80th Congress. And he has made it perfectly clear that he does not want to help you in any way.

Now, I know what you are going to do, I think, on election day. I think you're going to make Chester Bowles Governor of Connecticut. I think you're going to make Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse your representative in Congress again from this district. I think you are going to look after your own interests on election day, and when

you do that you can't do but one thing: that is to vote for yourselves. Go to the polls and vote the Democratic ticket straight, from top to bottom, and then you'll be on the right track because you will be voting in your own interests—you won't be voting for special interests. And your President then won't be troubled with the housing shortage like a lot of other people are—I'll still be in the White House another 4 years.

[7.] NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT (Station platform, 1:50 p.m.)

Thank you, thank you. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this wonderful reception in this great and historic city of New Haven. You know, New Haven, in my mind, has always had one great distinction—and that's Yale University. And it's my regret, the regret of my lifetime, that I didn't ever have the privilege of attending any university. I regret it exceedingly. I would give anything in the world if I had a Ph. D. from the university that gave the first Ph. D. in this United States—and that's Yale. Of course, you have to have something up here [*indicating*] in order to get that.

This is the kind of reception that has been so inspiring on this crusade to put the Democratic Party, the people's party, in Washington for the next 4 years. This kind of a reception means that John McGuire is going to be the next Democratic Congressman from New Haven. It means that Fred Trotta is going to be the next Congressman at large from Connecticut. And it means that Chester Bowles is going to be Governor of Connecticut. I know we are going to be elected because the people of Connecticut want to maintain the progress and prosperity we have been enjoying since the Democrats took office in 1933.

Here in New Haven today I'd like to pay my respects to the memory of the Honorable Wilbur Cross, who died just about a month ago. Governor Cross was a great man who served the people of Connecticut well in his four terms as Governor. Now, you have another great man who will also be a good Governor. He has already served the people of the whole country through his fine work in Washington in my administration during the war. I know he can do as good a job for you as he did for the Federal Government, and I want you to elect Chester Bowles to be your Governor next time—and I hope you elect him for three more terms after that, too.

I have been traveling around the country a great deal, and I have seen, I suppose, about five or six million people in the last 6 weeks, or since Labor Day. I'm even more convinced now than I was before that the American people are capable of accomplishing anything they put their hearts to. When World War II broke out we had the job of providing most of the world with the tools to beat the Axis. Maybe you don't remember, but it was right here in Connecticut where the phrase, "The Arsenal of Democracy," had its start. You people in Connecticut certainly lived up to that phrase. And I can say that advisedly for I don't think anybody had a closer connection with the war production end of World War II than I had as chairman of the committee to investigate the national defense program.

I say there is no reason why we can't lick the housing shortage in this country just as we beat the Axis. I believe if we want to build houses we can do it.

The Democratic leaders in Washington worked out a plan—now, listen to this—the Democratic leaders worked out a plan which was called, in the beginning, the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. But that Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill didn't get through at the time it was first introduced, so they changed the

name of it in the 80th Congress. They called it the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. That bill, if it had been passed by the Republican Congress, would have made it possible for us to clear out the slums and build houses for sale or for rent, at prices that the people could afford.

This housing plan was so good—pay attention to this—that Senator Taft was glad to have his name put on the bill in the beginning. But do you know what he did? When he really had a chance to put that bill through he changed his mind and sabotaged it in the Senate. Now, after the real estate lobby went to work on the Congress—I'm sorry to say this—Senator Taft backed down and wouldn't even vote for his own bill. The real estate lobbies swarmed all over Washington, and the Republicans in Congress were very obedient, as they usually are when lobbyists are around. And they killed our chances for low-cost housing, killed them until we get a better Congress—which I am sure we're going to get after this election of November 2d.

Do you know what the real estate lobby is interested in? They just want to build houses that sell for $30,000 or $40,000 or $50,000. They don't want to build low-cost, low-rent housing—there's not enough profit in it. And I will tell you another reason why we don't have enough houses for our veterans and for our working people today: because some people were just not interested in doing anything about getting the right kind of a law on the books.

The Governor of the State of New York now wants to be President. He was asked right at the height of the fight in Congress what he thought about the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. Do you know what he said? He said, "I haven't had time to read it." Well, he pretends to know something about housing, but if he's too busy to read the bill that would have made the difference between houses and no houses, then he doesn't know much.

I saw his picture the other day, with Governor Warren, leaning on a gate. And that gate was upside down! He didn't know which way to put the gate up. You get that picture and look at it. You'll find the gate is upside down, if you know anything about farms.

He didn't lift a finger after he became the Republican nominee, running on the Republican platform, to get a housing bill through the Congress when I called the special session in July.

A public opinion poll was taken in Albany, N.Y. Now, remember—Albany, N.Y. The people were asked whether they thought the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill was a good bill. The poll showed that 70,000 people in Albany thought the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill should pass. It looks like the only man in Albany who doesn't know or doesn't care about the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill is the Governor who is now the Republican candidate for President.

And do you know what? That same old gang, if he is elected and the Congress is elected with him, will be in control of the Congress, and they will give him the same ride they did on the displaced persons bill. You know, he said that he would like to have the displaced persons bill passed in the manner in which I wanted it. And do you know what happened? The gang that controlled that Congress let him know who was riding the elephant. He didn't have a chance in the world to do anything about it. He would be in the same fix if we elect the 81st Congress with the same leaders we had in the 80th.

I know we can build homes in this country. We can get rid of the slums in this country. When this administration is sup-

ported by a new Democratic Congress next January we are going to get started on this job. It's not a new President you need. You need a new Congress to go along with your President. We should have started a long time ago, but too many people stayed at home and forgot to vote in 1946. We have the Republican 80th Congress as a result of that. I hope things are going to be different this time.

Back in 1944—now listen to this; this is interesting to you—when everyone here in New Haven and the rest of the Third Congressional District was concerned about what was going on in Washington, 159,000 people came out and voted, and the Democrats won by a big majority. In 1946, 30,000 Democrats stayed at home. The Republicans won. Now, don't let that happen again. Do your duty.

The future of this country depends on whether you exercise your right to vote or not. Your right to vote is your control of your Government. And when you fail to vote you are shirking your duty to the United States of America, the greatest Republic that the sun has ever shone upon. And when you exercise your right to vote you control the Government. You say who will be President, you say who will run the Congress, you say who will be your Governor, you say who will be your constable—and that, my friends is your duty. I am asking you with everything I have: Get out and vote on November 2d. And then I won't be troubled with a housing shortage—I'll still stay in the White House—and you will have Chester Bowles as your Governor, and a whole Democratic list of good public servants on the road to doing the right thing for this great country of ours. I'm asking you with everything I have: Vote on November 2d. That's all I want you to do. If you do that I know everything is safe for the country.

[8.] BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT (Rear platform, 2:23 p.m.)

Thank you very much, thank you very much. This is certainly a wonderful reception. Nobody could ask for anything better than this, and I can't tell you how much I appreciate it.

You know, when I was a kid, about 17 or 18 years old, I saw the first horseless carriage in Independence, Mo., and there were just about this many people out to look at it. And that was a Locomobile that was made right here in Bridgeport, and it was a horseless carriage. It looked just like an old buggy, and it ran with steam. But there is quite a change now in that automobile business from what it was in those days, and that's true of the age in which we live. We are living in an age with which we haven't yet caught up, and I am doing everything I can to keep the country going forward instead of trying to turn the clock back to that old steam horseless carriage we had in 1902.

I passed the housing project a while ago, with which I am familiar. Father Stephen Panic built that housing project—or, he was the promoter of it—and it is one of the great things in this community. I wish we had more of them. And if it weren't for the Republican Congress we would have more of them. I want to see this great State go forward with the rest of the world, and I think that is what you are going to do.

I have been traveling all over the United States for the past 6 weeks, telling the American people the true facts about this election campaign in which we are engaged. I had to come out and join your Democratic candidates in telling you just exactly what the issues are in this campaign because that's the only way you can find out what they are. You want the truth and the facts because the Republicans won't tell you the facts. The Republicans are pretending that

there aren't any issues. Their candidate is going around saying, "Me too, but I can do it better." You aren't getting any facts from the Republican candidate for President either. He is sticking to high-level platitudes—big two-bit words that he uses to hide behind. I have about come to the conclusion that G.O.P. in this day and age stands for "Grand Old Platitudes."

You people in Connecticut can't afford to take any chances with men who won't tell you what they believe in. Vote for Democratic candidates who believe in the Democratic platform and will carry out their pledges. Send William Gaston to Congress, and be sure to elect Chester Bowles to be Governor of the great State of Connecticut. When you send Mr. Gaston to the 81st Congress I'll have someone there who will work with me in controlling these skyrocketing prices that the Republican 80th Congress refused to do anything about.

Back in the days when we had a Democratic program to control prices, and Chester Bowles was in Washington keeping prices in check, you folks here in Bridgeport were paying 17 cents for a quart of milk, 65 cents for 10 pounds of flour, 10 cents for a loaf of bread, 53 cents for a dozen eggs. Now a quart of milk is costing you 23 cents, 10 pounds of flour costs you as high as a dollar, bread costs 13 cents a loaf, eggs are about 80 cents a dozen. Why they put it up every day, I don't know. I can't keep up with the way they put it up.

Wheat has gone up more than a dollar a bushel, but you haven't had any reflection of that in your bread price. It just keeps going up. That's Republican free enterprise. That's what you are living under.

Back in 1945 you could go to the grocery and buy a quart of milk, a loaf of bread, 10 pounds of flour, and a dozen eggs for $1.45. It costs you about $2.16 now, and it may cost you about $3 tomorrow.

And that's what the National Association of Manufacturers and the Republicans, working together, did to you in Washington. The National Association of Manufacturers had more influence with the Congress this time than any of you people did, and if you are going to let that happen again, that will be your own fault.

That, I think, is very close to being robbery—Republican robbery—when they do that to you. I called the Republican 80th Congress back into special session twice, and I repeatedly asked them to pass laws to halt the rising prices. The Republicans had no sympathy for that sort of a program. You'll not get any help from them any time, either.

If you want relief from high prices, vote for a party that has proved by the record that it knows how to keep prices down. The best thing for your own interests is to vote the Democratic ticket and vote it straight—you can't make a mistake on that. If you are troubled with the housing shortage—and I know you are—vote for a party that has a positive program and will carry it out. Election promises don't mean a thing. You've got to study the record of the people who are running for office. Now, I have a record, and you know where I stand, because I have been President of the United States for 3½ years and you know what I stand for. And you know what I have been trying to get for the people.

And if you want a housing program, you had better vote the Democratic ticket, because the Republicans won't give it to you—they will let the real estate lobby tell them what to do. If you want to see the minimum wage raised, vote for the party that established the minimum wage in the first place, and is now determined that it should be raised to at least 75 cents an hour. I have been trying to get the Republicans to tell me where they stand on minimum wage. Well, the Republican candidate, here not

long ago, said he was for a minimum wage, but he didn't say whether he wanted 40 cents or 35 cents or 45 cents. I think the minimum wage that he wants is just as small a minimum as he can get. I have said to you I want at least 75 cents an hour for minimum wage. And I want to say to you that if a lot of those Congressmen had to work for 40 cents an hour and get $16 a week to raise a family, I think they would come around and vote the Democratic ticket.

If you want to see fair labor laws, in place of the shameful Taft-Hartley Act, vote for the party that put the Wagner Act on the books—and if you do that, you'll vote the Democratic ticket because the Democratic Party has always been the friend of labor. And labor leaders have awakened. They know that their only hope for the welfare of labor in this country is a Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress. Think of that, will you, on election day.

I wish I had time to tell you all the reasons why you ought to vote the Democratic ticket, but I have got to get to New York tonight and convince a lot of people in New York to vote the Democratic ticket, because we are going to carry that State and I want them to get on the bandwagon.

Now, don't make any mistake about this situation. We are going to win this election because we are right and the Republicans are wrong. They are scared to death. I have gone up and down this country and told the people just exactly what the issues are and what I stand for; and the Republican candidate for the Presidency has been going up and down the country saying nice things and trying to give the people soothing syrup so they won't go out and vote on election day. They tried to convince you 6 months ago that the election was already won. Wait until the morning of November 3d—and you are going to see more red-faced pollsters than you ever looked at in your life!

Now, I don't want you to let me down on this thing. I want you to get up early on election day. I want you to go to the polls and take that ticket and vote for yourselves, your own best interests. And when you do that you'll just vote a straight Democratic ticket, and we'll have a Democratic administration in the great State of Connecticut, we will have a Democratic Congress in Washington—and I'll stay in the White House another 4 years and won't be troubled with this housing shortage.

[9.] SOUTH NORWALK, CONNECTICUT (Rear platform, 3:07 p.m.)

Thank you very much, Brien, for that most cordial introduction in your hometown. You know, Brien McMahon has done a wonderful job in the Senate of the United States. I wish we had 96 like him. I think we are going to have a majority like him in this next Congress, after I get through talking about this good-for-nothing 80th Congress. I don't think you're going to send another one like that back there.

I can't tell you how much I appreciate this wonderful turnout in this great city. I think this ought to be called a victory crowd. I have been getting bigger and bigger crowds every day. That means only one thing—that the Democrats are going to win this election on November 2d. It means you are going to send William Gaston to the Congress. It means you are going to have Chet Bowles for your Governor. And I know Chet Bowles. I know Chet Bowles just about as well as I do Brien McMahon. I have been associated with both of them at Washington, and they are able and efficient public servants. I always wish for more like them.

Now, I learned something about this town. I learned that Colonel Tom Fitch lived not far from here and that that great old Ameri-

can song, "Yankee Doodle," was written about Colonel Fitch's Revolutionary War soldiers. Some of those soldiers came from this town. And when "Yankee Doodle" was written it was supposed to be a song mocking the American soldiers, who were just ordinary farmers and working people from the towns. They didn't look as smart as the British Redcoats. But Colonel Fitch's men were fighters, and they went out and made "Yankee Doodle" a fighting song—a victory song.

The story of "Yankee Doodle" reminds me of this campaign. The Republican Party has been mocking the people ever since the Republican 80th Congress was elected, and they have been mocking and belittling your President ever since I took office in 1945. The Republican leaders have been mocking your interests by refusing to pass the kind of legislation this country needs to go forward. Colonel Tom Fitch's men and men like them won the Revolutionary War because they were on the right side. The Redcoats were on the wrong side.

The Democrats are going to win this fight because they are on the right side—the people's side. These Republican belittlers are going to lose because they are on the wrong side. They are on the side of special interests and special privilege. That's the fundamental foundation of the Republican Party. That's the reason I had to go out throughout the United States, from one end to the other, and tell the people the facts. They couldn't get the facts otherwise because 90 percent of the press is against me and 90 percent of the radio commentators are against me; and I had to come out and tell you what the facts are. And we've got them on the run now. Don't think we haven't.

The Democrats believe that you deserve good places in which to live, places which you can sell or rent at prices you can afford to pay. The Republicans are against the Federal Government's doing anything to help meet the critical housing shortage in this country. The Democrats believe that prices should be kept at a level so that every family in the country can buy all the necessities of life. The Republicans don't seem to care how high prices go. They don't seem to be worried by the fact that many families have been priced right out of the market for the necessities of life. Why, I was in Brockton, Mass., this morning, and the price of shoes has gone so high the factories can't work full time. They don't sell as many shoes as they did under price control and rationing. That's the best answer.

Do you know what the Republican solution for high prices is? That is what the Republican leader in the Senate says—my good friend, Bob Taft—he says, "If prices are too high, just wait till they come down." Senator Taft seems to think it would be all right just to do without shoes or clothes or food for the children.

The Democrats believe there should be fair labor-management laws which will protect and enlarge the rights of the working people in the country. The Republicans passed the Taft-Hartley law to strip labor of the rights which it earned under the Democratic administrations since 1933, because the Republicans wanted to "put labor in its place." They didn't want labor to have a place in the sun.

You see, the Wagner Act was the Magna Charta of labor, and the first thing the Republicans did when they went into office was to try to tear that thing up. They did it over my veto, too. They tried to do a lot of other things which I wouldn't let them do. You know, I vetoed more bills in that time than any other President in the history of the United States. And I am proud of that record. That is the reason I can go out and face you people and tell the truth, be-

cause I have been for you all the time. The Republicans haven't.

Now, the New England Yankees made the Redcoats wish they had never gotten into a scrap back in the time of the Revolution. And I believe the New England Yankees this year are going to make the Republicans regret that they ever got in this fight too. The Democratic Party is going to win because we are on the side of the people.

Do your duty to yourself, now, and support me in this thing. Go to the polls on election day and vote for yourselves, vote in your own interests. You don't have to think about this very much—you just have to think about what is for the welfare of this country as a whole and what is for your interest. Vote against special interests. To do that, all you have to do is vote the straight Democratic ticket. Then you'll have a Democratic Governor. You will have a Democratic Congressman from this district, and you'll have a Democratic President in the White House another 4 years—and he won't be bothered by a housing shortage.

[10.] NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK (37th Street and Seventh Avenue, 4:35 p.m.)

This is a tremendous turnout, and it is a wonderful tribute. We are winning this election—don't let anybody tell you anything different. . . .

[11.] NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK (Rally, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Union Square, 4:45 p.m.)

This certainly is a great pleasure for me to speak at a rally sponsored by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, one of the most forward-looking unions in this great Nation. I am very proud to stand beside your fine leader, Jacob Potofsky. I have known him for a long time, and he is a man after my own heart. He tells you the truth, whether you like it or not—and that is what I like. He is carrying on a magnificent tradition of a leader with a great vision who was able to turn his dreams into realities—Sidney Hillman.

I wish that Sidney Hillman could be with us today to see that you still have that same fine spirit that lifted your union up to the front ranks in the labor movement in this country.

I am more than happy to be on this platform with so many good Democrats also: the Mayor of New York, the chairman of the New York Democratic Committee, and the former chairman of the New York Democratic Committee.

I remember that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers fought side by side with me 4 years ago, when Franklin Roosevelt and I defeated the forces of entrenched privilege.

You know who led those forces 4 years ago. They were led by a man who used every trick in the book in a desperate effort to pull the American people away from liberal principles. He is still trying to do it. The same man heads the Republican ticket again today and I think you will agree that he hasn't changed a bit. The leaders of the Republican Party still stand with the National Association of Manufacturers, the big bankers, the big businessmen—against the working people of this country.

You fought a good fight to beat that gang 4 years ago. Now I want to congratulate you on putting up a wonderful fight—a winning fight again this year.

We're going to lick 'em, just as sure as you stand there!

You remember the whispers that the Republicans sent through the country in 1944. The Republicans said that President Roosevelt and I had to clear everything with Sidney. It is true that we placed a great deal of confidence in Sidney Hillman, but we

didn't have to clear anything with anybody.

We cleared it with the American people.

And they believed us, and that is what we are doing this year—clearing it with the people is certainly a lot better than clearing it with the National Association of Manufacturers. What do you think about that? That is what the Republican candidate is doing in this campaign—he is clearing everything with the NAM and the lobbies that ran the 80th Congress.

The spirit of Sidney Hillman is far above that of the bosses of the Republican Party. Sidney Hillman fought for the working people, and that includes nearly all of us. I know it includes me because I work 18 hours a day and I don't get time and a half for overtime either.

The bosses of the Republican Party work for the men with millions to spend, for the men who believe they can buy your Government behind a smoke screen in hotel rooms.

And I want to tell you that I don't care how much money the Republicans have, we have got the votes—and that's what counts!

The Republican leaders and the Republican Party are interested in bigger profits for the corporations, smaller taxes for the rich, and bigger and worse Taft-Hartley laws for labor. You ought to read Mr. Hartley's book if you don't believe that. I read parts of that book out here in Akron, Ohio the other night, and it is a wonderful book because it gives us the information on what these Republicans really intend to do to labor. I wish you could all read it. I am giving him a plug but not for his benefit but for the benefit of the people and the ruination of the Republican Party, I hope.

I speak plainly and honestly to you. I speak these things because I believe I am telling the truth, and I can speak freely because we are in Union Square, and this Square is dedicated to one of our great freedoms—the freedom of speech. I have got a right to say anything I please here so long as I don't harm the character of any individual. That is one of the fundamentals of our Government, the greatest Government in the world. The atmosphere of Union Square is the exact opposite of the atmosphere around Republican headquarters. You are not getting the facts—and you are not getting the truth from the Republican Party in this campaign.

The candidate refuses to face the issues squarely and tell you exactly where he stands, because he knows the American people wouldn't stand for that. He is trying to give you soothing syrup to see if he can't get you to stay away from the polls on election day. If you do that, and get an 81st Congress like the 80th Congress, you won't have anybody to blame for it but yourselves.

But every now and then we get an inkling of what the Republicans have up their sleeves. We hear what their plans are if—that is a great big "if"—*if* they get elected.

Only a few days ago, that book of Mr. Hartley's went on sale. Its title is "Our New National Labor Policy and the Next Steps." Think of that—the next steps! The Taft-Hartley Act is not enough. The NAM is getting ready to fire both barrels at you this year.

This is what Senator Robert A. Taft—you have heard of him, haven't you?—says in the foreword that he wrote for Mr. Hartley's book—this is what he says: "this book of Mr. Hartley's and the great work which he did during his years in Congress will always be of the greatest assistance and furnish sound guidance."

Mr. Hartley didn't have the nerve to run for reelection, because he knew he couldn't make it.

Just exactly what kind of "guidance" Senator Taft has in mind he doesn't make very clear in this shocking book of Mr. Hartley's which outlines a frightening pic-

ture of labor legislation yet to come. But the Republicans are cagey. They are hoping most Americans won't catch on until it is too late.

Listen to this statement in Mr. Hartley's book: "No sooner had the Taft-Hartley law been enacted"—I am quoting from Mr. Hartley's book now—"over the Truman veto, than the Republican leaders of both the House and Senate decided that no more legislation to which organized labor could object would be passed until after the presidential election of Nineteen Forty-eight."

I am here to tell you I don't think they will have a chance to pass anything else like that after the election of 1948. We are going to have a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President after that!

The Democrats have always been proud of the Fair Labor Standards Act, which was one of the major pieces of New Deal legislation. For the first time in the history of this country, there was a floor under wages. We set a minimum wage.

Listen to what Mr. Hartley has to say about that on page 1922 of his book. This is what he says now: "The Fair Labor Standards Act is typical of the New Deal legislation enacted to combat the depression. Such legislation failed to affect the depression one way or another, and it has definitely outlived the usefulness it was supposed to have had."

They want to repeal the Fair Labor Standards Act. I have been trying to get a bigger floor under the minimum wage. You know, the Republican candidate said the other day that he was for the minimum wage. He didn't say how much, but I came to the conclusion that the smaller the minimum, the better he would like it.

I asked the Republican Congress to raise minimum wages from 40 cents to 75 cents an hour. They refused to do it. Now we find that some Republicans don't even want to keep the present minimum wage. Raising the minimum wage would be a great benefit to every single one of you. As wage levels go up in the lower-skilled industries, they go up in the higher-skilled industries, too.

You know what I think? I think it would be a fine thing if we would take all those Republicans who are against the minimum wage and put them on salaries of $16 a week and see how they would get along down in Washington.

I think you know what to do to block these well-laid plans of the Republicans. You are going to have your opportunity next Tuesday.

Here in Union Square near the statue of Abraham Lincoln, we should recall the words he spoke in the Congress of the United States when he was a Representative from Illinois. This is what he said: "To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good Government."

That is the kind of government in which you and I believe. That is not the kind of government that the modern Republicans believe in.

Now I want to say this to you, that if you believe in government of, by, and for the people, if you believe in your own self-interest, the best thing for you to do on November the 2d is to go to the polls early and vote the straight Democratic ticket, and then the country will be safe for another 4 years.

[12.] New York City, New York (City Hall, 5:20 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor:

It certainly is a great pleasure to be in this great metropolis of the Western World again—in fact, the great metropolis of the world, I might say. You have every right to claim that this great city is the greatest on earth. It is great because of its buildings,

its size, its wealth, and its culture. But the real reason for New York's greatness lies in the people. In your five boroughs and in your metropolitan population of 8 million, you have every creed and race living and working side by side in harmony and friendship. New York is proof that the brotherhood of man can be reality and not just a phrase.

Mayor O'Dwyer tells me that there are a lot of city employees right here in this crowd. I like to talk to Government workers. In 25 years of public life I have known many civil servants of local, State, and national governments. They are as fine and loyal a body of men and women as exist anywhere in our free society.

The Republican Party—the minority party—holds career Government workers in contempt. The Republican spokesmen in Washington are always sneering at the bureaucrats. They seem to believe that we can run a 20th century Government with about as many public servants as we needed in the days of the stagecoach—when this part of Manhattan was out in the country.

The Republicans are still living back in that age. They are trying to turn the clock back there now. Such servants like your great Mayor, and the Democratic delegations which you have in the Congress in Washington, are not going to let the Republicans turn the clock back—and if you listen to me, I won't let them turn it back. They can't turn the clock back forever.

The Republican candidate for President also feels strongly on the so-called bureaucrats. He threatens to have a great housecleaning if he should get to Washington. A great housecleaning, he says, *if* he should come to Washington. Now that is a tremendous "if"—that "if" is as tall as that building over there, and I don't think he is going to get there.

All he means when he says he wants to get rid of the bureaucrats is that he would like to fire all the Democrats in the Government—that's all he wants to do. We aren't going to let him do it.

The Republican candidate has a real contempt for the men and women who run our Government, city, State and local.

Here is what he said: "You know as well as I do that all civil service employees are mediocre at their best."

Well, he doesn't know what he is talking about. He is just as wrong on that like he is on every other issue before this country. He doesn't know what it is all about.

"If I had my way," he continued, "the present civil service system in force in the national, State, and local governments would not exist."

Now that is what Dewey said. He made that statement in a public speech.

Now, I have always been proud of our civil servants. The Democratic Party knows that the civil servants are also people—people with families and houses and problems like the rest of us. And all of you know only too well that the civil service in this country, like all people of fixed incomes, are being squeezed between their fixed salaries and Republican high prices.

The Democratic Party has always believed in good wages for civil servants, and especially for schoolteachers. I have been fighting for fairer wages for Government employees and I am going to continue that fight as long as I am President of the United States.

My friends, we are today in the midst of one of the greatest presidential campaigns with which this country has ever been faced. I have been privileged to visit nearly all the great cities of our country and to tell the people what the issues are. They couldn't find out otherwise because 90 percent of the

press is against us—90 percent of the radio commentators are against us; and the only way you can find out the truth is for me to come out and tell you what the truth is. I have faced between five and six million people in this great country of ours, and I have told them what the issues are—and they know! I have been immensely pleased at the receptions I have been receiving. Those receptions mean something. They mean that the people are interested in the welfare of this great Nation and that they are going to exercise their right to run this Government. And when they do that, I am not afraid of the results.

In no city, I assure you, have I received any more sincere or heartwarming reception than I have received here this afternoon.

When a man faces a reception like that, with responsibility as great as the one which it is my duty to assume, he wonders—he wonders in his heart if he can ever be worthy of that confidence.

My friends, I have worked as no other man has ever worked, to try and meet the conditions with which I have been faced. Nobody in the whole history of the world has ever faced the end of two immense great world wars—nobody has ever faced a worse condition such as we have been faced with in the last 3 years. I have done everything I know how to do, to the best of my ability, to meet that situation. I have always borne in mind that the people of the United States are the Government of the United States, and their welfare comes first in everything I do.

Now, if you believe that—and I think you do—the best way to see what this country stands for is for every one of you to get out early on election day and vote the Democratic ticket, and you will be voting for yourselves, for your own interest, for the welfare of the United States, and for the welfare of the world.

[13.] NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK (Sara Delano Roosevelt Park on the East Side, 5:45 p.m.)

Thank you, Mr. Mayor, thank you very much for that wonderful introduction. I appreciate very much being here on this occasion. George Coombs is a resident of my home county in Missouri—his father is one of the great preachers in that part of the world. I am very fond of George. I feel like I had met some of the home folks when I saw George on this platform. I am delighted to be with Mr. Rogers and Mr. Moses and the other fellow Democrats with whom I have been associating this afternoon.

I am delighted to be here to visit you in this Park which was named after President Roosevelt's mother. Sara Delano Roosevelt was a very important person in Franklin Roosevelt's life. When his boyhood letters were published recently, we could see in them the fine relationship between a great mother and a great son. The more we learn about the life of President Roosevelt, the more we know what he owed to his mother.

A park like this is a splendid tribute. Sometimes I think that we are too inclined to put up monuments, even living monuments like this park, and then to feel that we have done everything we need to do in repayment of the debt that never can properly be repaid.

The greatest gift that we can give to our mothers, or in their memory, is a contribution to world peace. Sons fight wars, but it is the mothers who suffer the most.

This is not the only reason, but it is one of the reasons why I have said so many times—and I will say it again now—that I

would rather have lasting peace in the world than to be President of the United States. And I think the great American mother for whom this park is named would agree with me.

Peace is what I have been working for practically all my life. I started working for peace when I saw war at first-hand. I have never ceased to feel that peace is within the reach of mankind if we would only make the necessary effort.

The past few years have taught us many lessons. One of them is that there is no peace in weakness. There can be peace in strength. But those who make themselves strong have a duty before the whole world to use that strength to maintain peace and not to break it.

Strength—patience—support for United Nations—these things will enable the United States to keep the peace.

Peace at this time is the first step toward a just and lasting peace for all times.

There is one thing we have learned that is necessary above all. If you believe in peace, you must never give up trying to get it. I have never given up, and I never shall give up in the effort to get world peace.

[14.] NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK (Democratic Club Reception, 37th St. and Madison Avenue, 6:15 p.m.)

Mr. Mayor, and members of this wonderful Democratic club:

I cannot tell you how much I appreciate the reception which has been given me here in the Club, and all over this great city of New York. It shows that the people are interested in this campaign. It has a special meaning for me since your enthusiasm here tonight is a reflection of the kind of fight and spirit that the workers of the Democratic Party are going to show throughout the country on election day.

Let me tell you one thing right now: We are rolling up another Democratic victory.

Next Tuesday, the Democratic Party is going to roll up a vote, the like of which this country has never seen. When the votes are counted Tuesday night, we are going to be the winners in this campaign—60 million American voters are going to blow the Republican hooey right off the map. Don't let anyone fool you. Don't let anyone tell you differently from that.

We are going to win because everyone is against us—except the people. And, my friends, the people have the votes. The special interests are against us, the exploiters of labor, the monopolists, the lobbies, and most of the newspapers—nearly 90 percent of the newspapers are against us. Those are the ones that are against us. I repeat, the only ones that are for us are the people.

Our job as working members of the Democratic Party is to get the voters to the polling place on election day.

I have been working at that job just as hard as I can. I know you have, too, and I thank you for your efforts.

I have had some people say to me on my trips around the country that we can't win. They look at the public opinion polls. Well, let me tell you that the opinion polls don't vote on election day. It's the people that do the voting.

Right here in New York City, in 1944, the polls were saying that Franklin D. Roosevelt and I couldn't win. You remember the Literary Digest back in 1936, and you remember in 1940, they said that the barefoot boy from Wall Street was going to win the election in New York. But he didn't! We carried New York by over 300,000 votes in 1944, and we can do it again this year.

There is a lot of talk in this country today about its being time for a change. It is time for a change. I admit it. It is time for a change from the kind of back-

ward-looking Government that the Republican 80th Congress has given us. It is time for a change in the Congress. You don't need a change in your Chief Executive, he is already looking after the interests of the people.

I am just as sure as I stand here that we are going to win on November the 2d.

Now, I wish it were possible for me to shake hands with everybody here, but it just isn't possible. My hand has to sign my name between five and six hundred times in a day in transacting regular Government business, and that doesn't include autographs that people ask me for, or the 150,000 people I have shaken hands with, going around the country.

Now I have made the greatest campaign in the history of the country in the interests of all the people. As I said in Boston last night, I am carrying on the fight of Al Smith, I am carrying on the fight of Franklin Roosevelt—and now, this is my fight, and I want you to get out there and help me to win it.

[15.] New York City, New York (Dinner, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, 9:42 p.m.)

Mr. President:

It's a great privilege to appear tonight and add my tribute to one of the truly great men of American history, Robert F. Wagner. I served in the Senate 10 years and I knew him, and I still know him—and I think he's one of the great men of the age. Bob Wagner has made untold contributions to this great country of ours. I know about his work because some of the best days of my life were spent in the United States Senate, helping Senator Wagner write his great laws to bring security and freedom to our Nation and our people. Along with Franklin Roosevelt he stands for the very heart and soul of the New Deal—and I'm proud to be an exponent of the New Deal!

These men and their great achievements brought new life and new hope to the American people, especially to the poor and the underprivileged. They were great humanitarians.

And when I think of the New Deal and all that it meant, I can't help but think of another dinner that was held in the Waldorf about a year ago. That dinner was held to honor the 50 foremost business leaders. The publicity about that dinner was very careful to point out that the combined income of those 50 foremost business leaders was $7,500,000 a year—$7,500,000 a year! That's an average of $150,000 a year for each one of them.

Now, at every dinner like that they must have a speaker. They looked around for a speaker who would be able to talk the language of those who make $150,000 a year. They didn't ask me.

But they didn't have a great deal of trouble finding a man who would. He was practically within whistling distance—it's about 150 miles from here to Albany. So they whistled, and the speaker hurried right down here. He was anxious to make a name for himself—because he wants to be President.

Right here in the Waldorf-Astoria he rose up before the assembled millions—dollars, not people—and began his speech. This is how he started: "Fellow victims of the New Deal." Believe it or not, this man thought it was funny to call the $150,000-a-year men "Fellow victims of the New Deal."

I really don't think those men had much to complain about. I think they fared very well under the New Deal. And though you'll never get them to admit it, these men owe as much to Bob Wagner as the working people do. When the New Deal drove away depression and despair it benefited all the citizens of this great Nation of ours—

rich as well as poor. And for Bob Wagner's part in that all of us ought to be eternally grateful to him.

He wrote the National Labor Relations Act, the great charter of labor. No greater law ever went on the statute books of any nation than that. Under the Wagner Act labor finally achieved its right to organize unions of its own choosing and to bargain collectively. Union membership in our country grew from 2½ million in 1932, until today that membership is approaching 17 million union members.

Bob Wagner thought of the whole Nation. He was one of the chief architects of the Social Security Act. No man ever contributed more to the social well-being and security of any people. We're working now to see that the Social Security Act is extended—extended to all our wage earners, to the farmer, the domestic worker, the self-employed, and to all those who need its protection. The Republicans, though, don't like that. They had, in their platform of 1944, that they were for the extension of social security—but the 80th Congress took a million out from under it. That's how they carried out their promise.

Bob Wagner wrote laws for railroad men, too. He wrote laws to help us build houses. His hand can be seen in every decent piece of legislation that has come out of Washington since 1927. We are here tonight to honor Senator Wagner. But no one man, no group of persons, can rightly honor him tonight. It's history that will honor him as he really deserves. History will tell of the security and the happiness and the strength this man brought to the people. The people of our country, the free people of all the world, face the future with confidence, knowing that Bob Wagner is with them in their struggle to achieve a peaceful and decent world in which to live. And I want to say to you people here—my friends—that I considered it a great honor to serve in the Senate with Bob Wagner and to go along with him on those great forward-looking pieces of legislation, with the help and advice of the great leader at that time—whom I had to follow—Franklin Roosevelt. Thank you very much.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on October 28 the President referred to Mayor Charles A. Ross of Quincy, Democratic candidate for Representative David Concannon, Democratic candidate for Governor Paul A. Dever, and Mayor William P. Grant of Fall River, all of Massachusetts; Governor John O. Pastore, Senators Theodore F. Green and J. Howard McGrath, and Representatives Aime J. Forand and John E. Fogarty, all of Rhode Island; Democratic candidates for Representative Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, John A. McGuire, Fred Trotta, and William Gaston, Democratic candidate for Governor Chester Bowles, former Governor Wilbur L. Cross, Father Stephen Panic, and Senator Brien McMahon, all of Connecticut; Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York City, chairman of the New York Democratic Committee Paul E. Fitzpatrick, former chairman of the New York Democratic Committee James A. Farley, Manhattan Borough President Hugo E. Rogers, Tammany Hall Secretary Sidney Moses, former Governor Alfred E. Smith, and Senator Robert F. Wagner, all of New York; Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio; Governor Earl Warren of California; Representative Fred A. Hartley of New Jersey; George Coombs of Missouri; and Jacob Potofsky and Sidney Hillman, president and former president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

262 Address in Madison Square Garden, New York City. *October* 28, 1948

THANK YOU very much. Thank you. It is certainly good to be here tonight. You know, I was here 4 years ago on the same errand. It's always a pleasure to come to this great city—especially when you have so many friends.

But there is a special reason why I am glad to be here tonight. New York is a mighty source of strength in the battle we are waging to preserve liberal government in the United States. It is the birthplace of many liberal and progressive programs which have restored the strength of the Nation during the last 16 years. It is the State of those true Democrats and great Americans, Al Smith, Bob Wagner, Herbert Lehman—and above all, Franklin Roosevelt. It was here in this State that these men did so much to give new life and new meaning to the principles of democracy. And when I say "democracy," I mean democracy as we understand it in this country. Because of their great work our country, and the entire world, is a better place in which to live.

We have come here tonight to this great gathering under the banner of the Liberal Party—a party which has done so much for liberal causes. And I consider it an honor to be here with the Liberal Party under that banner.

We have come here tonight with one mind and one purpose. We have come to pledge once more our faith in liberal government, and to place in firm control of our national affairs those who believe with all their hearts in the principles of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Now, I have a confession to make to you here tonight. For the last 2 or 3 weeks I've had a queer feeling that I'm being followed, that someone is following me. I felt it so strongly that I went into consultation with the White House physician. And I told him that I kept having this feeling, that everywhere I go there's somebody following behind me. The White House physician told me not to worry. He said: "You keep right on your way. There is one place where that fellow is not going to follow you—and that's in the White House."

I think the doctor's right. I'm going to be there, working for the people, for 4 more years because you believe that I'm trying to do the right thing.

Now, there are some other places besides the White House where this gentleman won't follow me. He won't follow me if I go into the record of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

The Republican candidate can follow me all the way from Los Angeles to Madison Square Garden, but the Republican record makes it certain that he will still be trailing along behind when the votes are counted. He is doing all he can to make you forget that record. He doesn't dare talk about it. I have never in my life been in a campaign where the opposition refused absolutely to discuss the issues of the campaign. I can't understand that sort of an approach. But after I had analyzed the situation I came to the conclusion that the record of the Republican Party is much too bad to talk about. The Republican candidate is trying to run on the record of the Democratic Party—of Franklin Roosevelt and myself. He's a "me too" man.

Let's take a look at the record and see why he can't talk about the record of the Republican Party. Let's go back a few years. In 1928, the Republicans elected a well-known efficiency engineer named Herbert Hoover, and they promised us everything. They told us if we wanted prosperity we must vote for Hoover. Well, the people fell for it. And I think this new candidate—well, he's not a new candidate—I think this second-hand candidate thinks the same way. You know what a bitter experience you had after that.

Many of you here tonight remember 1932. Over in Central Park men and women were living in little groups of shacks made of cardboard and old boxes. They were known as "Hoovervilles." Out here on Eighth Avenue veterans were selling apples. Ragged individualism. I suppose that's

what you would call it. Farm foreclosures, homeowners' evictions, starvation wages, labor unions disrupted by company spies and thugs—that was the Republican record when they last had control of the Government. And, you know, there is a peculiar thing about this campaign. I have never heard of a single Republican candidate for office point with pride to any Republican administration or any Republican President.

Now, they made an awful mess of things when they had control back there when they were elected in 1928. And in 1932 we turned them out. The vigorous action which saved the Nation and restored our faith came with the Democrats, with the New Deal, and with Franklin Roosevelt.

We saved the banks. Now, in the last 3 years there hasn't been a single bank failure in the United States.

We saved industry. Now, industry last year and this year have made the biggest profits they ever made in the history of the country—17 billions last year, and nearly 20 billion this year. That's profits after taxes.

We saved the insurance companies. We saved the railways.

At that point the Republicans said we had done enough. But we went right on saving this great Nation of ours. We saved the people—the farmers, the workers, the unemployed, the old people who had lost their savings, and the young people who had never had a chance. And while we were at it, we saved the United States of America. We replanted the forests, we began soil conservation, we built great dams, we developed whole river valleys. We built roads and bridges, schoolhouses and courthouses. We built sidewalks and sewers, parks and playgrounds, and low-rent housing—and quite a few battleships, too.

And all the time, the Republicans kept moaning that we were going too far. I was in the Senate during those years, and I heard them moaning. And the Congressional Record is the best evidence of the policies that the Republicans wanted to pursue, but they couldn't do it. They said we were undermining our own moral fiber—we were destroying individual initiative—that Roosevelt was a dictator—that we were opposed to free enterprise. Now, as early as 1936 they began saying that we were communistic, and socialistic, red, or radical—because we cared for the people and the people knew it, and liked it. They tried to scare labor in 1936—you all remember this—by stuffing pay envelopes with propaganda against social security. That didn't work. They tried a new line of propaganda in 1940, and again it didn't work. The people knew better. They broke with tradition and chose Roosevelt for a third term.

World War II had come and the country was in danger. But that meant nothing to Republican leadership. They came within a single vote in the Congress of the United States of disbanding our Army 3 months before Pearl Harbor—and they spent thousands of dollars and time, without stint, trying to prove that Pearl Harbor was brought about by one of the greatest Presidents who ever sat in the White House—and it's all turned out to be a pack of lies! They hindered and delayed our efforts to rearm the Nation. Nobody knows more about that than I do, for I was there watching them.

And all the time they kept moaning and groaning that the New Deal had weakened America. Weakened America—think of that! Now, Tojo and Hitler knew better than that. They knew the answer to that one, even if the Republicans don't.

But the Republicans kept on trying to stop us, trying to stop the people and trying to kill the New Deal.

In 1944 the Republicans tried to talk their way into power again. They nominated a

man who was violently opposed to the New Deal. In fact, he wrote a book about it. They nominated the same man they nominated this year—that's the reason I said he was a second-hand candidate. He was saying the same things in 1944 that he is saying today. He was attacking Franklin Roosevelt's administration then, and he is attacking my administration now. He says that because I want to talk about these things and because I want to talk about the issues that I'm just an ordinary political mudslinger. When I go out to the people of the United States, in every corner of the United States, in nearly every State of the Union, and tell them what the facts are—then I'm a mudslinger. He can't stand the facts—that's what the trouble is.

Time and again in 1944 he told the voters that what we need is "strength and unity." He promised to displace—and I quote—"a tired, exhausted, quarreling, and bickering administration with a fresh and vigorous administration." Now, doesn't that sound familiar to you? And he asked, and I quote again: "Is the New Deal, the tired and quarrelsome New Deal, all America has to offer?" "Must we go back," he asked, "must we go back to leaf-raking and doles?" Well, you people stuck by the New Deal in 1944, and we haven't had to go back to leaf-raking or the doles, or anything else of that kind. And the reason we haven't had to go back to Hooverville and breadlines and soup kitchens is because the Democratic policies of the New Deal are correct and right, and they're for all the people and not just for the privileged few.

I must say, though, that some of you are partly to blame for this, because you didn't vote in 1946. That Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress did all it could to start us back down that dismal road.

Here's another one. At Baltimore just before the 1944 election the Republican candidate said: "We must have a President who can and will work with Congress." He said he "would like to start the largest housecleaning Washington ever had." That sounds familiar, too, doesn't it? Now he is playing the same old record again, and the record is stuck in the same old groove. What a wonderful thing it was for the people of this United States that they didn't have a President who would go along with that good-for-nothing 80th Congress! Now, he was speaking of the wartime administration of one of the greatest men in history, who was leading a united people to victory in the greatest war of all time. Roosevelt believed in the people, and the people believed in Roosevelt—and so did I. Even with millions of men overseas and away from their homes the Roosevelt ticket won in 1944. Let me put it differently: The Republicans lost and the people won again in 1944.

You know what happened then. We won the war in the most complete military victory ever recorded in history. And since the war we have enjoyed the greatest peacetime prosperity in our history.

My friends, that's the record. And as Al Smith said, "If you look at the record, you can't go wrong." The record of Republican failure and Democratic success—that's why the Republican candidate won't follow me when I talk about the record.

There's another place also where he won't follow me. He won't follow me in discussing the issues of this campaign.

He can follow me into Framingham, Mass., but he won't follow me in raising the minimum wage to at least 75 cents an hour. He said in this campaign that he is for a minimum wage—and I think the smaller the minimum the better it suits him.

He can follow me into Cleveland, but he won't follow me and broaden the coverage of our social security insurance laws and increase their benefits by 50 percent. You

know, an old couple now only gets $40 a month, and that's mighty little—just like that minimum wage—$16 a week. I've said time and again around the country that I wish that the Republican Congressmen could have to live in Washington for a while on $16 a week or $40 a month. I think they would change their minds just a little bit.

He can follow me into Chicago, but he won't follow me in demanding that Congress pass laws for health insurance and medical care. You know, it's a shame and a disgrace that a country as rich and as important as this great country is today—the leader of all the world—is not able to give the people in the middle the proper kind of medical care. I've asked for health insurance because health insurance is the answer to a healthy nation—and some day we're going to get it.

He can follow me into Boston, but he won't follow me in calling for Federal aid to education so that teachers can get a living wage, and so that modern schools can be built, and so that our children can get a decent education. That's another disgrace on this great country. And our Republican opponent has said that the teachers lobby—he called it "The Teachers Organization"; he's trying to work against the teachers lobby—he says it's the most vicious thing in this country. Vicious because the teachers want to get a living wage and because they want to get decent housing for our school children! Now, we give money to the States to build roads. Why can't we also give money to the States from the Federal Government to build schoolhouses and pay teachers? I think it's much more important to see that the children that ride in the buses over these roads get the proper kind of schooling and the proper sort of teachers than it is to build the roads, myself. He doesn't go along with me on that.

He can follow me to Pittsfield and Providence, but when he gets there they needn't expect him to give them any help on low-cost housing. You know, low-cost houses have been before the Congress for 3 years. It passed the Senate twice. First it was the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. That was killed. And then they introduced a new bill in the 80th Congress and they called it the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. And when it came up for consideration the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives wouldn't even let it in, and the Members of Congress in the Lower House couldn't even vote on it; and when it came back for reconsideration in the Senate Mr. Taft ran out on his own bill. I don't understand that.

He can follow me into New York City—and I wouldn't be surprised if he followed me right here into Madison Square Garden—but he won't follow me in demanding the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law. You can be sure of that. He can follow me right up here on this platform next Saturday night, but he won't follow me in calling for a law to control high prices. You can be sure of that.

On all these issues, when it comes to doing something for the people, the Republican candidate won't follow me—you can be sure of that. Sometimes it looks as if he is almost persuaded to follow me on some of these questions, but that's as far as he goes, and that, ladies and gentlemen, is as far as he's going to go. Because every time the Republican candidate looks at the program of the Democratic Party, he says, "Me too," and his party's record says, "Nothing doing." And his party's record speaks louder than he does. You know, he is trying to persuade the people at large in the country that the elephant's got the new look, but it's just the same old elephant—you can be sure of that.

He could follow me all over the country in his campaign special, but he couldn't get his party to follow me and support a decent law for displaced persons.

Now, he couldn't get that old elephant to behave before election time, and I wonder how in the world he's going to get it to behave after election time with that same old leadership in the Congress. He can't do it.

Now, let me say in all seriousness that I am glad the Republican candidate has followed me around over the country, because it has shown the people how little he has to offer them. And the American people are not going to be fooled. They want to hear something more than platitudes. You know, "G.O.P." now stands for "Grand Old Platitudes."

The Republican candidate can follow me to every city, town, and village in this country. But so long as he is afraid to tell where he stands on the issues he will lose more votes than he gains. Some of those Republican papers now are getting a little scared. They agree I might win. Don't you worry about that—I will win! A Democratic victory is on the way and he is doing all he can to help us win it, and I'm glad of that.

I wish to speak now upon a subject that has been of great interest to me as your President. It is the subject of Israel. Now, this is a most important subject and must not be resolved as a matter of politics during a political campaign. I have refused consistently to play politics with that question. I have refused, first, because it is my responsibility to see that our policy in Israel fits in with our foreign policy throughout the world; second, it is my desire to help build in Palestine a strong, prosperous, free, and independent democratic state. It must be large enough, free enough, and strong enough to make its people self-supporting and secure.

As President of the United States, back in 1945, I was the first to call for the immediate opening of Palestine to immigration to the extent of at least 100,000 persons. The United States, under my administration, led the way in November 1947, and was responsible for the resolution of the United Nations setting up Israel, not only as a homeland, but as a free and independent political state. The United States was the first to give full and complete recognition to the new State of Israel in April 1948, and recognition to its provisional government.

I have never changed my position on Palestine or Israel. As I have previously announced, I have stood—and still stand—on the present Democratic platform of 1948. The platform of 1944 had provisions in it under which I have been trying to act. The platform of 1948 reiterates those positions and goes a little further—and I am glad it did go a little further. What we need now is to help the people of Israel—and they have proved themselves worthy of the best traditions of hardy pioneers. They have created out of the barren desert a modern and efficient state, with the highest standards of Western civilization. They have demonstrated that Israel deserves to take its place in the family of nations.

That is our objective. We shall work toward it, but we will not work toward it in a partisan and political way. I am confident that that objective will be reached. I know that no American citizen, of whatever race or religion, would want us to deal with the question of Palestine on any other basis than the welfare of all Americans of every race and faith.

That is the spirit in which all liberals face the issues of this campaign. We are concerned with justice, and we are deeply concerned with human rights—here in America as well as in the rest of the world.

I am happy to say to you tonight that the spirit of liberalism is going to triumph at the polls on November 2d, just as sure as you are sitting in this hall.

The forces of reaction gained a beachhead in 1946 when they elected a Republican Congress. And this year they have redoubled their efforts to take over control of your Government. And it is your Government when you exercise the right to vote. And when you don't exercise the right to vote you can't complain when such things as the 80th Congress come along and commence doing things to you.

I have never lost faith in the people. I know that when the issues were laid before them they would arise to preserve their liberties. I have not been disappointed. All over the country the people have become aroused. Democracy is on the march, and it's on the march to victory!

I have only one request to make of you: vote on election day. Vote for yourselves. You don't have to vote for me. Vote in your own interests. And when you do that, you can only vote one way—vote for the welfare of the country, vote for the welfare of the world, and vote for your own welfare by voting the Democratic ticket straight on November 2d.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:34 p.m. in Madison Square Garden. During his address he referred to former Governor Alfred E. Smith, Senator Robert F. Wagner, and former Governor Herbert Lehman, all of New York. Later he referred to Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio.

263 Statement by the President on the National Holiday of Turkey. *October* 29, 1948

ON THE 25th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Turkey, the people of the United States join me in extending cordial greetings and best wishes to President Inonu and to the people of Turkey.

The full significance of this anniversary could hardly have been foreseen a quarter of a century ago when the Turkish Republic was proclaimed. In America, we were from the beginning filled with admiration for the resolute struggle of the Turkish nation to go forward under the indomitable leadership of Turkey's first President, Kemal Ataturk. We have watched with sympathetic interest the profound social and cultural reforms effected in two brief decades. We are happy that the advancements of science in this air-travel age have so reduced the distance between our two countries that we no longer feel remotely separated. We are still happier that the decision of the Turkish nation to continue the development of democratic institutions and to further safeguard human rights and liberties is being carried out at a time when these ideals—so dear to all Americans—are being ruthlessly crushed and obliterated in many parts of the world.

The political independence and territorial integrity of Turkey are of great importance to the security of the United States and of all freedom-loving peoples. In conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, I recommended to the American Congress on March 12, 1947, the extension of assistance to Turkey and to Greece. This program, as authorized by the American Congress 2½ months later, has since been extended for a second year—that is, through June 1949. The effective way in which Turkish and

American personnel are cooperating on this program is a further, and most striking, example of the mutual ties that bind our countries.

I am deeply grateful that during this troubled postwar period the relations between the United States and the Republic of Turkey, inspired by a common ideal for the establishment of security for all nations through just and lasting peace, have been strengthened and consolidated.

NOTE: For the President's special message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey enunciating the Truman Doctrine and for his statement upon signing the bill endorsing the Truman Doctrine, see 1947 volume, this series, Items 56 and 100.

264 Informal Remarks in New York. *October* 29, 1948

[1.] YONKERS, NEW YORK (Reception, Larkin Plaza, 12:25 p.m.)

Thank you. Thank you very, very much. I am most happy, most happy and pleased at this wonderful reception which you have given me here this afternoon. I think that Yonkers almost has it on New York City for the turnout.

You know, this is not unusual. In nearly every city where I have been the people have been turning out just this way—breaking records with the crowds, because they want to hear the truth and the facts in this campaign. And they know that I am trying to give them the truth and the facts. I think that you people of Yonkers have come here this morning for that same reason—that you want to know exactly what the issues are in this campaign.

I have been traveling all over the country—from coast to coast, from Minnesota to Texas and from Puget Sound to the Straits of Florida—telling the American people where I stand on the critical issues in this election. I have also been telling them—because they can't find it out any other way—just exactly where the Republican Party stands, and what the country can expect if the Republican candidate for President were, by some chance, elected. I can't go into all the problems which face the Nation today, but I would like to talk to you about places to live.

I don't need to tell you that we have an acute housing shortage. You know that yourselves. There are more than 3 million families living doubled-up—two families where there is only room for one. Five million other families are living in what we are forced to call slum districts. There is a desperate shortage of apartments and houses for rent at prices that workingmen and women can afford to pay. That is a disgrace to a nation as rich as ours—and I want to correct that situation.

I have been fighting for 3 years to get a comprehensive housing law through the Congress. We need a law that will permit the Federal Government to clear away slums, build large-scale, low-cost rental housing, and help farmers as well as city folks to improve their homes. The Republican leaders in Congress, working hand in glove with the real estate lobby, stalled off action on the Federal housing bill until the last hours of the 80th Congress. And then they very quietly murdered that bill and passed a fake one with which they want to fool you people. That means we will continue to

have a very great shortage of houses and apartments for a long time to come. That means that if the Republicans are elected next Tuesday you won't get any relief from the housing shortage, because the same backward-looking men will still be errand boys in Congress for the real estate lobby. The real estate lobby isn't through with you yet.

Just killing the house bill isn't all they want to do to you. Only 2 weeks ago they gave us a preview of what we can expect next spring if the Republicans win control of the Congress again.

The National Apartment Owners Association held a meeting out at Coronado, Calif. When it was over, this is what the Wall Street Journal reported in the issue of October 13th—if you want to know exactly where the Republicans stand, all you have to do is read the Wall Street Journal—"The Nation's landlords are going after rent control this year with a double-barreled shotgun." This is dated Wednesday, October 13th. "One barrel, repeating the single-shot blast used before, will renew a direct appeal to Congress to kill this last remaining wartime control. The other, aimed at enlisting John Public in the hunt, will pepper him with landlord laments and pleas to help get rid of restrictions which, he will be assured, are working to his own disadvantage."

You see, they started out with the idea of fooling you to begin with.

The Wall Street Journal is a wonderful paper to read if you want to find out what the Republicans believe, and how they are going to act towards the people.

This story continues with the news that the Apartment Owners Association is planning to spend a quarter of a million dollars in trying to deceive you into believing that we don't need rent control any longer.

You know, that 80th Congress was the most thoroughly surrounded Congress with lobbies in the whole history of this great country of ours. There were more lobbyists in Washington, there was more money spent by lobbyists in Washington, than ever before in the history of the Congress of the United States. It's disgraceful, and you ought not to let that happen again. Now, those lobbyists know they won't have any trouble with a Republican Congress, but they're afraid you might rise up in wrath and keep rent control from being repealed unless you have been influenced by their deceitful propaganda.

Let's go on with the story in the Wall Street Journal. It says that the Apartment Owners Association feels that rents won't go up more than 20 percent if they succeed in killing rent control. Twenty percent!

Do you want your rent boosted 20 percent next spring? All right, if you don't, you most certainly ought to prevent it by voting the Democratic ticket straight, and then they can't do it. Cast your vote for yourselves, in the interests of yourselves. Don't cast it for those lobbyists. If you cast it for the Republican Party in this coming election you are voting to keep those terrible lobbies in Washington—and I am trying to run them out.

Now, the party that killed price control and killed the housing bill now wouldn't mind killing rent control. The Republican Party believes, apparently, that there ought to be two families in every garage. You know they said, "two chickens in a pot," one time. Now they want to put two families in every garage.

If you want a decent place to live at a decent price, if you want lower prices, if you want permanent prosperity fairly shared by all of us, if you want a prosperous United States and a peaceful world, I say to you, the best way to get that is to vote in your own

interests on the 2d of November by voting the Democratic ticket straight—and you can't make any mistake on that.

[2.] YONKERS, NEW YORK (Alexander Smith Carpet Works, 12:40 p.m.)

Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen:

I certainly am highly pleased and much impressed by your wonderful turnout here this afternoon.

During the past 6 weeks I have been going around the country, talking to the American people about two different ideas of government. I have been proving by the record that the Republican Party, no matter what its candidate may say during the election campaign, works for the benefit of special interests. And I have been proving by the record that the Democratic Party works for the benefit of all the people. I have been asked a lot of questions. I have given straight answers and honest facts and correct figures. I think by this time you know exactly where I stand. There is good reason why I can be frank and honest in this business. It's because I have made no secret deals with lobbies or big business. I have no commitments except the commitment to serve the American people for the benefit of the whole country. I don't resort to double talk to conceal what I stand for and what I propose to do. I have told the people time and again what I think about high prices, the housing shortage, social security, and labor laws, and minimum wage. I have told exactly what I think ought to be done. Maybe my way isn't the way to run an election campaign. Some people say I would have more money for publicity if I wasn't so frank—the radio commentators and the newspapermen wouldn't be against me if I hadn't been against so many big corporations and so many lobbyists. But keeping quiet on the issues that are in the interests of the American people is not my way. I would rather be defeated trying to do what's right than to be elected under false pretenses. I never sit on the fence. Nor do I hang out on an upside-down farm gate trying to fool the people into believing that I know all about the farm. I spent 10 of the best years of my life on the farm.

One issue on which I have made my position clear is the Taft-Hartley Act. The Taft-Hartley law was passed by the Republican 80th Congress for just one reason—to crush the power of organized labor. The Republican bosses think that labor unions have too much power. They want to weaken unions so that you can't bargain for better wages and better working conditions.

The Taft-Hartley law is only a first step in what the Republicans have in mind to do to you if they get another chance. They intend to pass even more oppressive labor laws. I still say that that's wrong. I believe the Taft-Hartley Act ought to be repealed, and I am working to get that done. I believe that labor must always be in a position to bargain for wages which will enable the workingman of this Nation to maintain good standards of living. A time when Republican high prices are squeezing every one of us to the wall is no time to strip from American workers their best weapon of defense.

If you want a Government that will repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, provide good houses and apartments at prices you can afford to pay, build more schools and hospitals, extend social security and raise the minimum wage, and put a stop to rising prices—if you want a Government that will do these things for you, then you had better go to the polls next Tuesday and vote the Democratic ticket straight. Then you'll be voting in your own interests.

Vote for Richard McSpedon and Charles

Nager for Congress. If you send fine men like these to Congress you won't be in the position you are in now. You really don't have representation in this district now.

Get out to the polls on the morning of election day. Vote in your own interests. If you do that, you'll have a Democratic Congress, a Democratic President, and your interests will be safe.

[3.] BRONX, NEW YORK (Democratic Women's Club Luncheon, Grand Concourse, Plaza Hotel, 2:38 p.m.)

Madame Chairman, Mrs. Sullivan, Ed Flynn—the boss of the Bronx, for 27 years, she said:

That's really some career. And he has done a lot of other things besides that for the Democratic Party, too. I'm very grateful.

You know, the reason I am making this terrific fight—this crusade, I call it—is because the welfare of this great Nation rests with the Democratic Party, and the Democratic Party will come out of this campaign a Democratic Party which will represent the people; and that's what I am trying to do.

I am very grateful for your warm hospitality, and I appreciate the opportunity you have given me to speak to you today.

I would like to congratulate your organization for the fine work you have been doing in this campaign. I have been hearing a great deal about "Housewives for Truman." I'm going to get Mrs. Truman to join it. I think letting the women of New York and all the country know just exactly what is at stake in this election is most important for our party and for the Nation. I'm sure that a great deal of your effort has been spent in telling the housewives the facts about high prices—Republican high prices, they are.

You know, when I hear the Republican candidate—who is trying awful hard to get elected; last night I said he was a second-hand candidate, and he is—when I hear him talk about the high level campaigns, I wonder if he shouldn't be talking about the high level of all the necessities of life that you have to buy for your families. I stopped yesterday in one of the great shoe towns of the country, and that shoe manufacturing center is running on half time for the simple reason that shoes have gone so high that people have quit buying them. They are not selling as many shoes now under this Republican program as they sold when we had price control and rationing, and they're not making as much money, either. The high level cost of living is one of the penalties we are having to pay for letting the Republicans get control of the 80th Congress.

But I don't think that was altogether a bad thing. I think it was a blessing in disguise, for we found out that the Republicans haven't changed one little bit in their policies since 1932.

Two-thirds of the people entitled to vote stayed at home in 1946, and as a result we got that high cost of living 80th Congress, which wouldn't do a thing to help me control skyrocketing prices. Time and again I asked the 80th Congress to put the brakes on inflation. I even called it back into special session twice for that purpose. But the Republican leaders were more interested in big profits for big business than in helping you pay your grocery bill.

The 80th Congress was a mighty serious worry to me. This campaign hasn't worried me, however, because I know the Democrats are going to win. They're waking up. I've given this campaign a great deal of serious thought and a lot of hard work. That's why I am always happy to get a laugh in the middle of the campaign. I think you ladies deserve a few laughs, too, if you can see the humor in the same thing that I do. Some-

times the Madame doesn't think I'm humorous—she thinks I'm funny.

The other day I read a few speeches of the Republican candidate, who is running along behind me. He's following me around—something like a shadow. That made me think of something I used to hear a long time ago, that went:

I have a little shadow
That goes in and out with me;
And what can be the use of him
Is more than I can see.

That has several connotations, if you want to think about it just a little bit.

In 1944 he was the little shadow of one of the greatest men who ever sat in the White House, and tried to follow him around. And he's trying to follow the same tactics with me; he's following me around. And you know, it just tickles me to death, because in every city where we appear together, I think he loses votes and I gain them.

Now, I haven't been able to find out about anything that he is for. I have never heard him mention a Republican administration. I have never heard him brag of a Republican President. He's trying to convince the people that the New Deal is a good thing but that he can run it better, and that is what he said in 1944—and they didn't believe him, and I don't think they believe him this time.

There is one thing we found out, though, he's against—he's against Democrats. He would like to get control of the Government so that he could fire all the Democrats in it. I don't think he could get that done, though, even if he had a Congress like this good-for-nothing 80th was.

He is against somebody else having a job when he wants it for himself.

I kept right on reading his speeches, and finally I found one that told me one thing he is for. Now, that is just as interesting as can be. I found out he is for something. He's for the future. That's what I said: He's for the future. And I'll prove it to you by some quotations.

In a prepared speech, delivered at Phoenix, Ariz., the Republican candidate solemnly informed the people at Phoenix, and I quote: "You know that your future is still ahead of you." Exciting, don't you think?

To make sure that the people of Phoenix fully understood his views on this important question the Republican candidate elaborated, and he said: "America's future, like yours in Arizona, is still ahead of us."

Now, I was greatly impressed by this bold stand of the Republican candidate. At last I found an issue on which he was willing to take a position. But this position did remind me of another little verse I heard years ago, which goes something like this:

Nothing here but the present,
Nothing behind but the past,
Nothing ahead but the future,
My gosh, how long will it last!

Well, I hope the future will last a long time for all of you, and I hope it will be a very happy future—and I hope it won't be a future under Republicans, either.

If you want to make sure of a happy future, there is one thing you must do next Tuesday. You must vote the straight Democratic ticket, and you must work as hard as you possibly can to get all your friends and acquaintances out on that day.

There are more things at stake in this campaign than appear on the surface. This is a crusade for the right, my friends. I'm making it. And I've made a campaign unequaled by any five Presidents in the history of the United States.

I stated last night, to the Liberal Party in Madison Square Garden, a few of the things that are absolutely essential for you to understand. I know in the Bronx you're interested in Palestine, and just for your

information, I am going to reiterate so that you'll understand perfectly what I am driving at, what I said last night on Palestine.

The Democratic platform of 1948 and the Democratic platform of 1944 are perfectly clear and plain on Palestine. I'm running on that platform, and I don't run on platforms as mere scraps of paper. And if you want to read my record from April 12, 1945, to the present day, you'll see that I have been following the Democratic platform of 1944 to the letter. And I helped write the Democratic platform of 1944 and I helped to write the Democratic platform of 1948, and I stand on that platform literally and for what it says. It's not a scrap of paper to me. And when you have a chance to talk to your Jewish friends, just point out that plank in the Democratic platform and that's all you need to do.

You know, I have some of the warmest friends in the world who are of the Jewish faith. And I love them. But they are just like the Irish—they're emotional.

There's only one thing missing in this campaign that would make it complete, and that would be to get the Irish question in the campaign.

I want you to convince those people that—I think I can say this candidly—they have a man in the White House who tries to do what he thinks right, who tries to follow the principles of the Democratic Party, who is working for the welfare of the whole United States, because that means the welfare of the world—the welfare of the world!

Now, I know when I face an audience of Democratic women workers like you that the Republicans haven't any chance to do anything in the Bronx. Get out to vote on election day.

[4.] HARLEM, NEW YORK (Address, 3:50 p.m., see Item 265)

[5.] QUEENS, NEW YORK CITY (Lost Battalion Hall, 8:10 p.m.)

Mr. President, distinguished guests, Mr. Mayor, Mr. Farley—and all good Democrats of Queens:

This reception is really heartwarming. In fact, I have had the grandest 2 days in Greater New York than any man in the world could want to have. I think I have seen at least 3½ million people, and they have had a chance to see me, and I have also had a chance and will have a chance tonight to express to you my views on the thing with which this great Nation of ours is faced.

We haven't been able to get the candidate on the other ticket to do that, but we are smoking him out slowly.

This is the kind of reception that a winning team gets, and don't let anyone fool you.

The Democrats this time are the winning team—as they usually are.

Let me tell you why we are the winning team. We are winning because the American people are aroused. The people have learned what this election is all about. They have made up their minds to vote for the party that is working for them.

Sixty million people are going to vote on November the 2d. That is a conservative estimate in my mind. Sixty-one million people are at work now. If that 61 million will vote the Democratic ticket, we will be all right. And when those people vote, they are going to throw the Galluping polls right in the ashcan—you watch 'em. There are going to be more red-faced pollsters on November the 3d than there were in 1936, when the Literary Digest said that Roosevelt shouldn't be elected. Yes, that is what the polls showed. They said the man who wants so much to be President couldn't lose in New York State. Well, you know

what happened in 1944. In 1944, when the polls showed that New York State was going Republican, you remember what happened, don't you? Well, the Democrats won in New York, and we are going to do it again.

In entering this Lost Battalion Hall tonight, I noticed pictures showing the record of the Lost Battalion. The 77th Division—28th Division—35th Division—and the 90th Division were all side by side in that drive. It was my duty to fire some 75 mm shells over into the Argonne Forest and put a battery out of action. I don't know whether that battery was firing on the Lost Battalion or not, but it was over there and they didn't fire any more after we got through with them.

I remember the late Maj. Gen. Alexander E. Anderson. I knew him very well. I had a very high regard, as did every member of the 35th Division, for the 165th Infantry. I see some men sitting down here in this audience with whom I am well acquainted, who were present in those days when the country really needed help.

I wish I had time this evening to talk to you about all the issues in this campaign. However, you people in Queens, I am sure, know the facts about housing, and the educational crisis, and the acute shortage of hospitals and doctors.

These are matters on which the Republican Party has a most disgraceful record.

The Democrats have a fine record of fighting for your interests, and I am proud to be a Democrat.

The Democratic Party was founded by Thomas Jefferson to be the party of the people. Andrew Jackson implemented that when he had his fight with the United States Bank, and kept the Biddles from owning the Government, in 1828 to 1836.

And then Woodrow Wilson revived the Democratic Party and set it on the right track once more. Franklin Roosevelt carried on in those great traditions to make the Democratic Party the party of the people, and I have been doing my best to carry on in that same line, because I believe in the Democratic Party.

I want to talk to you now a little bit about Republican high prices. The Republican candidate has been busy trying to dodge this issue just like he has been trying to dodge all the other issues in this campaign. He has been conducting what he likes to call a high-level campaign.

Actually, the Republicans have been conducting a high-level cost of living conspiracy against the American people for the last 2 years. The Republicans led the fight to kill price controls 2 years ago. They bragged about how they had killed price controls. They are not saying much about it in this campaign. They used to boast about it, but since this election campaign came along, they are not saying very much about it.

The cost of living here in Queens has risen 30 percent since Republican prices began to skyrocket.

Every single one of the Republican Congressmen here in Queens voted to kill price control when I was fighting to keep them. Remember that—remember that—every single Republican Congressman in Queens voted to kill price controls when I was fighting to keep them. They were very good members of that good-for-nothing "do-nothing" 80th Congress. Don't send an 81st Congress back down there like the 80th Congress was. Send a Congress down there that will work for you and not for special interests.

I proposed a cost of living tax rebate nearly a year ago, which would have given the average family about a $60 income tax reduction to help meet the rising cost of living. At the same time, to make sure that your

Government had enough money to stay in the black, I proposed to reimpose the excess profits tax, to put into your Treasury some of the fantastic profits of the big corporations.

The Republicans refused to pass an excess profits tax law because they want profits to stay up in the sky while you foot the bill. Instead of giving you a cost of living tax rebate, the Republicans passed a rich man's tax bill that gives a tremendous reduction in taxes to the wealthy, and leaves a heavy tax burden on the people with low incomes.

Now, let me just give you a few figures along that line—it won't take a minute. A man getting $60 a week got a reduction of about $1.58 a week in his taxes under this rich man's tax bill, and that $1.58 has been taken up by the prices that have been going out the roof—it doesn't make any difference in your pay envelope now.

But the fellow who got a $100,000 a year received a saving of more than $16,000—that is nearly four times the net salary of the President of the United States, what he saved.

And, you know what they did? I have got a very interesting document here on taxes which is—well, it's the most terrible thing I ever saw. It's a photostatic copy of a sheet that has been distributed all over these United States. I got this one in West Virginia.

It says it is money in your pocket because the Republican 80th Congress reduced your income tax. Now, if that isn't bribery, I never heard of anything. "The following table shows your approximate savings under the new tax savings law effective May 1, 1948." Then it goes on and gives the list—a fellow making $5,000 a year, he got a net savings of $157.40; a fellow making a $100,000 a year got a net saving of $16,658.44.

Now this is a Republican document, so it must be true. Then it says: "Do you want more of this sort of constructive Government action? Then use your tax saving to make a substantial investment in a Republican victory." In other words, send what we gave you rich fellows to the Republican Committee, so we can buy the election. What do you think of that?

The Republican record is plain. I want you to go to the polls on Tuesday, and vote. That is all I am asking you to do. Now, I want you to vote for yourselves. You are the Government when you want to exercise your privilege to vote.

In 1946 two-thirds of the qualified voters in this country did not vote, and look what you got—you got this 80th Congress. You got just exactly what you deserved, because you stayed at home and did not exercise your control of the Government.

Don't do that again! I want you to vote for your own interests. Vote for better schools for your children, vote for better health, better houses for your family.

In order to make sure that you are going to do that, get up real early in the morning on November the 2d and go down there and vote a straight Democratic ticket, and you will have a Democratic administration and a Democratic President—and you will have a Democratic Congress; and you will have a Democratic administration locally. And the President of the United States then won't be troubled with the housing shortage. He can stay in the White House another 4 years.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on October 29 the President referred to Richard W. McSpedon and Charles J. Nager, Democratic candidates for Representative, Mrs. Antoinette Sullivan, chairman of the Democratic Women's Club Luncheon, Edward J. Flynn, chairman of the Executive Committee, Democratic County Committee of Bronx County, William O'Dwyer, Mayor of New York City, and James A. Farley, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, all of New York; and the late Maj. Gen. Alexander E. Anderson, onetime commander of the 165th Infantry.

265 Address in Harlem, New York, Upon Receiving the Franklin Roosevelt Award. *October 29, 1948*

Dr. Johnson, and members of the Ministerial Alliance which has given me this award:

I am exceedingly grateful for it. I hope I shall always deserve it. This, in my mind, is a most solemn occasion. It's made a tremendous impression upon me.

Franklin Roosevelt was a great champion of human rights. When he led us out of the depression to the victory over the Axis, he enabled us to build a country in which prosperity and freedom must exist side by side. This is the only atmosphere in which human rights can thrive.

Eventually, we are going to have an America in which freedom and opportunity are the same for everyone. There is only one way to accomplish that great purpose, and that is to keep working for it and never take a backward step.

I am especially glad to receive the Franklin Roosevelt award on this day—October 29. This date means a great deal to me personally, and it is a significant date in the history of human freedom in this country.

One year ago today, on October 29, 1947, the President's Committee on Civil Rights submitted to me, and to the American people, its momentous report.

That report was drawn up by men and women who had the honesty to face the whole problem of civil rights squarely, and the courage to state their conclusions frankly.

I created the Civil Rights Committee because racial and religious intolerance began to appear after World War II. They threatened the very freedoms we had fought to save.

We Americans have a democratic way of acting when our freedoms are threatened.

We get the most thoughtful and representative men and women we can find, and we ask them to put down on paper the principles that represent freedom and a method of action that will preserve and extend that freedom. In that manner, we get a declaration of purpose and a guide for action that the whole country can consider.

That is the way in which the Declaration of Independence was drawn up.

That is the way in which the Constitution of the United States was written.

The report that the Civil Rights Committee prepared is in the tradition of these great documents.

It was the authors of the Declaration of Independence who stated the principle that all men are created equal in their rights, and that it is to secure these rights that governments are instituted among men.

It was the authors of the Constitution who made it clear that, under our form of government, all citizens are equal before the law, and that the Federal Government has a duty to guarantee to every citizen equal protection of the laws.

The Civil Rights Committee did more than repeat these great principles. It described a method to put these principles into action, and to make them a living reality for every American, regardless of his race, his religion, or his national origin.

When every American knows that his rights and his opportunities are fully protected and respected by the Federal, State, and local governments, then we will have the kind of unity that really means something.

It is easy to talk of unity. But it is the work that is done for unity that really counts.

The job that the Civil Rights Committee did was to tell the American people how to create the kind of freedom that we need in this country.

The Civil Rights Committee described the

kind of freedom that comes when every man has an equal chance for a job—not just the hot and heavy job—but the best job he is qualified for.

The Committee described the kind of freedom that comes when every American boy and girl has an equal chance for an education.

The Committee described the kind of freedom that comes when every citizen has an equal opportunity to go to the ballot box and cast his vote and have it counted.

The Committee described the kind of freedom that comes when every man, woman, and child is free from the fear of mob violence and intimidation.

When we have that kind of freedom, we will face the evil forces that are abroad in the world—whatever or wherever they may be—with the strength that comes from complete confidence in one another and from complete faith in the working of our own democracy.

One of the great things that the Civil Rights Committee did for the country was to get every American to think seriously about the principles that make our country great.

More than 1 million copies of the full text of the civil rights report have been printed in books and newspapers.

More than 30 different pamphlets based on the report have been printed and distributed by private organizations.

Millions of Americans have heard the report discussed on the radio.

In making its recommendations, the Civil Rights Committee did not limit itself to action by the President or by the executive branch. The Committee's recommendations included action by every branch of the Federal Government, by State and local governments, and by private organizations, and by individuals.

That is why it is so important that the Civil Rights Committee's report be studied widely. For in the last analysis, freedom resides in the actions of each individual. That is the reason I like to hear that scriptural reading from the Gospel according to St. Luke. That's just exactly what it means. It means you and I must act out what we say in our Constitution and our Bill of Rights. It is in his mind and heart—and to his mind and heart—that we must eventually speak to the individual.

After the Civil Rights Committee submitted its report, I asked Congress to do ten of the things recommended by the Committee.

You know what they did about that.

So I went ahead and did what the President can do, unaided by the Congress.

I issued two Executive orders.

One of them established the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services.

The other one covered regulations governing fair employment practices within the Federal establishment.

In addition to that, the Department of Justice went into the Supreme Court and aided in getting a decision outlawing restrictive covenants.

Several States and municipalities have taken action on the recommendations of the Civil Rights Committee, and I hope more will follow after them.

Today the democratic way of life is being challenged all over the world. Democracy's answer to the challenge of totalitarianism is its promise of equal rights and equal opportunity for all mankind.

The fulfillment of this promise is among the highest purposes of government.

Our determination to attain the goal of equal rights and equal opportunity must be resolute and unwavering.

For my part, I intend to keep moving toward this goal with every ounce of strength and determination that I have.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:50 p.m. in Dorrance Brooks Square. In his opening words he referred to Dr. C. Asapansa-Johnson, president of the Interdenominational Ministers Alliance, who presented him with the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Brotherhood Medal.

The report of the Civil Rights Committee is entitled "To Secure These Rights" (Government Printing Office, 1947, 178 pp.). For the President's statement upon making the report public, see 1947 volume, this series, Item 215.

The President referred to Executive Order 9980 "Regulations Governing Fair Employment Practices Within the Federal Establishment" and Executive Order 9981 "Establishing the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Forces" (July 26, 1948; 3 CFR 1943–1948 Comp., pp. 720, 722).

266 Address at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, New York City. *October* 29, 1948

THANK YOU—thank you very, very much. I have had the most cordial and warmest welcome that any man could wish for, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart. All of Greater New York has given me a wonderful reception, and Brooklyn makes it unanimous.

I have good news for you. We have the Republicans on the run.

All we have to do now is to see that everybody gets to the polls on election day. I want everybody who is listening to me tonight just to make me one promise. I want you to promise that you will vote and that you will make sure that your neighbor votes, too.

Help your neighbor. Help get him to the polls.

This is a crusade for the people, and the way to win, is to win it with votes.

Before I say anything else, I would like to pay tribute to a man who is not here tonight. He's not here, because he's out fighting for you, fighting shoulder to shoulder with me in this great crusade. And I'd like to pay tribute to my good friend and running-mate, Senator Alben Barkley.

Senator Barkley has been working hard, making a terrific fight to help tell the people of this country the facts of life.

He's doing a splendid job and I want all of you to know that he's your friend, and he's working for you.

What's more, he's been fighting for you, and he and I together will go on fighting for you.

We said we would tell the people of this country the truth in this campaign, and we have done it. The American people know that we believe in them. They know that we trust them. And they have responded. All they wanted was to have somebody talk to them about the issues.

The Republican candidate wouldn't tell them. He didn't dare.

When Senator Barkley and I started out, there wasn't a newspaper in the country that would have given a plugged nickel for our chance to win this election for the people. But we are going to win it!

Now they're beginning to sing another tune. That's because we are going to win. The Democratic Party is going to win, because you are going to vote.

This night marks the end of my campaign in the East. And the East is with us. A few weeks ago the papers said Massachusetts was in the bag for the Republicans. That just isn't so. Massachusetts is going Democratic by 100,000 votes.

Rhode Island is Democratic.

Connecticut is going Democratic by 40,000, and as for New York—well, you tell me.

Is New York going Democratic? Of course it is!

New York State is going to turn in a good old-fashioned Democratic majority, just as it did four times in a row for Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Tonight I'm going to talk about how this election affects your chance for peace.

In the interest of peace, your Democratic Party has created strong bipartisan support for the kind of foreign policy that would not change over the years.

In this task, from the very outset, we have had the cooperation of some wise and patriotic Republicans.

The Democratic Party stands pledged to conduct our foreign policy in the interests of the American people as a whole, without regard to party.

Your President and your Democratic administration have scrupulously honored that pledge of bipartisan cooperation in foreign policy.

And we are going to keep that pledge, no matter what provocation is offered by the Republican candidate for President.

I had hoped that we would get through this political campaign without the Republican candidate dragging American foreign policy into party politics.

But he has seen fit to attack the Democratic Party's record on foreign policy. He has attacked my conduct of foreign affairs in unmeasured terms. He has torn off his mask of bipartisanship and revealed the ugly partisan passion underneath.

I feel, therefore, that I would be failing in my duty to bring the issues to the people, if I did not discuss the Republican record in the field of foreign affairs.

Let me say at the outset, in a few words, what our American foreign policy is.

The heart and soul of American foreign policy is peace.

We are supporting a world organization to keep the peace, and a world economic policy to create prosperity for all mankind.

The first and most important feature of our foreign policy is to strengthen the United Nations, which seeks to bring about a peaceful adjustment of differences between nations.

Our guiding principle is international cooperation. The very basis of our foreign policy is cooperative action with other nations.

Unfortunately, our hopes for worldwide cooperation have been hampered by the Soviet Union whose policies and objectives seem to be at odds with what the United States and other democratic nations are striving for. This fact—this disharmony—makes it even more urgent that we act in concert with those nations which are devoted to the same objectives that we are.

We have not deserted—we will never desert—the brave men and women who have rallied to the cause of peace and freedom throughout the world.

We will not sacrifice them to totalitarian aggression.

In these matters, a very great responsibility lies upon the President of the United States. While he looks ahead, working for a happy outcome, he must also take thought of possible disasters.

The President's responsibility goes far beyond the formalities of diplomacy. It extends to ultimate reality—the final consequence of war and peace.

A President must approach this task humbly and sincerely. He must be sure in his heart that no error, no pride, no arrogance on his part offers an obstacle to the achievement of peace.

The President is the servant of the American people. He must leave no stone un-

turned in expressing their will for peace.

Throughout the world today the people yearn for peace. If all peoples were free to express themselves as we are, there would be absolutely no danger of war. But, unfortunately, we are confronted by a dangerous and difficult circumstance.

The people of the Soviet Union are surrounded by a curtain of censorship through which very little of the truth about the other people of the world can penetrate.

The leaders of the Soviet Union are victims of their own iron curtain.

There is a vast amount of misinformation and misunderstanding in the minds of those who control the destinies of the Russian people.

One of the problems which I face, and one of the problems which my great predecessor faced, is to pierce that iron curtain and to get the truth across to the leaders in the Soviet Union.

We must try to get them to understand that our people are united in what we think is right, that we have no evil intentions, that we stand firmly behind the United Nations.

Our experience has shown that formal diplomatic channels do not always succeed in doing this. It is the duty of the President, therefore, to consider and study every possible approach to the heart and understanding of the Soviet leaders.

I have given this problem prayerful consideration. I shall continue to do so.

There are some misguided persons who believe that further peaceful discussions are useless.

But that is not the position of the United States Government.

So long as I am President of the United States, the door will not be closed to peace.

I will always explore every possible means, no matter how difficult or how unconventional, for reaching agreement.

I welcome the abuse that is showered upon me by those who have made up their minds that war is inevitable.

In my search for peace, I do not care what epithets may be hurled at me by those who think that we must hurry on to an inevitable catastrophe. I don't care about that. I don't care what they say. There is nothing new they can say about me. It has all been said. And I am here to tell you that the American people don't believe it.

But when the Republican leaders deliberately misinterpret my private consultations with the Secretary of State, and try to tell the people of America that my constant concern about peace is wrong, then I have to protest about it.

I do not believe that war is inevitable, and I shall make use of every honorable means to prevent it.

The way in which our foreign policy has been attacked raises doubts as to the good faith with which the Republican leaders in this campaign are approaching this whole question.

Do they regard it as nothing more than a campaign issue? Do they understand that the stakes in this matter are war or peace, life or death, not only for ourselves and our children, but for our civilization?

These doubts are made more serious by the record which the Republican Party has made in foreign policy over the years.

Let me say right now that I welcome the real contributions made to our foreign policy by certain Republicans in recent years. They have been helpful, and I will always give them full and friendly credit.

But these contributions, however real, must not blind us to the fact that the Republican Party, as a party, is a late convert to the cause of international good will and cooperation.

After the First World War, the United States had its first great opportunity to lead

the world to peace. I have always believed that it was the will of Almighty God at that time that we should enter into and lead the League of Nations. How much misery and suffering the world would have been spared if we had only followed Woodrow Wilson!

We are not now making the same mistake that was made in 1920. God willing, we will never make that mistake again. God willing, we will never make that mistake again.

In the fateful election of 1920, the Democratic Party urged the people to take the lead in international affairs. The people recognized that this was their duty. But they were betrayed—betrayed by another Republican candidate who campaigned on both sides of the issue, and a Republican Party which sabotaged the ideal of international cooperation as soon as it had won the election.

Why did this happen? It happened because powerful interests in the Republican Party were so selfish and so shortsighted, that they blocked our participation in the world effort for peace. And those same interests are still powerful in the Republican Party. Don't let anybody tell you anything different.

Let me give you an example of their influence today. Remember that in the 1920's the Republican Party moved into Washington and enacted the highest tariffs in our history—tariffs that helped bring on World War II.

Then in the 1930's the terrible errors of the Republican high tariff were corrected by the Democratic Party, under the leadership of President Roosevelt and that great Secretary of State, Cordell Hull.

Using the powerful instrument of reciprocal trade agreements, we have demonstrated the possibility of an expanding world economy. We have provided a new foundation for a prosperous and a peaceful world. But now this foundation is threatened by Republican reaction.

The leader of the Republican high tariff lobby in the 1920's was a gentleman from Pennsylvania by the name of Joe Grundy. That same Mr. Grundy showed up at the Republican Convention in Philadelphia this year, and masterminded the choice of the Republican candidate. And his personal protege is now the Republican Chairman of the National Committee. Do you want to return to Grundyism? The Republican Party has served notice that that is what you can expect from them.

This year I sent a message to the Congress asking that the power to conduct the reciprocal trade program be extended another 3 years.

Those Republicans simply crippled the act, and extended it for 1 year instead of the customary 3, thinking that next year, if they are successful in this election, they will be able to finish the job.

Let me give you another example. When the European recovery program was before the Senate, the isolationist forces in the Republican Party rose behind Senator Taft in an attempt to slash that program and change it from one of world reconstruction to one of handout relief.

It is preposterous for the Republican candidate to say that "Republican statesmanship"—if there is such a thing—changed our original idea of the European recovery program into a practical measure. If it had not been for the experience and wisdom of the Democratic Party in international affairs, the European recovery program would have been mutilated before it was launched.

These are some of the reasons which lead me to believe that our foreign policy is safer in Democratic hands than in Republican hands. These are some of the reasons why the American people would make a mistake,

if they should entrust the future of our country to a Republican President and a Republican Congress for the next 4 years.

The Communists would like to see that happen. That is the main reason the Communists are trying so desperately to defeat me.

That is why the Communists are supporting a third party.

They know that the candidate of the third party will not win a single State, yet the Communists are using him in an effort to defeat me and elect a Republican President.

The Communists know the Republican record, even if the Republicans hope that the rest of us have forgotten it.

The Communists regard the Republican Party as the party of inaction, confusion, and rejection—the party that insures a depression that would both weaken our influence abroad, and spread misery at home.

Better still from the Communist point of view, the Republican Party's record shows that it is not free from the forces of isolationism. On the basis of the record, the Communists believe that these forces would control the Republican Party and lead to an American policy of hit-and-run diplomacy.

The Communists want us to get out of Europe and Asia. They want us to stop helping European countries and China. They want us to withdraw and leave the field entirely to them. They know they can never get what they want so long as the Democratic Party remains in control of this Government.

But the Communists have real reason to hope that Republican isolationism will exert its pressure within the Republican Party, and, in a period of time, they can take over nation after nation.

My friends, that must not happen!

We must never withdraw to the Republican isolationism of the 1920's. If you do that, communism will become so powerful that the security of this Nation will be gravely endangered.

As the Communists make their crafty plans, they find that on issue after issue they can expect no help from the Democratic Party. But, to the Republican Party, however, they see a basic philosophy, a course of action, an attitude toward the future, that fills them with fervent hope.

Make no mistake about it. The fate of mankind depends on the foreign policy of the United States. Grave decisions lie before us.

The next Congress will have to decide whether we shall continue our reciprocal trade policy or abolish it.

The next Congress will have to decide whether the European recovery program shall be continued.

If the forces of reaction and isolation gain control of our Government in this election, these fateful issues will be decided the wrong way.

And if they are decided the wrong way, our present great contribution to world peace will end. With it will end the hope for which this generation of mankind has sacrificed so much. The Democratic Party rejects that tragic course.

Now, our foreign policy is a people's foreign policy. Its purpose is to win a people's peace. It demands a people's government in Washington, not a special interest government. It demands that we maintain here in America a firm democratic base for world democracy.

It demands that we maintain here in America a secure economic base for world recovery. These are the issues that we Democrats have brought before the American people in this crusade. And the American people understand those issues. They have responded to the challenge of our time.

Now, I have only one request to make of you.

Exercise your right to control this government of yours by doing your duty on election day, getting up there early and voting the straight Democratic ticket, and the country will be safe.

[*At this point the President introduced his family. He then resumed speaking.*]

I want to say to you most hospitable people in Brooklyn that I have never enjoyed a meeting more in my life, and I never was more serious with anything in my life than what I told you this evening.

I am highly honored to be on this platform with so many distinguished Democrats.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 p.m. in the Brooklyn Academy of Music. During his address he referred to Secretary of State George C. Marshall, former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, former Senator from Pennsylvania Joseph R. Grundy, and Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio.

267 Rear Platform Remarks in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. *October* 30, 1948

[1.] BELLEFONTAINE, OHIO (12:15 p.m.)

Thank you very much. I appreciate very much and very highly this wonderful turnout here this morning. I have had quite a trip around over the country visiting the various sections of the United States, and explaining to them the issues in this campaign. Of course that is the only way you could find out about the issues in this campaign, because our opponents don't seem to want to discuss the issues. They talk about unity, and efficiency, and other things.

But, after having visited nearly every State in the Union, and all the great cities, I have come to the conclusion that the Republicans are on the run.

The Republican candidate started out by saying that he was going to make 10 political speeches in this campaign. Instead of that, he has been following me around the country, and he is still following me around—and he is still behind.

What you people are principally interested in is a Government of the United States that is run in the interest of all the people, and not just a few.

I think that the Republicans have only made a start on what they intend to do to farmers and to labor. The Taft-Hartley Act was the first blow at the laboringman's great charter, the Wagner Labor Relations Act. They have tried to tear that up, so far as they thought they could possibly go—and they had to do that over my veto.

They have started in on the farm program, to make a travesty out of that. And they won't do it directly. In the rechartering of the Commodity Credit Corporation, they have tried to take the floor from under farm prices. Corn, right now, in the Middle West is selling below what the support price ought to be, because they have prevented the Commodity Credit Corporation from furnishing the storage necessary to make the loans on that corn.

I am asking you only to look out for your own interest on election day. Your interest is the interest and welfare of this great country. All you have to do is to exercise the privilege which the Constitution gives you, and that is to vote.

If you will all vote, I won't have any worry about the result, for the simple reason that you can't vote but one way, if you vote in your own interest.

That is to get up early on the morning of the 2d of November and go to the polls, and vote a straight Democratic ticket—then you will be voting for yourselves.

[2.] TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA (3:30 p.m.)

Thank you—thank you very much. It certainly is a lot of pleasure to be in Terre Haute once more. You know, I have been here at least a hundred times, and I didn't attract nearly so much attention as I am now. I was in the Senate for 10 years, and the shortest road between Washington and Independence, Mo., goes through Terre Haute; and we used to stay all night here, start out from Independence in the morning and stay all night in Terre Haute, then drive on from here to the East and go to Washington. So I am familiar with this great town, I am familiar with the fact that this great town is Democratic, and you are going Democratic again.

I have had very fine visits with your next Governor Schricker, and your next Congressman, Mr. O'Grady. I know you are going to elect both of those gentlemen—just as you are going to elect me this time.

During the past 6 weeks, I have been going around the country talking to the American people about two different ideas about government. I have been proving by the record that the Republican Party, no matter what its candidates may say during election campaigns, works for the benefit of special interests. They have always done that.

I have been proving by the record that the Democratic Party works for all the people, and that is the reason I am a Democrat.

I have been asked a lot of questions, and I have always given straight answers, and honest facts, and correct figures. By this time, I think all of you know where I stand. There is a good reason why I can be frank and honest with the people. That is because I have made no secret deals with the lobbies of big business. I have made no commitments except to the people. I don't have to resort to doubletalk to conceal what I stand for or what I propose to do.

I have told the people time and time again what I think about high prices, and the housing shortage, and social security, labor laws, minimum wages—I have told exactly what I think ought to be done in every instance.

Maybe my way is not the way to run an election campaign. Some people say I would have a lot more money for publicity if I was not so frank. But I would rather have the people know where I stand, I would rather have the people know where I stand than to be President of the United States, because I think I am right.

They say that the radio commentators and the newspapers would not be against me if I hadn't stepped on the toes of so many big corporations and so many lobbies.

But, keeping quiet on the issues that are important to the people is not my way of doing business. I would rather be defeated for trying to do what is right than to hide my views from the people and get in there under false pretenses.

I never sit on a fence. I am either on one side or another.

I saw a picture the other day that gave me a good laugh. You see, I spent the best 10 years of my life on a farm, and I saw a picture of Dewey and Warren leaning on a farm gate, and the gate was upside down.

The picture itself was a fake, just as the fake farmers were.

One issue on which I have made my position unmistakably clear is high prices. I believe that the Government ought to take definite, positive action to curb high prices. I called the Republican 80th Congress back into special session twice. I explained how serious high prices were, how much suffer-

ing that was causing the ordinary families of this country, and I told the Congress exactly what kind of laws we needed to stop rising prices.

The Republicans did absolutely nothing about it. The Republican leaders are too interested in helping big business make bigger profits. They know, just as well as I do, that unchecked inflation can lead to a depression. They know that, but they are shortsighted and selfish, and they are willing to chance so long as corporations can continue to make profits up to 20 billions a year.

You know, this country has got the greatest national income in the history of the world. Last year that income was $217 billion. It was so distributed that the farmer got his fair share, the workingman got his fair share, and business got its fair share. Now, this year, corporation income has gone up from 17 billion to 20 billion, and that is due, my friends, to special privilege, and to that rich man's tax bill, which was passed over my veto. They had to pass it three times. I vetoed it three times. They finally got enough votes to pass it over my veto, but that tax bill is one of the most outrageous things that has ever happened in this country.

You know, the fellow with a big income gets a big saving, but the fellow with the little income gets nothing out of it. A fellow getting $60 a week saves about $1.50, which I think is the exact figure, but prices have gone up so that that is wiped out; but the fellow getting a $100,000 a year gets more than $16,000 of his income back. That is more than four times the net income of the President of the United States.

The next time you go to the grocery store, remember that you are paying Republican high prices.

If you want Democratic low prices, you have got to go to the polls next Tuesday and vote the Democratic ticket straight—and you can't make a mistake when you do that. You are voting for yourselves when you vote the Democratic ticket.

If you vote the Republican ticket, you will vote for special interest and special privilege.

I don't need to tell you people here in Terre Haute how to vote, because you always vote right, but I want the people of Indiana to vote the straight Democratic ticket. Vote in your own interests.

[3.] Mattoon, Illinois (4:53 p.m.)

Senator Lucas, ladies and gentlemen of Mattoon:

I wish I were half as good as the distinguished Senator from Illinois says I am. He and I served in the Senate for a long time together—8 years. You have an able public servant in Scott Lucas, and I hope you will send a Junior Senator from Illinois to Congress with him by the name of Paul Douglas—and a Democratic Governor, Adlai Stevenson, to Springfield.

Now, I have been in this great State on a lot of occasions. I was here about a month ago, and drove through southern Illinois, and stopped at a number of cities in southern Illinois—and the welcome was just like this one down here today.

You know, it warms your heart when people will come out in a drizzle like this to listen to me discuss the issues of the campaign. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate that.

I wish I had time to discuss all the issues with you, but I made key speeches in Carbondale, in Springfield, and in the great city of Chicago, not long ago—last week, in fact—the 25th of October. But, I am going to say just a word or two about some of the things that the Republicans intend to do to you, if they get control of this Government.

You know, the Democratic Party took over the Government in 1933, and they began a positive system of approaches that would help every section of the population to get what is coming to them in this great Nation of ours.

We inaugurated a farm policy, we inaugurated a labor policy; and we inaugurated a policy for small business. We are against monopolies. We believe that every man ought to have the opportunity to go into business if he wants to, and to work it out to his own satisfaction.

The farmers were about as low as they could possibly get in 1932. Their income at that time—their net income was about $2½ billion that year. Their gross income was a little over $4 billion.

Last year, the farmers net income was $18 billion—their total income $30 billion.

Labor is getting three times as much for their work by the hour now, as they got in 1932—and then, everybody was hunting the streets looking for work. There were 12 million people hunting for jobs then. Now jobs are hunting for people. There are 61 million people at work in this country today.

As soon as the Republicans got control, they began to tear up the farm program and the labor program. They seem to think that labor is a commodity and that the farmer can get along as best he can, no matter what the Government does. That is not true, as has been conclusively proven by the incomes of labor and the farmers now as compared with 1932.

One of the first things they did was to pass a law to tear up labor's bill of rights. They passed the Taft-Hartley law, with the idea in mind of taking the collective bargaining power away from labor which had been given to them under the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

Then they rechartered the Commodity Credit Corporation, and they rechartered that Corporation in such a way that the Corporation cannot lend storage for the grain on which to make loans.

When I was in southern Illinois the other day—a month ago—corn was selling at 47 cents below the support price, because the Commodity Credit Corporation could not get storage on which to make the loans. That is the way the Republicans treat you when they get control of the government. What would they have done if they had had complete control?

I sat there with the veto power, and kept them from passing law after law that would not have been in the public interest. In fact, I used that veto power more than any other President except Grover Cleveland—I vetoed, I think, 92 bills—most of them were policy bills in which your interest was at stake.

Now, I don't think you are going to take any chances in this election next Tuesday. I think you are going to get out and vote for yourselves.

If you do that, you will have a Democratic administration here in Illinois, you will have a Democratic administration at the White House in Washington, and you will have a Democratic Congress to take the place of this "do-nothing" Congress, good-for-nothing 80th Congress.

[4.] ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI (On arriving, 8:25 p.m.)

Thank you—thank you very much. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this welcome to my home State. It is grand.

I have been from one end of the country to the other—north and south, east and west—and none of them has been any better than this. And that is the way it ought to be in Missouri.

I was born and raised in the "show me" State, and I learned how "show me" works, and I have been showing them—the Republicans are on the run.

On Tuesday there is only one thing I want you to do, and that is to go out and vote for yourselves. If you will vote for yourselves, you will vote the straight Democratic ticket, and everything will be safe for the world, and for Missouri, and for the United States.

Now, don't forget that. Just do a little thinking.

I am going to discuss the whole campaign tonight, and I hope you will listen to me. Then, if I am convincing just go and vote for your own best interests.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this most cordial welcome to my own home State.

Thank you.

NOTE: In the course of his remarks on October 30 the President referred to Democratic candidate for Governor Henry F. Schricker and Democratic candidate for Representative John J. O'Grady, both of Indiana; and Senator Scott W. Lucas, Democratic candidate for Senator Paul H. Douglas, and Democratic candidate for Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, all of Illinois.

268 Address at the Kiel Auditorium, St. Louis, Missouri. *October* 30, 1948

THANK YOU my friends. I appreciate most highly this reception in St. Louis, but bear in mind that I have got to talk to the whole United States tonight, and you can cheer in between times, too.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this reception on my return to my home State. It touches my heart—right where I live. I thank the Governor most sincerely for this cordial introduction—which nobody heard but the radio audience. But I know that when Missouri feels this way, we are on the road to victory.

On November 2d we are going to have a Democratic Governor in Missouri, and a Democratic delegation in the Congress of the United States.

I have been in many a campaign, my friends, I have made four strenuous and hard-fought campaigns in the great State of Missouri for United States Senator. But never in my lifetime have I been in a campaign, nor seen a campaign, such as I have been through recently. I became President of the United States 3 years, 6 months, and 18 days ago, and we have been through the most momentous period in the history of the world in that time.

Twenty-six days after I became President, Germany surrendered unconditionally. Four months and 21 days after I was sworn in as President of the United States, Japan folded up and surrendered unconditionally, thus ending the greatest war in the history of the world. I succeeded to the Presidency after one of the greatest Democrats that ever lived in this world had been there for nearly 12 years. I was nominated in Chicago with Franklin Roosevelt in 1944 on the Democratic platform, and I have tried to carry out that platform since I have been President of the United States.

One of my first and greatest decisions after becoming President of the United States was made just 2 minutes after I was sworn in, and that was the order that the conference to form the United Nations should go forward in San Francisco on the 25th day of April. That conference went forward to a successful conclusion, and the United Nations is working for the peace and welfare of this world, right now.

Four days after Japan surrendered on September the 2d, my first policy message went to Congress. That message contained 21 points, based on the Democratic platform of 1944, which I had helped to write. When that message went to Congress, the smear campaign on your President started in all its vile and untruthfully slanted headlines, columns, and editorials. Hearst's character assassins, McCormick-Patterson saboteurs all began firing at me, as did the conservative columnists and radio commentators. Not because they believed anything they said or wrote, but because they were paid to do it.

In January 1946 I repeated what I thought the Government should do, and I have repeated it time and again since that time—and I haven't changed a bit. I am still the Democrat you nominated in Chicago on the Democratic platform of 1944, and I am still for Roosevelt's New Deal.

Now those saboteurs and character assassins did a lot better job than they intended to do in 1946. They elected that Republican "do-nothing" 80th Congress. And then the issues were clearly drawn. We know where the Republicans stand, and we know where the Democrats stand, and I brought those issues to the country, my friends.

I have traveled up and down this Nation 22,000 miles since the campaign started, and 9,100 miles on a nonpolitical campaign before the campaign started.

I have told the people that there is just one big issue in this campaign and that's the people against the special interests.

The Republicans stand for special interests, and they always have.

The Democratic Party, which I now head, stands for the people—and always has stood for the people.

In 1932 the farmers in this great Nation were being foreclosed and were going broke at a terrific rate. I think, in 1932, 123,000 farmers were evicted from their farms. The net farm income that year was $2½ billion. The total income was $4½ billion.

In 1947 the gross income of the farmers was $30 billion, and the net income was $18 billion. In 1947 there were less than 800 farm foreclosures. The Democratic Party is responsible for that result, and nothing else!

And I'll say to you that any farmer in these United States who votes against his own interests, that is, who votes the Republican ticket, ought to have his head examined!

One of the first things that this Republican, "do-nothing" 80th Congress did was to hamstring the Commodity Credit Corporation, so they couldn't make price support loans to the farmers.

When I was over here in Illinois about a month ago, corn was selling down there in southern Illinois at 47 cents below what the support price ought to be, because the Commodity Credit Corporation could not furnish the bins in which to store that corn. That's a provision that the Republicans put in the Commodity Credit Corporation charter, when they renewed it. That's how they love the farmers! They want to bust them just like they did in 1932.

When the Democrats took over in 1933, labor was at its lowest ebb. Labor unions had a very small membership at that time—about 3 million. And there were 12 million people walking up and down the streets in this country, hunting for jobs that they couldn't get.

And one of the first things that the Democratic administration did was to inaugurate a charter for labor, a bill of rights for labor, known as the Wagner Labor Relations Act. And under that Wagner Labor Relations Act, the wages of labor are three times what they were in 1932 and 1933.

There are 61 million people at work in this country. And jobs are hunting for

people, not people hunting for jobs. And that's the result of Democratic policy.

And one of the first bills introduced in this "do-nothing" Republican 80th Congress was to cripple the Wagner Labor Relations Act. That Taft-Hartley law was passed over my veto. That bill was passed over my veto, and it was passed with the idea, so the Republican leaders in the Congress said, of putting labor in its place. They wanted to take the bargaining power away from labor, so it could not deal with industry on a fair basis.

Do you know how that came about? That came about, because two-thirds of the people in 1946 decided that they did not have an interest in their Government, and two-thirds of them didn't vote. Most laboringmen stayed away from the polls in 1946—and see what they got! They got the Taft-Hartley Act.

Now, I am advising you, as I have advised every audience to whom I have spoken in these United States, that your duty—you owe a duty to the Government, because the Government is yours, when you exercise that power to vote. And if you don't vote on November the 2d, and you send back an 81st Congress under the same leadership that the 80th Congress had, you will be in some fix sure enough—because the Republicans have already said what they are going to do to labor, if they get control of the Government.

Now, one of the laws which was passed in that period of Democratic administrations was the minimum wage law. That minimum wage law was intended to put a floor under wages, and it put a floor of 40 cents an hour under wages. That was the Fair Labor Standards Act, and it limited the hours which could be worked to 40 hours a week, and it eliminated child labor.

I have been trying to get this 80th Congress, ever since January 3d, 1947, when it met the first time, to raise that standard—that floor under wages—to 75 cents an hour. They refused to do that. And I thought maybe a remedy would be if I could manage it—and I can, of course—that I would like to see those Republican congressional leaders try to live in Washington on $16 a week and support a family.

The Democrats have believed always that the welfare of the whole people should come first, and that means that the farmers, labor, small businessmen, and everybody else in the country should have a fair share of the prosperity that goes around.

We have placed the farmers in the best position they have ever been in the history of the world.

We have placed labor in its best position it has ever been in the history of the world. And we have been against monopoly from the start.

Now, when farmers are prosperous, and when labor gets good wages, business is bound to be good. And that is the reason the national income is higher in this country than it has ever been before in the history of the world.

You know, these Republican old dealers—these fellows, these special privilege fellows—try to tell the farmers that labor is getting too much pay and that is the reason for the high cost of living; and they tell the laborers that the farmers are getting too much for their crops, and that is the reason for the high cost of living.

Well, I will tell you what the reason is: it's the fellow in between who is getting too much profit, that's what the difficulty is.

The income of the great corporations in 1932 was $3 billion minus, on the red side of the ledger. In 1947 it was $17 billion plus, on the right side of the ledger.

And the Democrats brought that about too—don't let anybody tell you anything different about that.

Now, I asked in this 21 point program,

which I referred to in the beginning, for a housing bill. Three years ago, I asked for that housing bill. That was the bill known as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. That bill was a housing bill, which was in the interests of all the people. It was mainly fixed to help low income people to clear slums and to help the cities get low-rent housing. Well, that bill was killed in the House of Representatives. And then, in 1947, it was reintroduced and it was known as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill—you see, they reversed it a little bit.

I sent message after message to the Congress to get that bill passed. Well, they didn't pass it. They passed a fake housing bill, a housing bill which was intended to build no housing. And they are trying to make you believe they passed a housing bill.

Of all the fake campaigns, this one is the tops, so far as the Republican candidate for President is concerned. He has been following me up and down this country making speeches about home and mother and unity and efficiency, and things of that kind. He won't talk about the issues, but he did let his foot slip, when he endorsed the 80th Congress. He endorsed that Congress! He said that Congress had done great things for the future of this country.

It has done great things for the special interests in this country. It has worked for the lobbies, the worst lobby outfits in the history of the United States have been in Washington, surrounding that 80th Congress. And they haven't done a thing that these good-for-nothing lobbies haven't asked them to do.

The reason they couldn't get that housing bill was because the real estate lobby was sitting by the rathole and wouldn't let it come out of the committee.

I asked that Congress to do something about high prices. In fact, I called them back into special session twice, and begged them with everything I had to do something about the inflationary price spiral that is going on. Oh, no, they couldn't do that. But they could pass a rich man's tax bill, a tax bill that benefited the fellow at the top income bracket, but didn't do the poor boys any good.

I want to show you why they passed that bill. I will read you one of their campaign documents, which is a record of what the Republicans believe in. Now, that rich man's tax bill, which I vetoed three times—and they had to pass it three times before they could make a law out of it—gave a fellow who was getting $60 a week a saving of about a $1.58 a week. And the price spiral has taken that all away from him, and it has gone on out through the roof, and taken some of his savings away from him, too.

But that same tax bill gave the fellow who was getting a $100,000 a year $16,658.44 in savings. That is four times the net salary of the President of the United States!

Well, you know why they did that? Here is what this thing said: "There's Money in Your Pocket!"—now this is a document put out in a number of States to the Republican State Committees—"The Republican 80th Congress Reduced Your Income Tax. The following table shows your approximate savings under the new tax saving law effective May 1, 1948." That is after I vetoed it three times.

Now listen to this—this is outrageous—this is one of the most terrible political documents ever I saw. Now listen to it: "Do you want more of this sort of constructive—*constructive*—Government action? Then—use your tax savings to make a substantial investment in a Republican victory." In other words, you fellows that are getting all these savings on this tax income thing that we gave you, send it to us so that we can spend it to beat the Democrats! That is literally what that means.

Now, there is another issue between me and this Congress on which we didn't agree, and that was education. There was an education bill to help the States, introduced into this Congress; and it passed the Senate. And it provided $300 million to be allocated to the States on the same basis that we allocate the road money to help build roads. But the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives wouldn't let the House vote on that bill.

They are not interested in whether teachers have good pay or not. They are not interested in whether the kids get a proper education or not. They don't care if there are 75 or 80 kids in one room and one teacher to look after them at a salary that is not a living wage. They are not interested in that.

I want to say to you that I think it is just as important to see that these children get the proper sort of place to go to school, and the proper sort of teachers to teach them, as it is to build roads for them to ride in buses over the roads to school.

Then I asked this Congress to do something about the health of the people of this country. I asked them for health insurance. I asked them for hospitals. You know, in this country there are two classes of people that get all the medical care that they ought to have; and that is the fellow who has got a million dollars at this end of the scale, and the fellow that hasn't got a cent at this end. But the people in the middle, the large number of people in the middle between those two classes, can't afford to go to a hospital, they can't afford to pay what it costs, sometimes; and they can't afford sometimes even to pay the doctor's bill, after they get service.

I wanted an insurance program that would work, so that a fellow would have a little money saved up, when it came time to pay medical and hospital bills, and the doctor and the hospital would get paid promptly. But the Republicans are against that. They say that's socialized medicine. Well, it isn't. That's just good commonsense, and some of these days we are going to get it, because the Democrats are going back in power, and we are going to see that we get it.

Now, my friends, I have been all over these United States from one end to another, and when I started out the song was—well, you can't win—the Democrats can't win. Ninety percent of the press is against us, but that didn't discourage me one little bit. You know, I had four campaigns here in the great State of Missouri, and I never had a metropolitan paper for me that whole time. And I licked them every time!

I have been in San Diego, I have been in Boston, I have been in Seattle, I have been in Miami, I have been in New York, Chicago, and all the county seats nearly, and State capitals, and I have never had such a reception as you have given me here tonight. And I think that means something. People are waking up to the fact that this is their Government, and that they can control their Government if they get out and vote on election day. That is all they need to do.

When I was in New York yesterday, and the day before, I had the greatest turnout that has ever happened in that city in its history, so everybody told me—about 4½ million people came out to see what I looked like, and to listen to what I had to say. There were a million people on the streets in Chicago, and Ed Kelly told my secretary that there wouldn't be that many people in Boston, because Boston didn't have that many people in it—but there were.

People are waking up that the tide is beginning to roll, and I am here to tell you that if you do your duty as citizens of the greatest Republic the sun has ever shone on, we will have a Government that will be for

your interests, that will be for peace in the world, and for the welfare of all the people, and not just a few.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 p.m. at the Kiel Auditorium in St. Louis. During his address he referred to Phil M. Donnelly, Governor of Missouri, and Edward J. Kelly, former Mayor of Chicago.

269 Radio Remarks in Independence on Election Eve. *November* 1, 1948

My fellow citizens:

I want to thank Senator Barkley for his generous introduction, and to say what I have said before—that no candidate for President ever had a finer running mate. The people of this country are everlastingly in his debt for his leadership in their interest. Senator Barkley will go down in history as one of our greatest public servants.

During the past 2 months the Senator and I have been going up and down the country, telling the people what the Democratic Party stands for in government. I have talked in great cities, in State capitals, in county seats, in crossroad villages and country towns.

Everywhere the people showed great interest. They came out by the millions. They wanted to know what the issues were in this campaign, and I told them what was in my mind and in my heart.

I explained the meaning of the Democratic Party platform. I told them that I intend to carry it out if they will give me a Democratic Congress to help.

From the bottom of my heart I thank the people of the United States for their cordiality to me and for their interest in the affairs of this great Nation and of the world. I trust the people, because when they know the facts, they do the right thing. I have tried to tell them the facts and explain the issues.

Now it is up to you, the people of this great Nation, to decide what kind of government you want—whether you want government for all the people or government for just the privileged few.

Tonight I am at my home here in Independence—Independence, Mo.—with Mrs. Truman and Margaret. We are here to vote tomorrow as citizens of this Republic. I hope that all of you who are entitled to vote will exercise that great privilege. When you vote, you are in control of your Government.

Tomorrow you will be deciding between the principles of the Democratic Party—the party of the people—and the principles of the Republican Party—the party of privilege.

Your vote tomorrow is not just a vote for one man or another; it is a vote which will affect you and your families for years to come.

Now maybe you would like to know why I have made this fight for the people. I will try to tell you. It is a matter of the things I believe in.

I believe in a free America—strong and undivided.

I believe in the principles of the Declaration of Independence—that we the people shall govern ourselves through our elected representatives—that every man and woman has a right to an equal voice in the management of our Nation's affairs.

I believe that the Constitution, which rightly protects property, is still more deeply pledged to protect human rights.

I believe that the Democratic Party is the party of the people. I believe that through the Democratic Party, all classes of our citi-

zens will receive fairer treatment and more security.

I believe, in particular, in the industrial workers, the farmers, and the small businessmen of this country. I believe they can best protect themselves against reaction and against inflation through the Democratic Party.

I believe that a Democratic administration, pledged to continue the present policies of our country, is our best insurance against going back to the dark days of 1932.

I believe with all my heart and soul that Almighty God has intended the United States of America to lead the world to peace. We were in that position 30 years ago. We failed to meet our obligation then, and World War II was the result.

This time we must live up to our opportunity to establish a permanent peace for the greatest age in human history.

We have two great goals—one to build a secure life for ourselves here at home, and the other to build a lasting peace for the world.

As you mark your ballots tomorrow, I want every housewife to ask herself: Will this protect my home and my children for the future?

I want every husband to ask himself: Is this best for my wife and family?

I want all voters to ask themselves: Is this the best way to insure a free and prosperous country?

And now, my fellow citizens, the future welfare of our country is in your hands. I have told you the truth as God has given me wisdom to see the truth.

Go to the polls tomorrow and vote your convictions, your hopes, and your faith—your faith in the future of a nation that under God can lead the world to freedom and to peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:37 p.m. from his home in Independence. He was introduced by Senator Alben W. Barkley, Vice Presidential candidate, who said, "No man called suddenly to the Presidency of this Nation ever faced a greater task. Whether this task involved our internal economy or the delicate and dangerous course of international relations, it called for the exercise of patience, tolerance, firmness, foresight, and courage. . . . This quiet, modest, patient, courageous, God-fearing, determined man in war and the aftermath of war, at home and abroad, has brought strength to our economy, expansion and permanence to our influence, and hope to hopeless men and women throughout the world. . . ."

The President's remarks were carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

270 Remarks at the Victory Celebration in Independence. *November 3, 1948*

Mr. Mayor, and my fellow townsmen and citizens of this great county named after Andrew Jackson:

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this turnout to celebrate a victory—not my victory, but a victory of the Democratic Party for the people.

I want to inform you, Mr. Mayor, that protocol goes out the window when I am in Independence. I am a citizen of this town, and a taxpayer, and I want to be treated just like the rest of the taxpayers in this community are treated, whether you extend the city limits or not.

And I thank you very much indeed for this celebration, which is not for me. It is for the whole country. It is for the whole world, for the simple reason that you have given me a tremendous responsibility.

Now, since you have given me that responsibility, I want every single one of you to help carry out that responsibility, for the

welfare of this great Republic, and for the welfare and peace of the world at large. And I am sure that is what you are going to do.

I can't begin to thank the people who are responsible for the Democratic Party winning this great election. Of course, I am indebted to everybody for that win, and I will have to just say to every single one of you individually that I am going to do the very best I can to carry out the Democratic platform, as I promised to do in my speeches over this country.

And we have a Congress now, and I am sure we will make some progress in the next 4 years.

Thank you all very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8 p.m. in Independence. His opening words "Mr. Mayor" referred to Mayor Roger T. Sermon of Independence.

271 Remarks in Missouri, Indiana, and Ohio While En Route to Washington. *November* 4, 1948

[1.] ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI (1:35 p.m.)

Thank you. This certainly is worthwhile, and I appreciate it more than I can tell you. It has been a tremendous fight. And it was a fight for the welfare of the country and the people, I think.

The reason I am so happy is because my home State stood by me so well. You must continue to stand by me, because I have got the biggest job in the world, now. With your help, it can be done, just as we have been trying to do it for the last 3½ years.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate your interest, and how very much I appreciate this reception in Missouri's metropolis. It is mighty fine of you.

I hope that everything will continue to go well with you. Continue what you have been doing in the past for the welfare of this great country.

[2.] VINCENNES, INDIANA (5:10 p.m.)

Thank you—thank you very much. I have just received here a banknote on the First National Bank of Independence for $10; and the gentleman who gave it to me told me that if I ever went broke, he would redeem it.

I can't thank you enough—I can't thank you enough for this turnout. You have been exceedingly kind to me. They tell me that Vincennes went exactly right!

Just be patient when the train pulls down here by the platform, so that everybody can see me if they want to.

It is a great victory, my friends, for the people. We must not do anything that will reflect on the judgment of the people—so when we get back to Washington and are sworn in on the 20th of January, we will just continue to work for the people and in the interests of the country.

I do not feel elated at the victory—I feel overwhelmed with the responsibility. Just bear that in mind.

Now, good luck to all of you, and I hope—I sincerely hope—that you will not be disappointed in the result.

Thank you very much.

[3.] CINCINNATI, OHIO (10 p.m.)

Thank you—thank you very much.

It is a pleasure to have you here. I appreciate very much the reception which you have been kind enough to offer to me, and I sincerely hope that I will deserve the confidence which you have reposed in me.

It is a great responsibility which you have given me.

We have 4 years of hard work to do.

Now, if you will stay with me and help me out in the next 4 years as you have election day, why everything will be all right.

272 Remarks Upon Arrival at the White House. *November* 5, 1948

THANK YOU very much. I can't tell you how very much I appreciate this warm and cordial welcome of the Capital City of the greatest Nation on earth. It is overwhelming. It makes a man study and wonder whether he is worthy of the confidence, worthy of the responsibility which has been thrust upon him.

I will say this to you, that I expect to work just as hard as I have done for you up to date, and to do it to the best of my ability.

I am happy to say that I will have the cooperation and help, because we have got one of the greatest Vice Presidents the country has ever had, and a great leader in the Senate and in the House. One of the great legislators of all time is the Vice President. That is one of the luckiest things a man can have when he has this tremendous job.

I shall look forward to the help and cooperation of all the people, because we are faced with great issues now, which I think we can bring to a successful conclusion. At least, we will do everything in our power to bring them to a successful conclusion.

I want to say now that I thank the turnout of the great many people here in this great Capital City. I have been in Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro, and Ottawa, Canada, nearly all the capitals of the United States, and all the great cities on this last campaign, and no turnout has been better than this one, or more enthusiastic.

I can't tell you how much I appreciate it. I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

I would like, now, to call on Mr. President of the Senate to say a few words.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon from the North Portico of the White House.

Senator Alben W. Barkley, the Vice President-elect, responded as follows:

"Mr. President, in the language of Minnie Pearl of the 'Grand Old Opry,' I am so glad to be here. It has been a great pleasure for me to be associated with the President in this campaign, and to share with him the cordial welcome from the City of Washington and surrounding country.

"There is one thing that this election has demonstrated aside from any partisan or personal victory, and that is that the American people do their own thinking and their own voting on the day of the election.

"I shall be happy to work with the President to the extent of my ability, and to make his administration the greatest possible success, to advance the welfare of the American people—of all the American people, and to advance the cause of peace, not only at home but throughout the world.

"Now that the election is over, and the result has been decisively determined, I hope that all of our people may be united and move forward to the accomplishment of these ends.

"I thank you very much, Mr. President, and all this great crowd of people."

273 Telegrams on the Occasion of the Retirement of Prime Minister Mackenzie King. *November* 15, 1948

ON THIS day when you are bringing to a close your long and honored career as Prime Minister of Canada, I wish to extend the congratulations of the American people on your manifold achievements in office and particularly on your unrivaled contributions to the cementing of the firm friendship of our two countries which is without parallel in these times of stress. I feel certain that even though you no longer hold the reins of government, the wisdom of your long experience will always be available at need to the people of Canada and of the world. Kindest personal regards.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[The Right Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Ottawa]

It is a great pleasure to congratulate you as well as the people of Canada on your acceptance of the leadership of one of the world's great nations. I feel certain that your career and achievements will benefit Canada as well as the world. I wish you all success in the great responsibility which you have accepted.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[The Right Honorable Louis St. Laurent, K.C., Prime Minister of Canada, Ottawa]

274 The President's News Conference at Key West, Florida. *November* 16, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] I have a letter here to Mr. Herbert Hoover—President Hoover—which is for release today, and a statement. If you like, I will read them to you. I haven't copies enough to go around, but Charlie Ross will distribute what I do have.

[*Reading*] "Dear Mr. Hoover: Today I took occasion to reaffirm the importance which I attach to the work of the Commission to which you and your able colleagues are giving so generously of your time and experience. The field in which the Commission is working is one which calls most pressingly for action.

"There seems to be general agreement that the present organization of the executive branch, in many instances, imposes handicaps on effective and economical administration, and must be brought up to date. The task, as you and I have seen from our own experience, is to crystallize this general belief into concrete and wise proposals for action.

"The country is fortunate that a Commission, composed of men whose capacity in this field has been forged by experience, has devoted so much time and thought to the tremendous problems involved. I am most hopeful that its recommendations will go far to make sound and effective organization possible.

"If at any time the Commission's work can be facilitated by action on my part, you have but to let me know. Very sincerely yours."

Then the statement is like this:

[*Reading*] "Among the important matters which will require early action by the 81st Congress is that of improving the organization of the executive branch of the Government. For over a year the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government has been at work studying the existing organization, the deficiencies, and proposals for its improvement. I attach the greatest importance to

the early solution of the problems which lead to the establishment of this Commission.

"The executive branch under my instruction has in the past cooperated in every way to facilitate the work of the Commission and it will continue to do so. I am most hopeful that the Commission's report[1] will be a milestone in the development of a sound and economical structure and efficient procedures for the executive branch of the Federal Government.

"To this end, I have written to former President Hoover, Chairman of the Commission, offering assistance in this important work."

Charlie will distribute these, as far as they will go.

Q. Mr. President, is the bipartisan Commission made up of some members of the executive branch and some Members of Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. That's right. The Commission has been in existence, I imagine, more than a year, if I remember correctly.

Q. Mr. President, have you seen the recommendations that Mr. Hoover made? He held a press conference last week, and he outlined some of them.[2]

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't. I'm sorry to say I haven't seen those recommendations. They are writing a report for me now.

Q. [*Inaudible*]

THE PRESIDENT. I'm sorry to say I haven't read the report yet, personally.

Q. Mr. President, is that report going to you, or to Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. It goes to me for submission to the Congress.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, it was said on your behalf the other day that you had no plans to meet with Premier Stalin. I know you told us over and over again what your position is on that. Has it changed yet?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no plans. I would be happy to see Stalin in Washington, if he wants to come and see me.

Q. But, just to put it on the record for today, Mr. President, you do not have any plans?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't.

Q. Have you any plans to send an emissary to Moscow?

THE PRESIDENT. I have none.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with that whole subject, there were stories over the weekend that Messrs. Lie and Evatt had gone over the heads of the General Assembly meeting in Paris, and addressed a communiqué to yourself and the heads of the other three major governments, suggesting that direct action be taken to settle the Berlin question outside of the purview of the United Nations.

THE PRESIDENT. I received a message like that, but I have no comment on it, at the present time. General Marshall and—[*inaudible*]—prepared an answer which I have approved, and which will be released at a later date.[1]

Q. Has our position changed, in that we will not enter into negotiations with Russia until they lift the blockade?

THE PRESIDENT. Our position is as it has always been, and that is the position.

Q. Could that be restated? I asked if our position is that we would not enter into a four-power [*inaudible*] lifted?

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[1] A series of reports by the Commission was published in 1949. (Government Printing Office, 1949.)

[2] In a news conference on November 11, Mr. Hoover disclosed that the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government would recommend an increase in Federal pay as a first step in obtaining more efficient, less costly Government.

[1] On November 13, 1948, Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, and Herbert V.

THE PRESIDENT. That's correct, the position still remains the same.

I am expecting to see General Marshall and Mr. Harriman on the 22d of November, when I get back to Washington. They will both be there for discussion of all these questions.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, have you thought of any way of describing your administration to replace the old description of the New Deal?

THE PRESIDENT. The position hasn't changed, it's just the continuation of my program and the people endorsed it. I made my program perfectly clear on the 6th day of September 1945, and helped to write the platform of 1948. That platform of the Democratic Party to the best of my ability will be carried out, and you will find that the position has not changed since I have been President.

Q. [*Inaudible*] what part of the platform—[*inaudible*]—of the Taft-Hartley Act?

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct.

Q. [*Inaudible*] flat restoration of the Wagner Act?

THE PRESIDENT. That's a matter that will have to be worked out legislatively, and there is—[*inaudible*]—standing by the Democratic platform, which calls for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. It may require the rewriting of the Wagner Act in order to do—[*inaudible*]—because they are so tangled up now I can't tell one from the other.

Q. [*Inaudible*] your own recommendations a couple of years ago?

THE PRESIDENT. Those recommendations still stand.

Q. Mr. President, is it possible that the Taft-Hartley Act could in fact be repealed by being amended?

THE PRESIDENT. That's entirely possible.

Q. So that it would be done in that way?

THE PRESIDENT. Certainly.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, in Berlin the other day Secretary of Defense Forrestal said that he could not serve through the remainder of the administration, and it would be up to you to determine when his resignation would take effect.

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, going back to this Lie-Evatt proposal, do you think that that adds more fuel to the flame of the Russian propaganda?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment to make on that till later. After I have talked to General Marshall I will comment on that.

Q. Mr. President, may we inquire if Secretary Marshall said that he would discuss the possibilities of his retirement with you when he gets back. If he should say that he would like to retire, would you urge him to remain, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I'll comment on that after I have talked to General Marshall. General Marshall and I are in perfect agreement on every question, don't worry about that, and I always have been.

Q. Has he communicated to you any idea that he might wish to retire?

THE PRESIDENT. General Marshall never

Evatt, President of the United Nations General Assembly, sent a communiqué to the heads of government of Great Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union, appealing for four-power conversations to end the Berlin dispute. On November 17 Secretary of State Marshall answered the letter which had been sent to President Truman. He stated that the United States was willing to engage in conversations as soon as the Soviet Union lifted the Berlin blockade so that the negotiations could take place under conditions free from duress. He added that the United States was ready to take part in all efforts of the Security Council to solve the Berlin problem.

The text of the joint communiqué and Secretary Marshall's reply is printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 19, p. 655).

wanted to do anything but retire since his retirement from the Army. He is serving as a patriotic duty, and General Marshall is one of the greatest patriots in this country.

[7.] Q. One question regarding Palestine, Mr. President. There were stories out of that area last week that Mr. Weizmann[1] had addressed an appeal to you to intervene directly as mediator in the controversies between Israel and the Arabs.

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment on that.

Q. Could you say whether such a communication was addressed to you?

THE PRESIDENT. I imagine it was. I have had all sorts of communiques from Israel and from the Arabs, but I have no comment on either subject.

Q. Mr. President, there was a report that you would send new instructions to the delegation at the U.N. on Palestine, connecting with the Bernadotte report.[2] Could you tell us whether you have sent new instructions?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment on that.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, I don't recall what the Democratic platform says about taxation. You were very critical of this tax reduction bill.

THE PRESIDENT. That's right.

Q. I wonder what you plan to ask?

THE PRESIDENT. I'll tell you all about that in the Budget Message, and in the Economic Report which will come out about the first week in January. We are working on that now.

Q. Excess profits?

THE PRESIDENT. Now you have made a lot of assumptions in this last campaign, you'd better not make any more until you're sure of your ground!

[9.] Q. Mr. President, are you planning any new action on China?

THE PRESIDENT. We are in communication with the President of China now.

Q. Mr. President, in connection with China, there was a story out of Washington that the Navy might divert some warships to China and the upper Yangtze River to aid Americans and bolster the morale of the Chinese Nationalist Government, the decision being up to you?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment on that.

Q. Mr. President, are you planning any emergency aid to China in the way of ammunition?

THE PRESIDENT. We have been carrying out the demands of Congress which gave an appropriation of $125 million for aid to China. We spent about $112 million of that and we are now trying to make the balance of it go for the distance in China.

Q. [*Inaudible*].

THE PRESIDENT. No, no emergency measures—[*inaudible*]—new Congress and I can say right here that there will be no special session of the "do-nothing" 80th Congress.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, one of my editors is very much interested in these smog victims—[*inaudible*]—wanted some comment from you on the refusal of the CAA to permit the airlines to haul free those people down to Wilmington, N.C., which has been offering them refuge.

THE PRESIDENT. I know nothing about it. I haven't been approached on the subject at all.

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[1] Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Provisional President of Israel.

[2] Excerpts from the report, signed by Count Folke Bernadotte on September 16, 1948, are printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 19, p. 436).

[11.] Q. Mr. President, did anybody ask you about Secretary Forrestal?

THE PRESIDENT. I said I had no comment.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, are you going to send another civil rights message to Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, it will be in the Message on the State of the Union, and will follow the Democratic platform. It will take in the proposals agreed on in the Democratic platform.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, could you say whether the amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act will be taken up in the first order of business, before the civil rights matter?

THE PRESIDENT. That is a matter for the Congress to pass on. I can't tell you what the Congress—[*inaudible*]—I am going to suggest to the Congress that they do certain things, and then it's up to Congress and the committees to carry out those recommendations.

Q. [*Inaudible*].

THE PRESIDENT. All these matters will be in the Message on the State of the Union.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, there was a candidate who—[*inaudible*]—is apparently—[*inaudible*]—would not accept the Vice Presidential nomination unless he was sure he was going to have a pretty big job?

THE PRESIDENT. Senator Barkley and I are in complete agreement. I don't think there has ever been a Vice President and a President who understand each other as well as we do.

[15.] Q. Do you know what your weight is now?

THE PRESIDENT. There are no scales down here, but I think I weigh about 173 or 4, something like that.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, turning back to a more serious note, in the past 10 or 12 days down here, have any major decisions been reached or are you going to wait until you get back?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know what you would call major decisions. The major decisions will be made in the State of the Union Message, and will be in the Budget Message, and the Economic Message, and—[*inaudible*]—we are working on those.

Q. [*Inaudible*].

THE PRESIDENT. No action prior to January.

[17.] Q. Do you propose to ask Congress for additional funds to facilitate reactivation of Army bases?

THE PRESIDENT. I have given it no consideration.

Q. Do you intend to ask for funds for Florida flood control?

THE PRESIDENT. There will be funds asked for flood control. Florida will be treated like any other State.

[18.] Q. [*Inaudible*] the shipping strike? Will you plan any new action, or is—[*inaudible*]—new action you can take on it?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. [*Inaudible*] remedies have been pretty well exhausted?

THE PRESIDENT. They have been pretty well exhausted.

[19.] Q. Did you know that [*something about inaugural platform behind the Capitol*] has been named the Curly Brooks Memorial Stadium?

THE PRESIDENT. That's a good name for it.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and fifty-eighth news conference was held at the Little White House in Key West, Fla., at noon on Tuesday, November 16, 1948.

Due to poor acoustics some of the news conference was inaudible to the Navy stenotype operator who transcribed it.

275 Statement by the President in Response to Messages of Congratulation and Good Will. *November* 23, 1948

BECAUSE of the great number of messages of congratulation and good will which have been received since the election, I am forced to seek the cooperation of press and radio in extending my thanks to the men and women who have sent personal communications to the White House.

I have been made very happy by these messages. They have come in by the tens of thousands and are still coming. What has encouraged me most is the nonpartisan spirit in which men and women from every part of the country, representing every segment of our national life, have been moved by an impulse of the highest patriotism to pledge cooperation in furthering the welfare of our country.

The aggregate of the messages is so great that it would be impossible to send individual acknowledgments without slowing down the necessary day-by-day work of the White House. I therefore ask all the fine citizens from whom I have heard to accept this assurance of my appreciation. Their letters and telegrams have quickened my sense of responsibility as we enter together upon the hard tasks that lie ahead.

From the depths of my heart I thank one and all.

276 Address Before the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. *November* 24, 1948

Mr. Ambassador, members of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations:

I am delighted to be here this afternoon and to have this opportunity of meeting with the delegates of the 4th session of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. There could be no more appropriate time for the United States to be host to a United Nations meeting than during our cherished Thanksgiving holiday.

Those of you of the Food and Agriculture Organization know the importance to nearly all nations of the harvesttime celebration. We in the United States are only one of many peoples who celebrate the gathering of the harvest each year. Other peoples have been celebrating in their own way since ancient times—and the Greek and Roman citizen, and the inhabitants of the Indian nations, and all the ancient civilizations celebrated at harvest time. But there is one feature of our Thanksgiving celebration to which I should like to call your attention.

Our Thanksgiving traditions were begun by some of the earliest settlers of this country. They thought of the Thanksgiving holiday as much more than an occasion for a big dinner, and for thanks to God that the earth had produced an abundant harvest. There was another spirit behind the first Thanksgiving dinner. The colonists invited the Indians to join with them in their celebration. Around that first Thanksgiving table, differences were forgotten, and enemies became friends.

This year our harvest is greater than it

ever has been. We have much to be thankful for.

But thanks for a recordbreaking harvest is only the beginning of our Thanksgiving, just as it was only a part of Thanksgiving more than 300 years ago. The real spirit of our holiday is in the sharing of this harvest, and in a feeling of warm friendship and good will for others less fortunate.

That is the same spirit in which the Food and Agriculture Organization has brought many nations together.

I know that FAO has many problems ahead of it. Perhaps I should say that the world has many food problems ahead of it, and the peoples of the world are counting on the Food and Agriculture Organization for a major part of the work in solving those problems.

One of the first and most difficult problems is the rebuilding of nations which suffered so heavily during the war.

We are making a great deal of headway through the combined efforts of many nations in the European recovery program.

But rebuilding countries that were once self-supporting and prosperous is not nearly so difficult as building up the economies of countries where there is comparatively little to build upon. Underdeveloped countries offer a challenge to the ingenuity of those nations which have greater resources.

FAO has clearly recognized the importance of this problem and the responsibility of all countries in helping to solve it.

The United States is happy to join with other countries in FAO in giving freely of our technical experiences and knowledge in the job of agricultural improvement—making grass grow where it never grew before, irrigating dry land, developing crops for special purposes, and combating crop plagues and pests. I can promise you that this country will continue to send its experts wherever FAO believes they are needed.

We have found our Agricultural Extension Service essential to a high level of farm production in our own country. Through our Extension Service, we make sure that farmers learn about the latest advances in production techniques. This means furnishing practical information and help on the farm. I know that FAO is already interested in an extension service, but I wish to emphasize that the United States stands ready to help in developing such systems in other countries.

Here in the United States, we have also learned that financial credit is as much a tool of farm production as is the plow and a bushel of seed. Our system for making agricultural credit available to farmers is one of the keystones of our great farm program. It protects every farmer in the ownership of his land and in the planting of his crops. That is why we have such hopes for the role that another international agency can play in building up the agricultural resources of underdeveloped countries. I refer to the International Bank. The credit needs of underdeveloped countries are great, however, and there is room for all kinds of help. This is a job for private lenders and cooperatives, as well as for government institutions.

The achievement of our world goal of abundant food will mean an enlarged flow of commerce in all directions.

An abundant food supply will tear down many artificial trade barriers. Some of these barriers have been erected by those who hoped for protection against low commodity prices elsewhere, but this shortsighted move has led to a slow form of trade strangulation. We must look to food as a common

tool for lowering such barriers. We must look to it as a sort of international language for modifying some of the shortsighted policies which have been hampering the commerce of the world.

A few months ago, I urged the Congress of the United States to ratify the International Wheat Agreement which would have stabilized price and the volume of wheat in world trade for 5 years. Many of the nations represented here today participated in that Agreement, and many of your delegates are familiar with its provisions. I regret that this Agreement was not ratified, but I pledge that if another one can be negotiated, I will send it to the new Congress, which convenes in January, for approval. And I rather believe we will get it approved, this time.

Moreover, I look to the general pattern of the Wheat Agreement as one which might be followed for other commodities. Stability is one of the foundations of peace. National emotions too often rise and fall with the changes in commodity prices. We are counting on the Food and Agriculture Organization to remove some of the instability from farm production and farm prices all around the world, and thus to remove some of the causes of international friction.

One of the ways to restore stability to the world is to produce plenty of food and see that it is distributed fairly.

Hunger has no nationality.

Abundance should have no nationality, either.

I hope that every country, old or new, will become a member of the Food and Agriculture Organization. I should like to see that large agricultural country, Argentina, become a member. I wish that the Soviet Union would also join. I think that if we could discuss with the Russians our mutual interest in agriculture, it would not be so difficult to discuss our differences in some other fields. It is most heartening that several eastern European nations are members of FAO. I hope this will continue to be true.

I am very glad to learn that so many delegates to this session have accepted invitations of farm families near Washington to share their Thanksgiving dinners tomorrow. This is the kind of simple, human experience which makes for lasting international good will.

I hope that you will carry back to your homes our Thanksgiving spirit of thanks to God and good will to men, and I know that your American hosts will be richer for having had you as their guests. From these solid foundations of personal friendship and understanding, we can go on to build the kind of peaceful world that we all want.

And I can tell you that I personally am highly appreciative of the opportunity to come out here this afternoon and express to you the ideas and policies of the Government of the United States of America.

I hope you continue successfully, and I hope every country in the world will eventually become members of your organization.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:30 p.m. at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington.

277 Letter in Response to a Resolution on Lobbying Adopted by the International Association of Machinists. *November* 30, 1948

Dear Mr. Peterson:

Thank you for your telegram of November 20th, transmitting the text of the resolution adopted by your executive council urging a Congressional investigation of lobbying activities during the 80th Congress.

I think your organization has rendered a distinct public service in taking a stand on this matter.

While it is up to the Congress to determine the subjects which it will investigate, I feel sure that a thorough investigation of lobbying activities would have a very salutary effect, and I would be glad to see such an investigation undertaken.

Sincerely,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Mr. Eric Peterson, General Secretary-Treasurer, International Association of Machinists, Ninth Street and Mt. Vernon Place, N.W., Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: Mr. Peterson's telegram and the text of the resolution were released with the President's reply.

278 The President's News Conference of *December* 2, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am glad to see you. Some of you I haven't seen since the middle of September. [*Laughter*]

I have no announcements to make. If there are any questions, I will try to answer them.

[1.] Q. Mr. President, in the current issue of the Atlantic Monthly, Bradley Dewey, who is a civilian member on the Joint Chiefs of Staff Evaluation Board, has an article that says in effect this: that the Board drew up a report, that it was stripped of any security or secret measures by the Military Atomic Energy Commission, and then was sent here with the intention that it was to be made public; and he winds up the article by saying that the White House has kept it from the American people for a year, and it is necessary that the people have this——

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Dewey is just mistaken, that's all. That seems to run with the name. [*Laughter*]

Q. Is that report available at all?

THE PRESIDENT. That report is not available.

Q. What was the answer to that?

Mr. Ross [*to the President*]: That was completely taken care of by the statement of Secretary Forrestal some time ago.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, yes. The Secretary of Defense took care of that in a statement that was made some time ago.[1]

[2.] Q. Mr. President, your Budget Director, in a speech today, said in essence that there would have to be new taxes, or a deficit.

THE PRESIDENT. That will be answered in

[1] In an article in the December issue of the Atlantic Monthly magazine, Bradley Dewey, industrialist and former civilian member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Evaluation Board, demanded that the White House release the Board's report on the 1946 atomic weapons tests off Bikini Island in the Pacific. On November 27 the press reported that a spokesman for the National Military Establishment stated that Secretary of Defense Forrestal had recommended to the President that the final official report on the Bikini tests be withheld from the public for national security reasons.

the Message on the State of the Union, or the Budget Message, or a message on the economic situation. One of the three will answer that question. I can't answer it now. I haven't all the facts before me.

Q. Mr. President, out here in "left field" we are having difficulty hearing you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. All right, I will try to speak out. If this keeps up, I will put in a loudspeaker in here. [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, one more question, do you think that the defense plans can be held within $15 billion?

THE PRESIDENT. I will answer that question in the Budget Message.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, have you any word from Secretary Marshall as to whether he feels physically well enough to continue as Secretary of State?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have not.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, can you enlighten us any on the China situation,[1] or do you intend to make a statement of policy about it, or can you clear up——

THE PRESIDENT. I have on three different occasions made a statement on China policy. I have nothing further to say on it.

Q. Nothing further?

THE PRESIDENT. Nothing further to say.

Q. Mr. President, have you had time to set a date when you will receive Madame Chiang?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, the time has been set.

Q. Can we know it?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I will let you know when she comes in.

Q. But you will receive Madame Chiang?

THE PRESIDENT. Why sure. That's the first thing she asked for when she got into town.

[5.] Q. Do you think that the 10 Democratic Congressmen who campaigned as Dixiecrats should retain their seniority privileges in committee assignments in the House——

THE PRESIDENT. That's a matter for the House of Representatives to answer, not for me.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, would you care to clear up some things on what you said or didn't say, about whether the electoral votes that were won by Governor Thurmond should be voted for the Governor, or for the successful Democratic——

THE PRESIDENT. I said nothing about it. But I don't want the Dixiecrat vote. We won without New York and without the solid South, and I am proud of that.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, have you decided what kind of job former Governor Mon Wallgren is going to have?

THE PRESIDENT. I have not.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, is it too early to tell whom you will have for the next Ambassador to the Philippines?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, it is a little early. I will announce it when the time comes.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, Senator McGrath the other day said something about your not having a policy on handling detail legislation to Congress. There have been reports since then that the Labor Department has worked on the detail laws for possible recommendations when they ask for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law. Are you going to make detail recommendations?

THE PRESIDENT. I will attend to that when it comes up.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, did Dean Acheson visit you yesterday?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, and the day before,

[1] During the month of November 1948 the press reported that the Chinese Nationalist Government had suffered several defeats at the hands of the Communist forces who had launched an offensive at the heart of the Government's position in the Yangtze Valley. On November 30 Chiang Kai-shek assumed personal command of the defense of the capital city of Nanking, and on December 2 the Communists moved into Suchow which had been evacuated by the Government forces.

and the day before that.

Q. Three days in a row?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, and at my request. I was discussing a matter with him, the same as I have with President Hoover.

Q. Is there anything you can tell us about it, in addition to that?

THE PRESIDENT. No, just a discussion of the Commission [1] on which they are both working.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, what about Mr. Forrestal, will he stay with you?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Forrestal has been asked to stay.

Q. Mr. President, has Mr. Marshall been asked to stay?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Marshall has been asked to stay.

Q. Will both of them stay?

THE PRESIDENT. You will have to ask them.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, Puerto Rico has its first elected Governor in Dr. Muñoz Marín. Have you given any thought to attending his inaugural?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I have. I would like very much to go. I don't know whether I can or not because our Congress meets the next day.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, have Mr. Marshall or Mr. Forrestal answered your request?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, they have.

Q. Will they stay?

THE PRESIDENT. They are perfectly willing to stay.

Q. Mr. President, has Secretary Krug been asked to stay?

THE PRESIDENT. Secretary Krug has been asked to stay.

Q. In fact, has everybody, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. There will be no changes in the Cabinet at this time. I think that will answer all those questions.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, reports from Paris said that the United States and Britain have reached agreement on the full disposition of the Italian colonies, as expressed before the United Nations. Is that correct, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I hadn't heard about it, officially or otherwise.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, when you say there would be no changes *at this time,* does that mean——

THE PRESIDENT. Don't you remember back in 1945 you kept asking me these questions—you asked me these questions, and the situation adjusted itself. The situation will adjust itself as we go along. You will be informed whenever any changes take place, if, as, and when they do.

Q. Have all been asked to stay, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. They have.

Q. All agreed?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Q. For any stated time, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. No. No one in top-level Government is ever hired for a stated time. It is at the pleasure of the President.

Q. Should *if, as,* and *when* have equal emphasis?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. [*Laughter*] Yes—*if, as,* and *when.*

[16.] Q. Mr. President, there has been a suggestion that Jim Maloney was relieved of his duties as head of the Secret Service and kicked upstairs because he was planning to guard Dewey on election eve.

THE PRESIDENT. I know nothing about that. I am glad to hear that, but I didn't know it.

Q. Do you think that is true, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I know nothing about it.

Q. Why are you glad to hear it, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Because it's a nice rumor that gives some of you columnists a chance to write another story.

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[1] Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, what about the plan to let Government workers have 2 days holiday to enjoy the inauguration celebration? Are you in favor——

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't gone into that at all. We will attend to that when it comes here.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, Sam Rayburn said recently that business has nothing to fear from this administration. We have been asked could you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. Did business have anything to fear the last three years and a half?

[19.] Q. Mr. President, is there anything you can say on the Berlin situation?

THE PRESIDENT. Nothing.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, have you read any columns in which you found any truth at all——

THE PRESIDENT. Not lately! [*Laughter*] It's hard to find at any time. But I haven't read any lately that were true.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, there was a column that appeared in the Philadelphia paper on November 29th, written by a man, Jay Franklin,[1] who was associated with your campaign, in which he sort of indicated that there might be some change in foreign policy. This is a quote from his column, that the effect on the election dynamited the foundations of the whole Byrnes, Forrestal, Marshall program. Could you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. That is a typical columnist comment, and I have no comment to make on it.

Q. I was asked to ask that. [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. That's all right. You got an answer! [*More laughter*]

[22.] Q. Mr. President, is there anything else that you could say as to the need for the lobbying investigation?

THE PRESIDENT. I have said all I need to say on that subject.

[23.] Q. Mr. President, there has been some fear that this country's policies might turn German industry back to the cartels that once owned them.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think there's any need to fear that situation at all, not so long as I am President.

Q. We didn't hear the question.

THE PRESIDENT. He said it is rumored that we are going to turn German industry back to the German cartels, the ones that in the last war tried to help us lose the war. If you remember, I made an investigation of that myself. So long as I am President, the German cartels will never come back to life.

[24.] Q. Mr. President, do you plan to see Madame Chiang Kai-shek?

THE PRESIDENT. I certainly do. I have already made an engagement with her to receive her.

[25.] Q. Mr. President, did Mr. Martin's[1] visit with you today have anything to do with a loan to Israel?

THE PRESIDENT. No, he was discussing his budget with me.

Q. Have there been any developments in your policy towards Palestine?

THE PRESIDENT. None. None whatever.

[26.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us how you are getting along with your budget?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, you all seem to know more about it than I do. I am going to have a message ready on it, though. It will be the kind of budget that I want, and no other kind.

Q. Will it be higher than last year?

THE PRESIDENT. I will answer that when the budget comes out.

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[1] Pseudonym of John Franklin Carter, Jr., author and radio commentator.

[1] William McC. Martin, Jr., Chairman, Export-Import Bank of Washington.

[27.] Q. Mr. President, one of your columnist critics has written that your position on lobbyists might be interpreted as a blow at the right of petition?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I saw that. He has been wrong—that fellow has been wrong about everything, so I don't think it's worth any consideration.

Q. Is there any particular thing—I think it would be a good thing if you would set forth——

THE PRESIDENT. Well, you know very well that there is no reason in the world why anybody who feels the urge can't go and talk to a committee on any subject he feels like talking about. That was the case when I was in the Senate. But these paid lobbyists are another thing, and I am against them.

[28.] Q. Mr. President, can you amplify your statement that the cartels tried to help us lose the war?

THE PRESIDENT. If you go back and look at the record of the Truman committee, you will get the answer to that question.

[29.] Q. Mr. President, did Mr. McNutt[1] discuss the Philippine situation when he came?

THE PRESIDENT. No, he did not.

[30.] Q. Mr. President, will you recommend an excess profits tax?

THE PRESIDENT. I will attend to that in the messages later on.

[31.] Q. Mr. President, do you see any reason why we should assume certain political and military responsibilities in China, that we have in Greece?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment on that.

[32.] Q. Mr. President, are you in favor of tightening the present laws for regulation of lobbies?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have been discussing the matter with the Attorney General. That's the best answer I can give you.

[33.] Q. Mr. President, you have been reported in a forgiving mood.

THE PRESIDENT. That's right.

Q. Who are you forgiving, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Nobody. I have got nobody to forgive. Go ahead and finish your question.

Q. That's what I am going to ask, who are you forgiving?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think the word was *forgive*. I think I said that I wasn't angry with anybody.

Q. Does that apply to the Cabinet?

THE PRESIDENT. It applies to everybody.

Mrs. May Craig (Portland, Maine, Press Herald): Mr. President, I am anxious to know if there is anybody you are not forgiving?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know that there is anybody I have anything to forgive, except for Maine not going Democratic. [*Laughter*]

[34.] Q. Mr. President, is General MacArthur going to China?

THE PRESIDENT. No. Period.

Q. Is the Chinese situation changing our long-range defense plans?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment to make on that. I am not answering questions on China today.

[35.] Q. Mr. President, to go back to lobbyists, would you be against lobbyists who are working for your program?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that's a different matter. We probably wouldn't call these people lobbyists. We would call them citizens appearing in the public interest. [*Laughter*] Of course I am not going to ask for anything that is not in the interests of the whole people.

[36.] Q. Mr. President, Justice Douglas

[1] Paul V. McNutt, former United States High Commissioner to the Philippines.

addressed a CIO convention last week, and said that labor should have a greater role in diplomacy abroad. Do you favor——

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment to make on that.

[37.] Q. Mr. President, will you renew your request for thorough control of the tidelands offshore oil lands?

THE PRESIDENT. I certainly shall.

[38.] Q. Mr. President, on your comments about forgiving, does that include Mr. Ickes [1] for the column which he wrote which appeared——

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if you remember, Mr. Ickes tried his best to kill that column, but it was a little late, so I don't think that should be brought into the discussion at all. [*Laughter*]

[39.] Q. Mr. President, are you still against the joint development by Ontario and New York on St. Lawrence power?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Canada and the United States ought to attend to that job.

[40.] Q. Mr. President, do you agree with the statement Secretary Forrestal made in New York yesterday, that the United States should give military aid to Western Europe?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment.

[41.] Q. Mr. President, the other day the Italian Ambassador came to you, apparently very concerned about the Italian colonies——

THE PRESIDENT. That's correct—which he had a perfect right to do—and I have no comment on that question.

[42.] Q. Mr. President, outside of your own efforts, what do you think did most to win the election?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh—everybody in the Democratic setup did everything he possibly could to help win the election; and as soon as the people got the facts, they voted right. They couldn't get the facts from your columns and things, so I had to go out and tell them.

Q. Well! [*Laughter*]

Q. Is there any particular credit—I am asking for facts not for the columns.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, of course.

Q. I don't write a column.

THE PRESIDENT. I know you don't.

Q. Would you give any particular credit to certain elements, like farmers, or——

THE PRESIDENT. Farmers, and labor, and Senator Barkley, Secretary of Agriculture, and Secretary of Labor—and I could name a whole list of them who made a great contribution to the winning.

Q. How about your opponent, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I think he was the greatest asset I had. [*Laughter*]

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and fifty-ninth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 4 p.m. on Thursday, December 2, 1948.

279 Statement by the President on Highway Safety. *December 3, 1948*

NATIONWIDE progress in the reduction of motor vehicle deaths and accidents since adoption of the President's Highway Safety Conference Action Program in 1946 has been steady and gratifying. Activities in line with the Action Program have gained momentum in the States and give promise of continuing progress.

[1] Harold L. Ickes, former Secretary of the Interior.

Reports near the close of 1948 are encouraging. It is estimated that the number of fatalities per 100 million vehicle miles of travel for this year may be as low as 7.8, compared with the rate of 12 in 1945 and 8.6 in 1947. Traffic deaths may not exceed 31,300, the lowest death toll in the last 16 years, except for the war years when highway travel was sharply curtailed. This is being accomplished despite steadily increasing traffic volumes.

Accident-reduction programs in conformity with the Action Program are generally credited with the gains we have made as a Nation. In States and communities where most of the elements of the Action Program have been applied the accident rates are the lowest. Many States have outstanding safety records and excellent programs. But this progress is not universal, even in the 35 States which have made a real start in putting the program into effect.

Some States and communities have full powers for carrying the Action Program forward, while others are hampered by lack of authority, personnel, and funds. Forty-four State legislatures will be in session in 1949, affording opportunity for adoption of sound measures to improve safety and efficiency of highway transportation. Some of the 22 new Governors, who will assume duties in the next few weeks, may be unfamiliar with the Action Program.

These facts point to the need for another full-scale President's Highway Safety Conference, as recommended by the Committee on Conference Reports in Chicago last June.

Therefore, I will call such a conference in 1949, so that there may be a new State-by-State inventory of progress in highway safety, and so that procedures may be developed to meet our deficiencies through wider application of the Action Program.

As in the Conference of 1946 and the Action Program meeting of 1947, the Federal Government again offers its fullest cooperation.

NOTE: The release also made public a letter to Maj. Gen. Philip B. Fleming, Administrator of the Federal Works Agency, dated December 2. The President informed General Fleming of his plans for the 1949 conference and requested him to continue as General Chairman of the conference organization.

280 Letter to Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., Concerning Cooperation by the Broadcasting Industry in the Highway Safety Program. *December* 3, 1948

[Released December 3, 1948. Dated December 2, 1948]

Dear Mr. Sloan:

I am delighted to learn of the new radio awards initiated by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation to encourage the widest possible cooperation of the broadcasting industry in the nationwide program for highway safety.

The active support of radio and the other public information media has been a vital factor in the success of the Action Program developed by the Highway Safety Conference which I called in 1946. Through intensive application of this safety plan in the states and cities during the past two years, a substantial reduction in the traffic toll has been recorded.

The problem now, in the face of increasing traffic volumes and greater accident exposure, is to maintain and extend our gains. This can be done only by continually stimulating public interest in furthering the Ac-

tion Program, and a large share of the task necessarily falls to radio.

It is my hope, therefore, that every network and station will participate in the Alfred P. Sloan Awards for Highway Safety, thereby testifying to a truly comprehensive effort on the part of the industry in this important field of public service.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

[Mr. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.]

281 White House Statement Concerning U.S. Assistance to Palestine Refugees. *December 7, 1948*

THE PRESIDENT, following adoption by the United Nations General Assembly on November 19 of a resolution for assistance to Palestine refugees, will recommend to Congress that the United States contribute 50 percent of the amount provided for in this resolution, but in no case more than a total of $16 million as the share of the United States.

The resolution of the General Assembly, adopted at its 163d Plenary meeting on November 19, 1948, considered that a sum of approximately $29½ million will be required to provide relief for 500,000 refugees for a period of 9 months from December 1, 1948, to August 31, 1949, and that an additional amount of approximately $2½ million will be required for administrative and local operational expenses.

The recommendation of the President to Congress for an amount not to exceed $16 million will be made in the earnest hope that other countries will meet the remainder of the total required.

The American Delegation to the United Nations Assembly has emphasized that in accordance with constitutional requirements the President's recommendation for an appropriation of $16 million for Palestinian refugee relief must be accepted by the Congress before any funds become available. The final decision rests with it. The recommendation will be transmitted to the Congress after it convenes in January.

NOTE: A summary of the United Nations resolution is printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 19, p. 636).

282 Remarks of Welcome at the Washington National Airport to President Prío of Cuba. *December 8, 1948*

I AM very happy to welcome you, President Prío, to the United States. No two countries of this closely knit hemisphere have been bound together more closely than the Republic of Cuba and the United States. The friendly bond between them was forged in a common struggle for freedom, and it has continued through all the trials of two world wars and through the many other problems in the political and economic growth of our two countries. There is no relationship which better typifies the firm solidarity of the American States than the traditionally cordial collaboration between Cuba and the United States.

Mr. President, I have been looking forward to your arrival, as have all the many friends of Cuba in this country, and we sincerely hope that you will thoroughly enjoy your all too brief stay in the United States.

283 The President's News Conference of *December* 9, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. I have no announcements to make this morning. If you have any questions you think I can answer, I will be glad to try to answer them.

[1.] Q. Mr. President, there's lots being made up on the Hill over some reported secret papers of the State Department stolen. These papers are now figuring quite voluminously in the Communist investigation. Do you know of any reason why those papers, dating back to the late thirties should not be made public now?

THE PRESIDENT. That matter is in the hands of the Attorney General and the courts. I have no comment to make on that.

Q. Mr. President, there does seem to be indisputable evidence, despite all the bizarre aspects of the case, that highly secret and confidential documents were stolen from the State Department files—taken out long enough to be microfilmed and then put back in the State Department files. Do you think, sir, that all our arms of Government should be used to find out if possible who stole those documents?

THE PRESIDENT. Why certainly. The Attorney General will do that. It is in his hands.

Q. Mr. President, last night at the night hearing, Acting Chairman Mundt [1] accused the administration of being a "do-nothing" administration. Would you care——

THE PRESIDENT. That's a "me too" proposition.

Q. A what proposition?

THE PRESIDENT. A "me too" proposition.

Q. Mr. President, have you given any instructions to the Department of Justice on this case?

THE PRESIDENT. The Department of Justice has had standing instructions on the whole thing, ever since it started.

Q. What were those instructions, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. It's what the Attorney General's duties are, to enforce the law.

Q. I thought, sir, you meant they had instructions from you?

THE PRESIDENT. No. Of course the Attorney General discussed the matter with me at various times, and he has of course had instructions to enforce the law.

Q. Mr. President, do you still feel that this—as you did during the late summer, that this congressional investigation has the aspects of a "red herring"?

THE PRESIDENT. That's what the people thought.

Q. Do you think so now, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I do.

Q. After these revelations that the documents were stolen?

THE PRESIDENT. I certainly do. If they were in dead earnest, they would have taken this matter to the Attorney General and let him go ahead with the prosecution. They aren't prosecuting anybody, they are just making headlines.

Q. Mr. President, the committee members said they have repeatedly taken action with the Attorney General in all of its aspects.

THE PRESIDENT. That's not what the Attorney General said.

Q. Mr. President, are you at all interested in this charge of Mr. Nixon's,[1] that the Department of Justice proposes to indict only Chambers [2]—or first Chambers, and thus destroy his usefulness?

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[1] Representative Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota, Acting Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

[1] Representative Richard M. Nixon of California.

[2] Whittaker Chambers, witness before congressional committees on Communist espionage in the United States.

THE PRESIDENT. The Department of Justice will follow the law. It's in the hands of the Department of Justice and the courts, and that's where it will be, so far as I am concerned. I have no intention of getting into a controversy with this dead committee. [*Laughter*]

Q. My question may be useless, after that, but there is a charge that there's politics being played at this hearing, and the inference is that the administration is playing the politics. You said nothing about that. May I ask you if you will say something about it?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the evidence speaks for itself on that—in that line.

Q. Mr. President, may I ask one thing? You call it a dead committee. It's a standing committee of the House. Do you think it will be, or should be abolished.

THE PRESIDENT. I think the Congress itself will take care of that when it meets after the first of January, so you had better ask the Speaker of the House what he intends to do about it.

Q. Mr. President, does it disturb you at all, sir, that although the FBI had the Chambers story for 9 years, it took this dead committee to come up with the documents?

THE PRESIDENT. Did the FBI have it for 9 years, do you know? Are you making that as a statement of fact? I want to know if you know that? I don't know—I say I don't know that that is a fact. I don't think you should enter into a controversy unless you know it is a fact.

Q. Did you say—you said that it is not a fact, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I do not. I don't think you do, either.

Q. Mr. President, the testimony has been that although—not the FBI necessarily, but other high officers, including Mr. Berle [1] in the Democratic administration, had heard the whole story?

THE PRESIDENT. I know nothing about it.

Q. Mr. President, may I ask one more question——

THE PRESIDENT. Shoot.

Q. ——on the same topic? That is, the trial of the 12 Communist leaders has been postponed 2 or 3 times, and I wonder whether any thought or conclusion had been had as to whether that prosecution is to be pressed, or whether it might even be dropped?

THE PRESIDENT. That is a question you had better ask the Attorney General. He has instructions to go ahead and prosecute all the lawbreakers of that sort.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, is Judge Waring [1] of South Carolina being considered for another appointment?

THE PRESIDENT. Not that I know of.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, could you clear up for us in any way the status of this Chiefs of Staff Evaluation Board Bikini atom bomb experiment? [2]

THE PRESIDENT. I can clear it up as it has always been cleared up; its status hasn't changed and will not change.

Q. That's on the recommendation of Secretary Forrestal that it will not be published?

THE PRESIDENT. That's right.

Q. There are several indications that there will be no objection from the Department of Defense, or even from the Atomic Energy——

THE PRESIDENT. There might be an objection from the President, and it rests in my desk.

[4.] Q. If the delegate to the United Nations, Mr. Austin, should resign, would you invite a Member of the Congress to succeed him?

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[1] Adolf A. Berle, Jr., former Assistant Secretary of State.

[1] J. Waties Waring, U.S. district judge, Eastern District of South Carolina.

[2] See Item 278 [1].

THE PRESIDENT. Now that's a possibility I haven't considered. I know nothing about Senator Austin having any intention of resigning. You will have to find that out first.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, are the Baltic refugees who came across the Atlantic in a small boat this summer going to be returned to Sweden?

THE PRESIDENT. I am trying my best not to have them returned. I have been working on that right along. I hope that they will not have to be returned.

Q. Do you think it will require legislation, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know. If it does, I will ask for it.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, some time in October, the Army asked for certain records in the Ilse Koch [1] case for you, they said, for a study which was to be made at the White House. Is that case under study here now?

THE PRESIDENT. What case is that?

Q. The Ilse Koch case—the Buchenwald case?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know anything about it.

Q. The Army announced at the time that the papers were asked for—for you?

THE PRESIDENT. I knew nothing about it. That may have been asked for in my name, which the Secretary of Defense has a perfect right to do.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, can you give us any idea yet when you will have your budget seminar?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as soon as the budget is ready, I will call you in and talk to you about it.

Q. Will it be before Christmas, or after Christmas?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't answer that question. It's a slow process, getting the budget ready.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, is there any labor-management conference in sight?

THE PRESIDENT. Not that I know of, not that I know of.

Q. Has anyone from the upper reaches of the Labor Department been over here talking to you, or your staff, about a possible new Federal labor law?

THE PRESIDENT. No, not yet. That probably will be at a later time.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, have you any comment on Senator Bridges' difference of opinion with Mr. Hoffman [1] over shipping ECA goods in American bottoms?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, have you decided yet whether you will go to Puerto Rico for the inauguration down there?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think I am going to be able to go. I would like very much to go, because I have been very much interested in the Government of Puerto Rico, and appointed the first native Governor, and I had hoped to be present at the inauguration of their first elected Governor; but Congress in all probability will meet on the 3d, and I don't think I can leave.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, I understand the Mayor of St. Louis has written you appealing for funds to go ahead with the Jefferson Memorial out there? Can you comment?

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct. I would like very much to see him go ahead with it.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, on our original subject, can you say whether or not you have been advised of the contents of these State Department documents?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no further comment to make on that.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, on that St. Louis thing, are you going to include an appropriation in the budget—a recommendation in your budget?

[1] Ilse Koch, Nazi war criminal and wife of the commandant of Buchenwald concentration camp.

[1] Paul G. Hoffman, Economic Cooperation Administrator.

THE PRESIDENT. It hasn't been brought to that point here, but I am anxious to see that project finished, and if it requires a recommendation in the budget, why I will have them put it in.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, the Argentine Foreign Minister comes to see you tomorrow, I believe. Can you tell us what topics are up for discussion?

THE PRESIDENT. No I can't. Maybe he can. He asked for the interview.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, will you meet any further in the week with Madame Chiang to discuss China aid?

THE PRESIDENT. That remains to be seen.

Q. Will it be discussed at the tea tomorrow?

THE PRESIDENT. That's what she's coming in to see me for. [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, could you use your influence with Madame Chiang to give us a press conference?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know that I have any influence with her. [*Laughter*] Have you asked her to give you a press conference? I said, have you asked her to give you a press conference?

Q. Not formally. [*More laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. All right, maybe you had better try that first.

Q. Mr. President, the last time she was here she had one here with President Roosevelt.

THE PRESIDENT. I wasn't here. [*Laughter*]

[16.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us anything about the talks you had with President Prío of Cuba?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I can't. They were very friendly, I'll say that, and very satisfactory to both him and to me, but I do not want to discuss the details.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, what do you hear about the progress of General Marshall's recovery?

THE PRESIDENT. General Marshall is getting along all right. I hear from him every day.

[18.] Q. How will you deliver your Message on the State of the Union to Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. That is under consideration, and I will make an announcement on it later, as soon as I know exactly what I expect to do.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, are you going to press again for the development of the St. Lawrence Seaway?

THE PRESIDENT. I certainly am. I pressed for it in every Message on the State of the Union I have ever sent to the Congress.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, can you comment on the withdrawal of American bases from the Philippines?

THE PRESIDENT. No comment.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, is there anything to say about American relations with the new Venezuelan Government?

THE PRESIDENT. No comment.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and sixtieth news conference was held in his office at the White House at 10:35 a.m. on Thursday, December 9, 1948.

284 Statement by the President Upon Designating John R. Steelman Acting Chairman of the National Security Resources Board. *December* 10, 1948

I HAVE asked the Assistant to the President, John R. Steelman, to assume responsibility as Acting Chairman of the National Security Resources Board. He is to undertake the important job of continuing to fit the work of the Board and the activities of its staff into the broader framework of total presidential responsibilities. When further steps in this direction have been accomplished, it is my intention to designate a successor to relieve Dr. Steelman so that he may again give full time to his regular duties.

The National Security Act of 1947 established the National Security Resources Board as an agency, "to advise the President concerning the coordination of military, industrial, and civilian mobilization." Currently almost one-half of the national budget is directly devoted to national defense and international programs, and the work of nearly all the major units of our Government bears an intimate relation to mobilization problems. Under these conditions, the Board must not only assume the leadership among the Government agencies concerned with mobilization issues, but must also work closely with other presidential staff advisers.

In carrying out this special assignment, Dr. Steelman will work in close cooperation with the departments and agencies and with the Chairman of the National Security Council, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

Dr. Steelman's experience as former Director of the United States Conciliation Service, as Director of Economic Stabilization, and as Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion has contributed to his knowledge of mobilization problems and of the role which the Federal Government must play in cooperation with business, labor, civic, and State and local organizational units in such undertakings. He has attended meetings of the Cabinet for the past 3 years and has an intimate knowledge of the governmental policies and activities which will contribute to his performance of this important job.

I am anxious to have close coordination among all departments and agencies concerned with our resources and mobilization issues. Dr. Steelman will have my full backing and that of the Cabinet and other agency heads in fulfilling this difficult task.

285 The President's News Conference of *December* 16, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] I have one announcement to make today. On the 5th day of January, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, I will deliver the State of the Union Message to a joint session of the Congress. That arrangement was reached after consultation with the Vice President-elect and Majority Leader of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives and Majority Leader of the House.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, in view of the indictment of Alger Hiss, do you still consider this Communist investigation——

THE PRESIDENT. I have made my position

perfectly clear on that subject, and I have nothing further to say on it. My position hasn't changed. Period.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, do you plan to ask for price controls for textiles and other commodities?

THE PRESIDENT. That question will be answered in the Message on the State of the Union.

Q. Mr. President, Vice President-elect Barkley has said in a speech that the next Congress will enact price controls, and he also says that there will not be a general tax increase. Do you share those views, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. My views on that subject will be stated to the Congress in two messages—maybe three messages. The Economic Message—there will be the Message on the State of the Union—and there will be the Budget Message, which I will discuss with you in detail when the Budget Message is ready.

Q. Mr. President, you said it will be stated, or it has been?

THE PRESIDENT. My position will be stated in those various messages which will go down to the Congress.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, would you say anything about your luncheon with Mr. Forrestal?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have been in the habit, on occasion, of having luncheon with a member of the Cabinet when he has other members of the Cabinet present for lunch. It was a social affair.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, the National Farm Federation is meeting in Atlantic City, and they are split on the question of long-range farm programs. Some of them think that they are going to continue 90 percent parity. Has your position changed on the long-range farm program?

THE PRESIDENT. I will answer that in my messages to the Congress on the subject.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, the Hoover commission today reported that its investigation of the armed services under the Unification Act reveals that, quote, "there are deficiencies all along the line." And they quote in particular an Air Force intelligence report last spring, which they say if it had been followed by you would have led to total mobilization of the United States. They said fortunately it wasn't done because they were checked by other intelligence agencies. Is there anything you could say on that?

THE PRESIDENT. No, there isn't, because I haven't seen that report.[1] I will take it under consideration when it comes in, then probably comment on it at the time, or I will send a message to Congress on the subject.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, do you expect to discuss tidelands oil in the State of the Union Message?

THE PRESIDENT. I do.

Q. But no change in that——

THE PRESIDENT. No change, so far as I am concerned. I announced my position during the campaign, and it hasn't changed.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, in the State of the Union Message, do you—will you include foreign policy outside——

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. That is something else?

THE PRESIDENT. That will be a separate message.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, Governor Dewey said today that you are trying to pick political daisies by blocking the New York plan for separate development of the St. Lawrence power?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the daisy picking is on the other side of the fence. I am for the

[1] The Task Force Report on National Security Organization prepared for the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government by the Committee on the National Security Organization (Government Printing Office, Jan. 1949, 121 pp.).

St. Lawrence Seaway and power project as outlined in my message to Congress on the subject, and it is a matter that is to be decided by the Canadian Government and the United States Government, and not between any State or Province of Canada.

Q. Mr. President, I take it that you will resubmit the St. Lawrence——

THE PRESIDENT. I certainly shall. Yes, indeed.

Q. Mr. President, also out of Albany today there is a report that you are planning another TVA on the St. Lawrence. Any comment?

THE PRESIDENT. No comment. My messages are very clear on what I want on the St. Lawrence, if you will read them. I sent three messages to Congress on the subject.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, if this new Congress, before January 20th, should see fit to raise your salary, would you feel impelled to veto the bill?

THE PRESIDENT. I would not. [*Laughter*] I want you to distinctly understand that I didn't ask for any raise. I vetoed the tax bill, which automatically raised my salary. I am not interested in that, but I am interested in the heads of the Government departments receiving a raise in salary, and I think the Vice President ought to have a raise.

[11.] Q. I understand that the Interior Department disclosed that they have been laying plans for your proposed visit to Alaska. When do you plan to go?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no plans.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, do you concur with General Vaughan's [1] views on the inaugural preparations?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment to make on that. I am in harmony with the Inaugural Committee, and they are carrying out the plans as approved by me.

Q. May we have a repetition of that question?

THE PRESIDENT. She wanted to know if I agreed with General Vaughan's comments on the inaugural plans. General Vaughan said he never remembers having made any such statements for publication. [*Laughter*]

[13.] Q. Mr. President, Secretary Royall granted Christmas holiday clemency to some four hundred military prisoners today. Do you have any similar plan in mind for——

THE PRESIDENT. I have not.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, has there been progress in your talks with the Attorney General on possible tightening of the lobbying law?

THE PRESIDENT. No particular progress since the last conversation. He is making a survey of the situation, as I told you before.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any plans to ride on the so-called Dewey plane that the Air Force is reported——

THE PRESIDENT. Never heard of it. Only what I saw in the paper.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, is there anything you could tell us about your talk the other day with Madame Chiang?

THE PRESIDENT. Nothing further.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, do you know yet when you will leave for Independence?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't. The date has not been set. I want to go as soon as I can get away from this desk, which gets higher and higher all the time. I am going to leave as soon as I can. I will let you know exactly when I can leave.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, can you give us an idea now when the Budget Message might go to Congress in January?

THE PRESIDENT. I hope it will go a couple of days after the Message on the State of the

[1] Maj. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan, Military Aide to the President.

Union. It will go after that, on the following Friday or the following Monday, if I can get it ready.

Q. The Economic Message will go in later?

THE PRESIDENT. The Economic Message may come in between. You will just have to take them as they come.

Q. Mr. President, do you plan a special message again on civil rights?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think it will be necessary. There will be a message on it, if we don't accomplish the purpose.

Q. Will that be in the Message on the State of the Union?

THE PRESIDENT. It will be in the Message on the State of the Union.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, could you summarize your position on this "red herring" matter that you have said——

THE PRESIDENT. I think I have answered that question often enough. I don't intend to talk any more about it. You know where I stand on the subject.

Q. Mr. President, quite aside from that, would you say anything on your feeling as to how the case has been prosecuted——

THE PRESIDENT. I will say nothing about it. I will say nothing about it. I told you that very plainly. It's a closed incident, as far as I am concerned.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, would you care to comment on whether you believe the House Un-American Activities Committee should be continued or not?

THE PRESIDENT. No comment.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any plans for tightening the espionage laws?

THE PRESIDENT. The Attorney General is working on that situation, and has been for a year. It is a very difficult matter to do and still stay within the Bill of Rights.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You're welcome.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and sixty-first news conference was held in his office at the White House at 4:02 p.m. on Thursday, December 16, 1948.

286 Citation Accompanying Medal for Merit Awarded to Myron C. Taylor. *December* 20, 1948

CITATION ACCOMPANYING THE AWARD OF THE MEDAL FOR MERIT TO MYRON C. TAYLOR

MYRON C. TAYLOR had achieved a brilliant career in law, industry and finance before he entered the difficult field of diplomacy. The world had known him as a leading figure in American business. At a time of bitter industrial strife, with the vision of a statesman he worked effectively to stabilize labor-management relations and in that sphere of complex and conflicting interests set a pattern out of which grew a more equitable relationship between employer and employee. Through all the active years of a busy life, in peace and in war, this remarkable man with a deep sense of public service has been a patron of the arts and sciences and a liberal benefactor in the fields of education and philanthropy. Happily he is now in the zenith of his powers—a hale veteran in high service. As a diplomatist Mr. Taylor has been the Personal Representative of two Presidents of the United States to His Holiness the Pope with the rank of Ambassador. On many missions to His Holiness and to other leaders in church and state throughout Europe he has labored diligently

with men of good will in parallel efforts to promote peace and concord among nations torn asunder by jealousy, hatred and ill will and to ameliorate the misery which inevitably follows in the wake of war. He has carried out his manifold and arduous duties with selfless disregard of incessant demands upon his own health and strength. Resolute in action, firm in principle, an enlightened economist with a passion for justice, Mr. Taylor, through a long and versatile career, has earned the accolade of his countrymen whom he has served faithfully and well wherever duty called him.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The presentation was made at a ceremony at the White House at noon.

287 Radio Remarks on the Occasion of the Lighting of the Community Christmas Tree on the White House Grounds. *December* 24, 1948

[Broadcast nationally at 5:15 p.m.]

My fellow countrymen:

I now light the National Community Christmas Tree on the lawn of the White House in Washington.

I have come out here to Independence with my family to celebrate the great home festival. For of all the days of the year Christmas is the family day. Christmas began that way.

The moving event of the first Christmas was the bringing forth of the first born in the stable in Bethlehem. There began in humble surroundings the home life of the Holy Family glorified in song and story and in the hearts of men down through the centuries. The great joys and mysteries of that event have forever sanctified and enriched all home life.

The Christmas tree which we have just lighted in the South Grounds of the White House back in Washington symbolizes the family life of the Nation. There are no ties like family ties. That is why I have made the journey back to Independence to celebrate this Christmas Day among the familiar scenes and associations of my old hometown.

These family ties reach out tonight to embrace the town, the State, the country, all of America—the whole world. The hallowed associations of Christmas draw all hearts toward home. With one accord we receive with joy and reverence the message of the first Christmas: "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, good will to men."

This country, big as it has grown, has always been a close-knit community. It has had to be strong, too.

We needed the strength of giants and heroic courage to bring nature and the elements under control; to build our towns—and that is particularly true here in Independence—and to extend our frontiers. We all know what the covered wagon symbolized.

But with all our strength we have always had a deep feeling of compassion—a human sympathy for the underdog, the oppressed of all lands, for all who bear heavy burdens. That is a part of the American spirit.

I have been thinking of all these things here in my home on North Delaware Street in Independence. I am speaking to you from our family living room. As I came up the street in the gathering dusk, I saw a hun-

dred commonplace things that are hallowed to me on this Christmas Eve—hallowed because of their associations with the sanctuary of home.

I saw the lighted windows in the homes of my neighbors, the gaily decked Christmas trees, and the friendly lawns and gardens. The branches of the trees were bare and stark but somehow they looked familiar and friendly. I looked at all these familiar things—the same things that you all will see tonight as you go toward home.

These are the thoughts—simple, commonplace, everyday thoughts—that we all share tonight.

They are the thoughts that bind us together, one to another. They make up the great American epic—the epic of the home.

Yes, America is a big, friendly community. Maybe that is why we realize that we are a part of the whole world.

We have had difficult problems, and that is why we can understand the problems of other peoples.

Our own struggle fostered this feeling of good will. And good will, after all, is the very essence of Christmas: peace and friendship to men of good will.

I want to say once more, with all the emphasis that I can command, that I am working for peace. I shall continue to work for peace. What could be more appropriate than for all of us to dedicate ourselves to the cause of peace on this Holy Night.

As a Nation we have a history of a little more than a century and a half. But the religion which came to the world heralded by the song of the Angels has endured for nineteen centuries. It will continue to endure. It remains today the world's best hope for peace if the world will accept its fundamental teaching that all men are brothers.

"God that made the world and all things therein . . . hath made of one blood all nations of man for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

In the spirit of that message from the Acts of the Apostles, I wish all of you a Merry Christmas.

288 The President's News Conference of *December* 30, 1948

THE PRESIDENT. I have no special announcements to make today. I thought maybe you might be curious and would like to ask a few questions, and I will try to answer them if I can.

[1.] Q. Mr. President, a Hungarian correspondent for a Hungarian language paper in New York asked me to ask you whether you had any comment over arrest of the Roman Catholic Cardinal over there this week?

THE PRESIDENT. I think Mr. Lovett effectively covered that in his press conference yesterday, and I am in agreement with what Mr. Lovett had to say.[1]

[2.] Q. Mr. President, do you plan to ask for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee?

THE PRESIDENT. That is not in my bailiwick. That is a legislative matter.

[1] In his press conference on December 29 Acting Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett denounced the arrest on espionage charges of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary. He declared the action was obviously based on false charges and was the culmination of a long series of oppressive actions in Hungary.

Q. Have you any comment on proposals for reforming committee rules——

THE PRESIDENT. That also is a matter that the House itself will have to work on.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, is there anything you can tell us yet about the return of Ambassador Smith from Moscow?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I can't tell you anything—only what I have seen in the paper.

Q. There were reports from there that he had sent his things back and apparently was resigning?

THE PRESIDENT. That's all I know about it—just what I have seen in the paper.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, there is a report to the effect that Vice President-elect Barkley may have been to Europe on special credentials from you, and may have met with Soviet representatives when he was in Europe, the purpose being to lay the groundwork for some negotiations for rapprochement between East and West?

THE PRESIDENT. Isn't it remarkable the extent to which speculation can go! He was not.

Q. It was suggested that he met with Mr. Litvinov,[1] and it was right after that that you had said there were some people in the Soviet Government who wanted to have peace?

THE PRESIDENT. I say it's a wonderful thing the extent to which speculation can go. Just keep on speculating. It's good.

Q. Mr. President, will you clarify what you did say about the Russian situation?

THE PRESIDENT. It cannot be clarified. I said it just as plainly as it possibly could be said at the time I said it; and I have nothing further to say to it.

Q. You have said something like that before?

THE PRESIDENT. Time and again.

Q. Exactly the same way.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it meant the same thing. It was in substantially the same language.

Q. Not new, so far as you are concerned?

THE PRESIDENT. Not new, so far as I am concerned.

Q. Mr. President, does that refer back to what you said, that "I like old Joe"?

THE PRESIDENT. It had no connection with that.

Q. Mr. President, would you attempt to put emphasis on the fact that there are some Russian leaders friendly to this country, or that Russia does not keep her commitments?

THE PRESIDENT. I think I made both statements, and they are both correct.

Q. I just wondered if there was any emphasis——

THE PRESIDENT. No emphasis whatever. Just a statement of fact, if you read the statement—it speaks for itself.

Q. Have you been in contact of any sort with any Soviet leaders, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I have not.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, I would like to ask what part do you think television played in this last campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. Bryson,[1] you want a plug? Well, television was, I think, very important where it was in use. It didn't cover enough territory, was the only trouble. I wish it had covered more territory.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, have you seen the Soviet Embassy's announcement that MacArthur has been ordered to rebuild the Japanese army, and to rebuild the highways throughout Japan?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't seen that. I haven't seen that. I haven't heard anything about it—any such orders.

Q. Just came in today.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it's news to me.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, there have been charges by Communists that Chiang Kai-

[1] Maxim M. Litvinov, former Soviet ambassador to the United States.

[1] Bryson B. Rash of the American Broadcasting Co.

shek and other Chinese Nationalist leaders should be considered war criminals. Mr. Lovett says that is unthinkable. Would you comment?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Lovett made the proper statement on the matter. That is the recognized government of China by all the governments of the world.

Q. Mr. President, have you decided yet when you will ask for aid for China in the new Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. That is a matter that will come out in the messages.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, can you give us any general idea on the message that is going up—detailed or general, or how long it is going to be?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the Message on the State of the Union will cover the waterfront. There will be a message on the economic situation, which will be in some detail. There will be the Budget Message, which will be entirely in detail, but I will discuss it with you before it goes down to Congress.

Q. On that point, have you decided when you are going to have the seminar?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I will tell you, though, in plenty of time so that you can get ready.

Q. Will you send the Budget Message up the week of the third?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. The following week?

THE PRESIDENT. Probably the following week.

Q. You said something about a foreign policy message also, in the statement——

THE PRESIDENT. Well, probably the foreign policy message will come at a later date. Of course, every subject will be included in the Message on the State of the Union. It will have to be.

Q. Do you know, Mr. President, how long the State of the Union Message will run?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I hope it won't run over 30 minutes, because Congressmen get tired listening to an outsider speak when they talk over 30 minutes, although some of them can talk for 3 hours without help.

[9.] Q. What about our Ambassador to the Philippines, are you going to appoint one soon?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Yes. I will let you know, just as soon as I am ready to make the announcement.

Q. Have you decided——

THE PRESIDENT. I will appoint him just as soon as I can.

[10.] Q. Do you think an increase in taxes will be necessary to cover your new budget?

THE PRESIDENT. I will discuss that in the Message on the State of the Union.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us anything about your conference with the CIO leaders yesterday, I think it was?

THE PRESIDENT. It was in the nature of a courtesy call. We had a very pleasant visit together. Discussed all the subjects in which labor is interested.

Q. Can you tell us anything about the procedure—with respect to procedure on the Taft-Hartley Act?

THE PRESIDENT. No. No, I can't comment on that now. That is a legislative matter. I am going to have a meeting of the Big Four tomorrow, and we will probably discuss that procedure.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, what can you tell us on the conference with Mr. Barkley and Mr. Rayburn?

THE PRESIDENT. They will come in to see me tomorrow, and I will discuss everything on the waterfront with them.

Q. Who else is coming with them, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. The two leaders, Mr. McCormack and Senator Lucas.

Q. They haven't been officially elected yet, have they, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think you can make a better guess on that than you did on the election. [*Laughter*]

[13.] Q. You said aid for China would come out in your State of the Union Message?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I didn't say it would go in the State of the Union Message. I said it would go in messages to the Congress, at the proper time. That matter doesn't come up until the 1st of April.

Q. Does that mean you would ask for it?

THE PRESIDENT. I will answer that question in the message.

Q. Do you have any further plans to see Madame Chiang? She is still here.

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't any plans.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. You're welcome.

NOTE: President Truman's one hundred and sixty-second news conference was held in his office at the White House at 4 p.m. on Thursday, December 30, 1948.

Appendix A—White House Press Releases

NOTE: Includes releases covering matters with which the President was closely concerned, except announcements of Presidential personnel appointments and approvals of legislation with which there was no accompanying statement.

Releases relating to Proclamations and Executive orders have not been included. These documents are separately listed in Appendix B.

For list of Press and Radio Conferences, see subject index under "News conferences."

January

2 Final report of the President's Board of Inquiry on Air Safety

3 White House announcement of appointments to the Interim Committee of the U.N. General Assembly

3 Statement by the President upon signing order carrying out provisions of the resolution on price stabilization

7 Annual message to the Congress on the State of the Union

8 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House concerning appointment of General Kuter as chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board

9 Special message to the Congress transmitting report on Foreign Service retirement and disability system

10 Statement by the President on the budget

12 Annual budget message to the Congress, fiscal year 1949

12 Special message to the Congress on the Folsom Dam

12 Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education

13 Report "Survival in the Air Age" by the President's Air Policy Commission

13 Statement by the President upon making public the report of the Air Policy Commission

14 The President's annual economic report to the Congress

15 Report of emergency board in labor dispute involving Railway Express Agency, Inc.

16 Letter accepting resignation of Ralph A. Bard as Deputy U.S. Representative on the U.N. Commission for Conventional Armaments

17 Directive to Government agencies ordering conservation of fuel oil, gasoline, and gas

January

19 Special message to the Congress transmitting Reorganization Plan 1 of 1948

20 Special message to the Congress transmitting report of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems

20 White House announcement of appointment of Frank Pace, Jr., as Assistant Director, Bureau of the Budget

20 Letter accepting resignation of Harllee Branch from the Civil Aeronautics Board

21 Special message to the Senate transmitting protocol extending the Inter-American Coffee Agreement

22 White House statement concerning requests for supplemental appropriations

23 White House announcement of nominations of foreign nationals to the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy

24 Letter accepting resignation of T. P. Wright as Administrator, Civil Aeronautics Administration

24 White House announcement of replacement of Admiral Foskett by Captain Dennison as Naval Aide to the President

24 Letter to Adm. James H. Foskett upon his return to sea duty

25 Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education

26 Veto of bill for the relief of Ben W. Colburn (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 550)

26 Veto of bill for relief of Oscar and Anna Carlblom (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 550)

26 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House concerning the St. Lawrence Seaway

26 Letter to Senators Barkley and White and to Representatives Rayburn and Halleck concerning the St. Lawrence Seaway

Appendix A

January

27 Letter to Marriner Eccles asking him to remain with the Federal Reserve Board as Vice Chairman

29 Special message to the Congress urging extension of curbs on grain used in production of ethyl alcohol.

29 Letter to John R. Steelman from the Federal Works Administrator concerning conversion of government building heating plants from coal to oil

30 Report of emergency board in dispute involving Akron and Barberton Belt Railroad

30 Letter to the Administrator, Federal Security Agency, on raising the level of the Nation's health

30 Message to the Governor General of India following the assassination of Gandhi

30 Statement by the President on the assassination of Mohandas K. Gandhi

30 Radio remarks on the 10th anniversary of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis

31 Statement by John R. Steelman on the iron and steel scrap program

31 Statement by the President calling on distillers to observe voluntary grain quotas

31 Letter to D. Lawrence Groner regarding his retirement from active service as Chief Justice, Court of Appeals for D.C.

February

1 Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education

2 Special message to the Congress on civil rights

2 Veto of bill for the relief of Louis H. Deaver (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 927)

7 Statement by the President on cardiovascular diseases

7 White House announcement of nomination of foreign national to the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy

9 Special message to the Congress requesting extension of certain wartime controls

9 Special message to the Congress on highway construction

9 Special message to the Congress transmitting 1947 report of the Air Coordinating Committee

10 Annual report to the President by the Housing Expediter

February

10 Veto of bill for the disposal of submarginal lands within Indian reservations

12 Statement by the President on the Security Loan Savings Bond Drive

13 Letter accepting resignation of Dr. Frank P. Graham as U.S. Representative on the Security Council Committee on Indonesia

14 Statement by the President upon appointing members of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific Research and Development

16 Special message to the Congress transmitting second report on assistance to Greece and Turkey

16 Special message to the Congress transmitting annual report of National Capital Housing Authority

17 Special message to the Senate transmitting the International Telecommunication Convention

17 Remarks at the opening session of the Women's Bureau conference

17 Special message to the Congress transmitting 98th annual report of Board of Directors of The Panama Railroad Co.

17 Report of emergency board in dispute involving Chicago, North Shore, and Milwaukee Railway Co.

18 Special message to the Congress on the need for assistance to China

19 Address at the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner

20 Letter to the chairmen of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees on retirements for physical disability

20 Special message to the Congress transmitting annual report on U.S. participation in the United Nations

20 Special message to the Senate transmitting protocol extending International Sugar Agreement

21 Address upon arrival at the airport in San Juan, Puerto Rico

22 Remarks in St. Thomas on a visit to the Virgin Islands

23 Special message to the Congress on housing

23 Remarks at Government House, St. Croix, Virgin Islands

24 Statement by the President on Palestine

25 Special message to the Congress transmitting annual report of National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics

Appendix A

February

29 Radio remarks opening the Red Cross Fund Campaign

March

1 Veto of bill granting patent in fee to Mrs. Ella White Bull (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 1921)

1 Veto of bill granting patent in fee to Mrs. Bessie Two Elk-Poor Bear (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 1921)

1 Special message to the Congress requesting extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act

2 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House requesting legislation on behalf of the civilian member, Permanent Joint Board of Defense, U.S.–Canada

3 Special message to the Congress transmitting annual report of the Civil Service Commission

4 Letter to the Administrator, Federal Works Agency, on the Disaster Surplus Property Program

5 Special message to the Congress on the need for a modern system for the management of Government property

8 Remarks at the first meeting of the National Capital Sesqui-Centennial Commission

9 Letter accepting resignation of Augustus E. Giegengack as Public Printer

9 Letter to Lincoln MacVeagh on his appointment as Ambassador to Portugal

12 Special message to the Congress transmitting report of the Railroad Retirement Board, year ending June 30, 1947

12 Special message to the Senate transmitting a consular convention, U.S.–Costa Rica

13 Report on steel prices by the Council of Economic Advisers

13 Letter from the Attorney General on the increase in steel prices

13 Department of Commerce report on steel prices

15 Veto of bill for the relief of Charles H. Richards (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 2795)

15 White House statement concerning board of inquiry report on the labor dispute at Oak Ridge

15 Directive on the need for maintaining the confidential status of employee loyalty records

15 White House statement on the President's directive on the need for keeping the confidential status of employee loyalty records

March

16 Letter accepting resignation of Thomas Holcomb as Minister to the Union of South Africa

16 Special message to the Congress transmitting 25th report on lend-lease operations

16 Letter accepting resignation of William D. Pawley as Ambassador to Brazil

16 White House statement concerning order transferring vessels to Italy

16 Statement by the President on the order transferring vessels to Italy

17 Special message to the Congress on the threat to the freedom of Europe

17 St. Patrick's Day address in New York City

19 White House announcement of members of U.S. delegation to 9th International Conference of American States at Bogotá

21 Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education

22 Veto of bill for the relief of Columbia Hospital of Richland County, S.C.

22 Veto of bill for the relief of Mrs. Inga Patterson (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 3262)

22 Veto of bill for the relief of Charles E. Crook and B. L. Fielder (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 3263)

22 Veto of bill for the relief of Mrs. Pearl Cole (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 3262)

23 White House statement announcing decision to make no changes in administration of the German occupation

24 Statement by the President on the signing of the Charter of the International Trade Organization

25 Statement by the President on Palestine

27 Report of emergency board in the nationwide railroad labor dispute

29 Letter to Secretary Krug upon signing bill relating to the completion of the Provo River Reclamation Project

29 Letter to Secretary Krug upon signing bill authorizing distribution of capital reserve funds of the Klamath Indians

30 Statement by the President upon signing the Housing and Rent Act of 1948

30 Veto of bill authorizing issuance of stamps commemorating the 100th anniversary of the coming of Swedish pioneers to the Midwest

Appendix A

March

30 Special message to the Congress transmitting list of persons for whom the State Department is holding decorations, etc., tendered them by foreign governments

April

1 Letter to the Speaker regarding additional appropriations for the national security program

2 Message to King Paul of Greece on the occasion of the 127th anniversary of Greek independence

2 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House concerning the Reorganization Act

2 Veto of the income tax reduction bill

3 Report of board of inquiry in the coal strike

3 Statement by the President upon signing the Foreign Assistance Act

3 Statement by the President on the death of Maurice C. Latta

3 Letter to the Attorney General directing him to petition for an injunction in the coal strike

3 Statement by Secretary Marshall on the Foreign Assistance Act

5 Veto of bill to exclude vendors of newspapers and magazines from social security coverage

7 White House statement concerning proposed loan to the United Nations

7 Special message to the Congress urging approval of a loan to the United Nations for the construction of its permanent headquarters

8 Statement by John R. Steelman on disposal of war plants

8 Special message to the Congress on economic aid to Latin America

8 Report of emergency board on labor dispute involving the Terminal Railroad Association of St. Louis

8 Special message to the Senate transmitting conventions and recommendations of the International Labor Conference

9 Report by Board of Inquiry on the labor dispute in the meatpacking industry

9 Statement by the President on the labor dispute in the meatpacking industry

9 Report of the Council of Economic Advisers for the first quarter of 1948

12 Veto of bill for the relief of Mrs. Akido Tsukado Miller (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 4332)

April

12 Veto of bill for the relief of Victor C. Kaminski (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 4331)

12 Veto of bill for the relief of Mrs. Leslie Price, Philip C. Price, Mrs. Louise Keyton, Annie Curry, and James Curry (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 4331)

12 Minority report by a member of the Special Board of Inquiry on Air Safety

13 Message to the Congress transmitting second report on the U.S. foreign relief program

14 Message to the Congress transmitting annual report of the Governor of the Panama Canal

14 Special message to the Senate transmitting treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation with Italy

14 Letter to the Italian Ambassador regarding Trieste

14 Letter to the Speaker transmitting supplemental estimate of appropriations for the European Recovery Program

14 Radio address opening the Savings Bond Campaign

15 Statement by the President on the death of President Manuel Roxas of the Philippines

15 Letter accepting resignation of Richard Parkhurst, member, U.S. Maritime Commission

16 Letter to the Chairman, U.S. Maritime Commission, on the ship construction program

16 White House statement following the first meeting of the Interdepartmental Committee on Research and Development

17 Address before the American Society of Newspaper Editors

19 Address before a joint session of the Congress in observance of the 50th anniversary of Cuban independence

19 Message to the new President of the Philippines

19 Message from Prince Charles of Belgium on his departure from the United States

20 Veto of bill for the relief of Edward Trapier Rogers (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 4577)

22 Letter to Secretary Harriman following his nomination as U.S. Special Representative in Europe

23 Message to Prince Charles of Belgium following his visit to the United States

26 Exchange of messages with the Queen of the Netherlands

Appendix A

April

26 White House announcement of the President's grant of clemency to two Nazi saboteurs

27 Veto of bill for the relief of Bert Harrington, Jr. (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 4902)

27 Message from Queen Wilhelmina expressing thanks for Marshall plan aid

28 Letter accepting resignation of Granville Conway as Coordinator of Emergency Export Programs

29 Statement by the President urging reappointment of the chairman and members of the Atomic Energy Commission

29 Letter accepting resignation of John F. Sonnett as Assistant Attorney General

29 Letter accepting resignation of John D. Goodloe, member, RFC Board of Directors

30 Special message to the Senate transmitting the International Wheat Agreement

30 Emergency board report on labor dispute involving the Railway Express Agency

May

1 Remarks at the National Health Assembly Dinner

3 White House announcement concerning resignation of R. Henry Norweb as Ambassador to Cuba

4 Veto of bill for the relief of Jeannette C. Jones and minor children (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 5215)

4 Veto of bill authorizing coins commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Territory of Minnesota

4 Letter to Harcourt A. Morgan upon his retirement as Director, Tennessee Valley Authority

5 Message to the Congress transmitting the first report on the Foreign Aid Program

6 Remarks at the National Conference on Family Life

7 Letter accepting resignation of David K. E. Bruce as Assistant Secretary of Commerce

10 Message from President Auriol on the arrival of the first Marshall plan cargo in France

10 Letter accepting resignation of Clinton P. Anderson as Secretary of Agriculture

10 Statement by the President upon issuing order averting a railroad strike

May

11 Statement by the President following an exchange of views in Moscow between the U.S. Ambassador and the Foreign Minister

13 Letter to the Speaker transmitting supplemental appropriation estimates for the National Military Establishment

13 Letter accepting resignation of Solon J. Buck as Archivist of the United States

14 Special message to the Congress on agriculture

14 Statement by the President announcing recognition of the state of Israel

14 Remarks at the Young Democrats Dinner

15 Veto of bill to require character investigations of Atomic Energy Commission nominees

15 Letter from Eliahu Epstein, Agent of the Provisional Government, requesting recognition of Israel

17 Message to the Congress transmitting first report of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

17 White House statement concerning atomic weapons tests at Eniwetok

17 Letter to Secretary Forrestal on the atomic weapons tests at Eniwetok

18 Second report to the President by the board of inquiry on the labor dispute at Oak Ridge

19 Special message to the Senate transmitting protocol modifying tax convention with France

19 Special message to the Senate transmitting tax convention with the Netherlands

19 Special message to the Senate transmitting tax convention with Denmark

19 Special message to the Senate transmitting tax convention with New Zealand

20 Letter accepting resignation of William C. Foster as Under Secretary of Commerce and as Chairman, Air Coordinating Committee

20 Remarks in Philadelphia in the Girard College Chapel

21 Special message to the Congress on Alaska

21 Statement by the President upon signing bill providing funds for military aircraft

21 Letter accepting resignation of S. Pinkney Tuck as Ambassador to Egypt

Appendix A

May

22 Message of thanks from the Chief Burgomaster of Coburg, Germany

24 Special message to the Congress on social security

26 Letter to the Speaker on Federal aid to education

26 Letter to the Chairman, Senate Appropriations Committee, urging restoration of funds for a TVA steam plant at New Johnsonville, Tennessee

27 Message to the Congress transmitting 1944–48 report of Commission on Fine Arts

27 Veto of bill for the relief of H. C. Biering (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 6697)

28 Letter accepting resignation of Prentice Cooper as Ambassador to Peru

28 Letter accepting resignation of Herschel V. Johnson as Deputy U.S. Representative in the Security Council

28 White House announcement of a meeting with representatives of veterans organization to discuss control of housing quality

June

1 Letter to the Federal Works Administrator on the flood disaster in the Pacific Northwest

1 Statement by the President upon signing bill admitting Canadians to the military and naval academies

2 White House announcement of supplemental appropriation request for disaster relief

2 Message from Prime Minister Attlee on the flood in Oregon

2 Message to the Congress transmitting 12th report of UNRRA

2 Message from the Prime Minister of Australia on the disaster in Oregon

3 Letter accepting resignation of Arthur S. Flemming from the Civil Service Commission

3 Letter to the Federal Works Administrator in response to a report on fire prevention

4 White House announcement of appointment of delegates to 31st session of International Labor Conference

4 Rear platform remarks at Crestline, Ohio

4 Rear platform remarks at Fort Wayne, Ind.

4 Rear platform remarks at Gary, Ind.

4 Address in Chicago before the Swedish Pioneer Centennial Association

June

5 Letter accepting resignation of William A. Brophy as Commissioner of Indian Affairs

5 Remarks in Omaha at the dedication of the War Memorial

5 Remarks at Boys Town, Nebr.

5 Address in Omaha at the reunion of the 35th Division

6 Rear platform remarks at Grand Island, Nebr.

6 Rear platform remarks at Kearney, Nebr.

6 Rear platform remarks at North Platte, Nebr.

6 Rear platform remarks at Sydney, Nebr.

6 Remarks in Cheyenne at the Governor's Mansion

6 Rear platform remarks at Laramie, Wyo.

6 Rear platform remarks at Rawlins, Wyo.

7 Letter accepting resignation of N. E. Dodd as Under Secretary of Agriculture

7 Rear platform remarks at Pocatello, Idaho

8 Emergency board report on labor dispute involving the Aliquippa and Southern Railroad

8 Remarks at Arco, Idaho

8 Remarks at Blackfoot, Idaho

8 Remarks at Idaho Falls, Idaho

8 Rear platform remarks at Idaho Falls, Idaho

8 Rear platform remarks at Dillon, Mont.

8 Remarks at Butte, Mont.

9 Remarks in Spokane to the Communication Workers of America

9 Remarks outside the Spokane Club

9 Rear platform remarks at Ephrata, Wash.

9 Rear platform remarks at Wenatchee, Wash.

9 Rear platform remarks at Skykomish, Wash.

9 Rear platform remarks at Everett, Wash.

10 Emergency board report on Pennsylvania Railroad labor dispute

10 White House statement on the signing of bill providing housing for Oregon flood victims

10 Statement by the President on the death of Secretary Schwellenbach

Appendix A

June

10 Address in Seattle before the Washington State Press Club

10 Remarks at the Elks Club, Bremerton, Wash.

10 Remarks on the pier at Seattle, Wash.

10 Remarks in Tacoma, Wash.

10 Remarks in Olympia at Sylvester Park

11 Special message to the Senate transmitting treaty of extradition with the Union of South Africa

11 Radio remarks in Portland, Oreg., on a Red Cross broadcast

11 Rear platform remarks at Salem, Oreg.

11 Rear platform remarks at Albany, Oreg.

11 Rear platform remarks at Eugene, Oreg.

11 Rear platform remarks at Oakridge, Oreg.

11 Rear platform remarks at Klamath Falls, Oreg.

12 Report of board of inquiry on labor dispute in maritime industry

12 Veto of bill to exempt certain carriers in interstate commerce from the antitrust laws

12 Veto of bill for the relief of Fred E. Gross (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 8015)

12 Rear platform remarks at Roseville, Calif.

12 Rear platform remarks in Sacramento, Calif.

12 Rear platform remarks in Davis, Calif.

12 Remarks in Berkeley at a luncheon at the University of California

12 Commencement address at the University of California

13 Remarks in San Francisco at a breakfast of the International Labor Organization

13 Remarks in San Francisco at a luncheon of the Northern California Democratic Presidential Delegation

13 Remarks at the Flag Day ceremonies in San Francisco

14 Veto of resolution excluding certain groups from social security coverage

14 Veto of bill for the relief of Mrs. Lula Wilson Nevers (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 8172)

14 Veto of bill for the relief of the estate of Lee Jones Cardy (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 8080)

June

14 Statement by the President upon signing resolution providing for U.S. membership in the World Health Organization

14 Rear platform remarks at Santa Barbara, Calif.

14 Address Before the Greater Los Angeles Press Club

14 Rear platform remarks at San Bernadino, Calif.

15 Veto of bill making supplemental appropriations for the Federal Security Agency

15 Rear platform remarks at Winslow, Ariz.

15 Rear platform remarks at Gallup, N. Mex.

15 Rear platform remarks at Albuquerque, N. Mex.

15 Rear platform remarks at Las Vegas, N. Mex.

15 Rear platform remarks at Raton, N. Mex.

16 Rear platform remarks at Dodge City, Kans.

16 Rear platform remarks at Hutchinson, Kans.

16 Rear platform remarks at Newton, Kans.

16 Rear platform remarks at Emporia, Kans.

17 Statement by the President on the action of House Republican leaders on the housing bill

17 Rear platform remarks at Warrensburg, Mo.

17 Rear platform remarks at Sedalia, Mo.

17 Rear platform remarks at Jefferson City, Mo.

17 Rear platform remarks at East St. Louis, Ill.

17 Rear platform remarks at Terre Haute, Ind.

17 Rear platform remarks at Indianapolis, Ind.

17 Rear platform remarks at Richmond, Ind.

17 Rear platform remarks at Columbus, Ohio

18 Rear platform remarks at Altoona, Pa.

18 Rear platform remarks at Harrisburg, Pa.

18 Rear platform remarks at York, Pa.

18 Rear platform remarks at Baltimore, Md.

18 Message to the Congress transmitting third report on assistance to Greece and Turkey

18 Special message to the Congress on the labor dispute at Oak Ridge

18 Special message to the Senate transmitting a convention re the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization

Appendix A

June

18 Special message to the Congress transmitting report of the judge of the D.C. Juvenile Court

18 Message to the Congress transmitting annual report of the Office of Alien Property Custodian

19 Letter accepting resignation of William L. Clayton as U.S. Representative to the Economic Commission for Europe

22 Statement by the President announcing an agreement with the Provisional Government of Israel

22 Letter accepting resignation of Robert H. Field as Counsel in the office of the Assistant to the President

25 Statement by the President upon signing the Displaced Persons Act

26 Statement by the President upon signing the Trade Agreements Extension Act

26 Report of Board of Inquiry on labor dispute in bituminous coal industry

28 Statement by the President upon signing the Foreign Aid Appropriation Act

29 Statement by the President upon signing bill providing retirement benefits for members of the armed forces reserves

29 Letter accepting resignation of Dr. J. W. Studebaker as Commissioner of Education

30 Statement by the President upon signing bill extending the life of the Virgin Islands Company

30 Message to the Congress transmitting Second Report on the U.S. Foreign Aid Program

30 Statement by the President upon signing the Government Corporation Appropriation Act

30 Statement by the President on the Interior Department Appropriation Act

July

1 Statement by the President upon signing housing amendments to Servicemen's Readjustment Act

1 Letter to Secretary Sawyer on the steel requirements of the armed forces

2 Memorandum of disapproval of bill for the relief of the estate of William R. Stigall (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 9357)

2 Memorandum of disapproval of bill for the relief of Adney W. Gray (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 9369)

2 Memorandum of disapproval of bill for the relief of G. C. Hedrick (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 9369)

July

2 Memorandum of disapproval of bill for the relief of Winona Machine and Foundry Company (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 9369)

2 Memorandum of disapproval of bill for the relief of Robert Lee Threatt (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 9370)

2 Memorandum of disapproval of bill for the relief of Petrol Corporation (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 9370)

2 Memorandum of disapproval of bill for the relief of George Haniotis (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 9371)

2 Memorandum of disapproval of bill for the relief of Mrs. Loraine Thomsen (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 9371)

2 Memorandum of disapproval of bill for the relief of East Coast Ship and Yacht Corporation of Noank, Connecticut (Congressional Record, vol. 94, p. 9371)

2 Memorandum of disapproval of bill relating to the social security coverage of the blind

2 Letter from the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Maritime Commission on the construction of merchant ships

3 Memorandum of disapproval of bill relating to pay rates in the Veterans Administration

3 Statement by the President upon signing bill relating to war claims

3 Statement by the President upon signing the Agricultural Act

3 Statement by the President upon signing bill extending the terms of the members of the Atomic Energy Commission

3 Statement by the President upon signing bill raising the pay rates of Federal employees

3 Letter accepting resignation of David A. Morse as Under Secretary of Labor

3 Letter accepting resignation of John T. Kmetz as Assistant Secretary of Labor

5 Address in Bolivar, Mo., at the dedication of the Simón Bolívar memorial statue

8 Text of John R. Steelman's "Proposal for Settlement" for the railroad labor dispute

8 Remarks commending management and labor leaders on the railroad settlement

9 Emergency board report on labor disputes at National Airlines, Inc.

Appendix A

July

9 White House announcement of appointment of members of U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange

9 Letter to the Administrator, Federal Works Agency, authorizing flood disaster relief for Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana

15 Letter accepting resignation of A. Lee M. Wiggins as Under Secretary of the Treasury

15 White House announcement of invitation to the President-elect of Cuba to visit the U.S.

15 Address in Philadelphia upon accepting the nomination of the Democratic national convention

15 Statement by the President upon the death of General Pershing

16 White House announcement of appointment of John Abbink as chairman, U.S. Section, Joint Brazil-U.S. Technical Commission

20 Presentation of a scroll to Brigadier General Benjamin O. Davis upon his retirement from the U.S. Army

22 Letter accepting resignation of James E. Wells, Jr., as Cooperative Bank Commissioner, Farm Credit Administration

22 Emergency board report on labor disputes involving Grand Trunk Western Railroad, Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Co., et al.

22 White House announcement of settlement of Lake Michigan Car Ferry dispute

23 White House statement concerning appropriation cuts affecting the construction of public power facilities

23 White House statement on proposed amendments to the Displaced Persons Act

24 Statement by the President reviewing 2 years of experience with the Atomic Energy Act

27 Message to the special session of the 80th Congress

30 Special message: The President's Midyear Economic Report to the Congress

31 Letter accepting resignation of Norman Armour as Assistant Secretary of State for Political Affairs

31 Remarks in New York City at the dedication of Idlewild International Airport

August

2 White House announcement of supplemental appropriations estimates

4 Special message to the Congress transmitting report of National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems

August

4 Letter to Robert Ramspeck concerning National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week

5 Statement by the President on the record of the special session of Congress

5 Statement by the President on the congressional investigations of Federal employees

5 Special message to the Congress reporting the settlement of the bituminous coal labor dispute

6 Letter accepting resignation of Ray Atherton as U.S. Ambassador to Canada

7 White House announcement of supplemental appropriation estimate for the Veterans Administration

9 White House announcement of appointment of members of U.S. Advisory Commission on Information

10 Statement by the President upon approving the Housing Act

10 Letter accepting resignation of T. Vincent Quinn as Assistant Attorney General

11 Statement by the President upon signing resolution authorizing loan for the construction of United Nations headquarters

12 Summary of congressional action on the President's recommendations at the special session

12 White House announcement of forthcoming visit of the President of Cuba

13 Message to the Congress transmitting 13th quarterly report of UNRRA

13 Message to the Congress transmitting 14th quarterly report of UNRRA

13 Message to the Congress transmitting 15th quarterly report of UNRRA

14 Final report of board of inquiry in maritime industry labor dispute

15 Statement by the President: The Midyear Review of the Budget

16 Statement by the President upon signing resolution "To aid in protecting the Nation's economy against inflationary pressures"

18 Statement by the President on the improved outlook for the shipbuilding industry

19 Letter accepting resignation of Paul A. Porter as Special Assistant to the President

20 Report of board of inquiry in maritime labor dispute

Appendix A

August

20 Letter to the Attorney General directing him to petition for an injunction in the maritime labor dispute

26 White House announcement of transfer of aid programs in Korea to a civilian agency

26 Report of emergency board in Pennsylvania railroad labor dispute

September

1 Message to the Congress transmitting third report on the U.S. Foreign Relief Program

1 White House announcement of members of the President's Advisory Commission on Puerto Rico

2 Statement by The President making public report: The Nation's Health—A Ten-Year Program

2 Report to the President by the Federal Security Administrator: The Nation's Health—A Ten-Year Program

3 White House statement on the problem of labor relations in the atomic energy program

4 Statement by The President: Labor Day

6 Remarks at a rally in Grand Rapids, Mich.

6 Rear platform remarks at Lansing, Mich.

6 Labor Day address in Cadillac Square, Detroit

6 Remarks at Hamtramck, Mich.

6 Remarks at Oakland Park, Pontiac, Mich.

6 Remarks in Flint, Mich.

6 Rear platform remarks at Toledo, Ohio

10 Letter accepting resignation of F. J. Lawton as Administrative Assistant to the President

13 Emergency board report on labor dispute involving the Pittsburgh and West Virginia Railway Co.

13 Address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science

14 Letter to the Associate General Counsel, National Labor Relations Board, concerning a meeting in Senator Taft's office

15 Letter accepting resignation of Dwight Griswold as Chief, American Mission for Aid to Greece

15 Letter in response to a proclamation on living costs by mayors of Hudson County, N.J., municipalities

15 Message to the Congress transmitting 26th Report on Lend-Lease Operations

September

16 Statement by the President making public a report on moral safeguards for Selective Service trainees

16 Letter accepting resignation of Thomas J. Hargrave as Chairman, Munitions Board

17 Letter in response to a telegram on the problems of scientists in Government service

17 Letter to Premier de Gasperi on Italian participation in the European Recovery Program

17 Message to Countess Folke Bernadotte on the death of her husband

17 Statement by the President on the death of Count Folke Bernadotte

17 Remarks in Pittsburgh from the rear platform of the Freedom Train

17 Rear platform remarks at Crestline, Ohio

18 Rear platform remarks at Rock Island, Ill.

18 Rear platform remarks at Davenport, Iowa

18 Rear platform remarks at Iowa City, Iowa

18 Rear platform remarks at Oxford, Iowa

18 Rear platform remarks at Grinnell, Iowa

18 Rear platform remarks at Des Moines, Iowa

18 Address at Dexter, Iowa, on the occasion of the National Plowing Match

18 Informal remarks following main address at the National Plowing Match, Dexter, Iowa

18 Rear platform remarks on leaving Des Moines, Iowa

18 Rear platform remarks at Melcher, Iowa

18 Rear platform remarks at Chariton, Iowa

18 Rear platform remarks at Trenton, Mo.

18 Rear platform remarks at Polo, Mo.

18 Letter to the Chairman, Humanitarian Award Dinner of Variety Clubs International

18 White House announcement of designation of members of the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services

19 Rear platform remarks at Junction City, Kans.

20 Remarks in Denver at the Inter-American Conference on Conservation of Renewable Resources

20 Address at the State Capitol in Denver

Appendix A

September

20 Remarks in Denver at a luncheon given by the Colorado Truman-Barkley Club

20 Rear platform remarks at Colorado Springs, Colo.

20 Rear platform remarks at Pueblo, Colo.

20 Rear platform remarks at Canon City, Colo.

20 Rear platform remarks at Salida, Colo.

21 Emergency board report in labor dispute involving the Public Belt Railroad Commission, New Orleans

21 Rear platform remarks at Grand Junction, Colo.

21 Rear platform remarks at Price, Utah

21 Rear platform remarks at Helper, Utah

21 Rear platform remarks at Springville, Utah

21 Rear platform remarks at Provo, Utah

21 Rear platform remarks at American Fork, Utah

21 Informal remarks at the Hotel Utah in Salt Lake City

21 Address at the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City

21 Remarks at Ogden, Utah

22 Remarks in the public park, Sparks, Nev.

22 Remarks in Reno, Nev.

22 Rear platform remarks at Truckee, Calif.

22 Rear platform remarks at Roseville, Calif.

22 Remarks at City Hall, San Francisco, Calif.

22 Address at Lakeside Park, Oakland, Calif.

22 Rear platform remarks at Sacramento, Calif.

23 Rear platform remarks at Merced, Calif.

23 Rear platform remarks at Fresno, Calif.

23 Rear platform remarks at Tulare, Calif.

23 Rear platform remarks at Bakersfield, Calif.

23 Rear platform remarks to schoolchildren, Tehachapi, Calif.

23 Rear platform remarks at Mojave, Calif.

23 Rear platform remarks at Burbank, Calif.

23 Address at the Gilmore Stadium in Los Angeles

24 Remarks at Lane Field, San Diego, Calif.

September

24 Rear platform remarks at Oceanside, Calif.

24 Rear platform remarks at Colton, Calif.

24 Rear platform remarks at Yuma, Ariz.

24 Address at Phoenix, Ariz.

25 Rear platform remarks at Lordsburg, N. Mex.

25 Rear platform remarks at Deming, N. Mex.

25 Remarks at El Paso, Tex.

25 Rear platform remarks at Sierra Blanca, Tex.

25 Rear platform remarks at Valentine, Tex.

25 Rear platform remarks at Marfa, Tex.

25 Rear platform remarks at Alpine, Tex.

25 Rear platform remarks at Sanderson, Tex.

26 Remarks at the Alamo, San Antonio, Tex.

26 Remarks at a dinner in San Antonio, Tex.

27 Rear platform remarks at San Marcos, Tex.

27 Rear platform remarks at Austin, Tex.

27 Rear platform remarks at Georgetown, Tex.

27 Rear platform remarks at Temple, Tex.

27 Rear platform remarks at Waco, Tex.

27 Rear platform remarks at Hillsboro, Tex.

27 Remarks outside the railroad station at Fort Worth, Tex.

27 Remarks at Grand Prairie, Tex.

27 Remarks recorded for broadcast on Democratic Women's Day

27 Remarks at Rebel Stadium, Dallas, Tex.

27 Remarks at Greenville, Tex.

27 Rear platform remarks at Bells, Tex.

27 Address at Bonham, Tex.

28 Rear platform remarks at Sherman, Tex.

28 Rear platform remarks at Whitesboro, Tex.

28 Rear platform remarks at Gainesville, Tex.

28 Rear platform remarks at Marietta, Okla.

28 Remarks at Memorial Park, Ardmore, Okla.

28 Rear platform remarks at Davis, Okla.

Appendix A

September

28 Rear platform remarks at Pauls Valley, Okla.

28 Rear platform remarks at Purcell, Okla.

28 Rear platform remarks at Norman, Okla.

28 Address in Oklahoma City

29 Rear platform remarks at Shawnee, Okla.

29 Rear platform remarks at Seminole, Okla.

29 Rear platform remarks at Wewoka, Okla.

29 Rear platform remarks at Holdenville, Okla.

29 Remarks at McAlester, Okla.

29 Rear platform remarks at Eufaula, Okla.

29 Remarks at Spaulding Park, Muskogee, Okla.

29 Address at Skelly Stadium, Tulsa, Okla.

29 Rear platform remarks at Claremore, Okla.

29 Rear platform remarks at Chelsea, Okla.

29 Rear platform remarks at Vinita, Okla.

29 Rear platform remarks at Afton, Okla.

29 Rear platform remarks at Neosho, Mo.

29 Rear platform remarks at Monett, Mo.

29 Rear platform remarks at Springfield, Mo.

29 Rear platform remarks at Marshfield, Mo.

30 Remarks at Mount Vernon, Ill.

30 Remarks at West Frankfort, Ill.

30 Remarks at Herrin, Ill.

30 Address at the University of Southern Illinois, Carbondale, Ill.

30 Remarks at Veterans Hospital near Marion, Ill.

30 Remarks at Marion, Ill.

30 Remarks at Eldorado, Ill.

30 Remarks at Carmi, Ill.

30 Rear platform remarks at Mount Vernon, Ind.

30 Remarks at the Court House, Evansville, Ind.

30 Rear platform remarks at Henderson, Ky.

30 Rear platform remarks at Owensboro, Ky.

30 Rear platform remarks at Hawesville, Ky.

September

30 Rear platform remarks at Irvington, Ky.

30 Address in Louisville, Ky.

30 Radio address opening the nationwide Community Chest campaigns

October

1 Rear platform remarks at Shelbyville, Ky.

1 Rear platform remarks at Frankfort, Ky.

1 Rear platform remarks at Lexington, Ky.

1 Rear platform remarks at Winchester, Ky.

1 Rear platform remarks at Mt. Sterling, Ky.

1 Rear platform remarks at Morehead, Ky.

1 Rear platform remarks at Olive Hill, Ky.

1 Rear platform remarks at Ashland, Ky.

1 Remarks at the railroad station, Huntington, W. Va.

1 Rear platform remarks at Montgomery, W. Va.

1 Address in Charleston, W. Va.

2 Telegram to the President of Israel

4 Telegram from the President of Israel

4 Message to the Congress transmitting first report of the Economic Cooperation Administration

5 Message to the Congress transmitting fourth report on assistance to Greece and Turkey

5 Letter accepting resignation of Dr. Vannevar Bush as Chairman, Research and Development Board

6 Rear platform remarks at Wilmington, Del.

6 Remarks at the Richard Allen Housing Project, Philadelphia, Pa.

6 Remarks at the City Hall, Camden, N.J.

6 Address at Convention Hall in Philadelphia

7 Rear platform remarks at Bridgeport, Pa.

7 Remarks at Reading, Pa.

7 Rear platform remarks at Allentown, Pa.

7 Remarks at the railroad station, Bethlehem, Pa.

7 Remarks at Easton, Pa.

7 Remarks at Elizabeth, N.J.

Appendix A

October

7 Remarks at the Mosque, Newark, N.J.

7 Remarks in Jersey City to State party representatives and labor leaders

7 Remarks at Lincoln High School, Jersey City, N.J.

8 Rear platform remarks at Albany, N.Y.

8 Remarks at Schenectady, N.Y.

8 Rear platform remarks at Amsterdam, N.Y.

8 Rear platform remarks at Little Falls, N.Y.

8 Rear platform remarks at Utica, N.Y.

8 Rear platform remarks at Rome, N.Y.

8 Rear platform remarks at Oneida, N.Y.

8 Remarks at Syracuse, N.Y.

8 Rear platform remarks at Auburn, N.Y.

8 Rear platform remarks at Seneca Falls, N.Y.

8 Rear platform remarks at Geneva, N.Y.

8 Remarks at Rochester, N.Y.

8 Rear platform remarks at Batavia, N.Y.

8 Address in Buffalo, N.Y.

9 Statement by the President following General Marshall's return from Paris

11 Remarks at a breakfast in the Netherlands–Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio

11 Rear platform remarks at Hamilton, Ohio

11 Remarks at Memorial Hall, Dayton, Ohio

11 Rear platform remarks at Sidney, Ohio

11 Rear platform remarks at Lima, Ohio

11 Rear platform remarks at Ottawa, Ohio

11 Rear platform remarks at Deshler, Ohio

11 Rear platform remarks at Fostoria, Ohio

11 Rear platform remarks at Willard, Ohio

11 Rear platform remarks at Rittman, Ohio

11 Address at the Armory, Akron, Ohio

11 Interim report of the State Department on grants under the China Aid Act

11 Summary report of the Economic Cooperation Administration on economic assistance under the China Aid Act

October

12 Rear platform remarks at Richmond, Ind.

12 Rear platform remarks at Greenfield, Ind.

12 Rear platform remarks at Crawfordsville, Ind.

12 Rear platform remarks at Danville, Ill.

12 Rear platform remarks at Tolono, Ill.

12 Rear platform remarks at Decatur, Ill.

12 Remarks at a dinner in the St. Nicholas Hotel, Springfield, Ill.

12 Address at the Armory, Springfield, Ill.

13 Rear platform remarks at Adams, Wis.

13 Rear platform remarks at Altoona, Wis.

13 Rear platform remarks at Spooner, Wis.

13 Rear platform remarks at Superior, Wis.

13 Remarks at the Armory, Duluth, Minn.

13 Rear platform remarks at St. Paul, Minn.

13 Address in St. Paul at the Municipal Auditorium

14 Rear platform remarks at Mankato, Minn.

14 Rear platform remarks at Waseca, Minn.

14 Rear platform remarks at Rochester, Minn.

14 Rear platform remarks at Winona, Minn.

14 Rear platform remarks at Sparta, Wis.

14 Rear platform remarks at Elroy, Wis.

14 Remarks in Madison at the University of Wisconsin

14 Rear platform remarks at Waukesha, Wis.

14 Address at Milwaukee, Wis.

15 Rear platform remarks at Hammond, Ind.

15 Rear platform remarks at North Judson, Ind.

15 Rear platform remarks at Logansport, Ind.

15 Rear platform remarks at Kokomo, Ind.

15 Rear platform remarks at Tipton, Ind.

15 Rear platform remarks at Noblesville, Ind.

15 Remarks at the Indiana Theater Ballroom in Indianapolis

15 Address in Indianapolis at the Indiana World War Memorial

Appendix A

October

16 Remarks at Clarksburg, W. Va.

16 Rear platform remarks at Grafton, W. Va.

16 Rear platform remarks at Keyser, W. Va.

18 Address in Miami at the American Legion Convention

19 Address at the State Capitol, Raleigh, N.C.

19 Address at the State Fairgrounds, Raleigh, N.C.

19 Letter from Eleanor Roosevelt endorsing the President's candidacy

21 Special message to the Congress transmitting a supplement to the first Economic Cooperation Administration report

21 Address on radio program sponsored by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union Campaign Committee

22 Final report of board of inquiry in the Atlantic coast maritime labor dispute

23 Address in Scranton, Pa.

23 Address in Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

23 Rear platform remarks at Lock Haven, Pa.

23 Address in Johnstown, Pa.

23 Address in Pittsburgh, Pa.

24 Statement by the President on Israel

25 Rear platform remarks at Garrett, Ind.

25 Address in the Memorial Auditorium, Gary, Ind.

25 Address in the Chicago Stadium

26 Rear platform remarks at South Bend, Ind.

26 Rear platform remarks at Elkhart, Ind.

26 Remarks at the Civic Auditorium, Toledo, Ohio

26 Rear platform remarks at Sandusky, Ohio

26 Rear platform remarks at Elyria, Ohio

26 Address in the Cleveland Municipal Auditorium

27 Remarks on the station platform at Pittsfield, Mass.

27 Rear platform remarks at Thompsonville, Conn.

27 Remarks at Hartford, Conn.

27 Remarks at Springfield, Mass.

October

27 Remarks at Worcester, Mass.

27 Rear platform remarks at Framingham, Mass.

27 Address in Mechanics Hall in Boston

28 Remarks in the First Parish Church, Quincy, Mass.

28 Remarks at Brockton, Mass.

28 Remarks at Taunton, Mass.

28 Remarks at South Park, Fall River, Mass.

28 Remarks at City Hall, Providence, R.I.

28 Rear platform remarks at New London, Conn.

28 Remarks from the station platform at New Haven, Conn.

28 Rear platform remarks at Bridgeport, Conn.

28 Rear platform remarks at South Norwalk, Conn.

28 Remarks on Seventh Avenue in New York City

28 Remarks at Union Square in New York City

28 Remarks at City Hall in New York City

28 Remarks at Sara Delano Roosevelt Park in New York City

28 Remarks at the Democratic Club Reception in New York City

28 Remarks in New York City at the dinner honoring Senator Wagner

28 Address in Madison Square Garden, New York City

29 Statement by the President on the national holiday of Turkey

29 Remarks at the Democratic Women's Club, the Bronx, N.Y.

29 Remarks at Larkin Plaza, Yonkers, N.Y.

29 Remarks at the Alexander Smith Carpet Works, Yonkers, N.Y.

29 Address in Harlem, N.Y., upon receiving the Franklin Roosevelt Award

29 Remarks in the Lost Battalion Hall, Queens, New York City

29 Address at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, New York City

30 Rear platform remarks at Bellefontaine, Ohio

30 Rear platform remarks at Terre Haute, Ind.

Appendix A

October

30 Rear platform remarks at Mattoon, Ill.

30 Rear platform remarks at St. Louis, Mo.

30 Address at the Kiel Auditorium, St. Louis, Mo.

November

1 Remarks by Senator Barkley introducing President Truman on election eve

1 Radio remarks in Independence on election eve

3 Remarks at the Victory Celebration in Independence

4 Message to the Congress transmitting fourth report on the U.S. Foreign Relief Program

4 Remarks in St. Louis, Vincennes, and Cincinnati while en route to Washington

5 Remarks with Senator Barkley upon arrival at the White House

6 Statement on closing of the White House to all sightseeing and to social events until further notice

8 Message to the Congress transmitting third report on the U.S. Foreign Aid Program

8 Letter to heads of departments and agencies requesting information for use in preparing the State of the Union Message and the Economic Report

10 White House announcement of U.S. representatives and alternates to the UNESCO Conference at Beirut

15 Telegrams on the occasion of the retirement of Prime Minister Mackenzie King

16 Letter to President Hoover on the work of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government

16 Statement by the President on the importance of the work of the Hoover Commission

23 Statement by the President in response to messages of congratulation and good will

November

24 Address before the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

30 Letter in response to a resolution on lobbying adopted by the International Association of Machinists

December

3 Statement by the President on highway safety

3 Letter to the Federal Works Administrator on the forthcoming conference on highway safety

3 Letter to Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., concerning cooperation by the broadcasting industry in the highway safety program

6 Letter accepting resignation of Arthur M. Hill as Chairman, National Security Resources Board

6 Message to the Congress transmitting fifth report on assistance to Greece and Turkey

7 White House statement concerning U.S. assistance to Palestine refugees

8 Remarks of welcome at the Washington National Airport to President Prío of Cuba

10 Statement by the President upon designating John R. Steelman Acting Chairman of the National Security Resources Board

15 Letter accepting resignation of W. W. Waymack from the Atomic Energy Commission

16 Letter accepting resignation of Henry T. Bodman from Reconstruction Finance Corporation

17 Report of emergency board created by Executive Order 10010 to investigate railway labor dispute

20 Citation accompanying Medal for Merit awarded to Myron C. Taylor

24 Radio remarks on the occasion of the lighting of the Community Christmas Tree on the White House grounds

26 Third annual report to the President by the Council of Economic Advisers

31 Letter accepting resignation of R. E. Freer from the Federal Trade Commission

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2766	Jan. 21	Extension of time for renewing trade-mark registrations: Luxembourg . . .	319
2767	Jan. 27	Prevention and control of juvenile delinquency	395
2768	Jan. 30	Extension of time for renewing trade-mark registrations: Denmark	431
2769	Jan. 30	Supplementing proclamations of December 16, 1947, and January 1, 1948, carrying out general agreement on tariffs and trade and exclusive trade agreement with Cuba, respectively	467
2770	Feb. 18	Red Cross Month, 1948	763
2771	Feb. 28	Army Day, 1948	1143
2772	Mar. 20	Pan American Week, 1948	1555
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2774	Mar. 25	Cancer Control Month, 1948	1603
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2776	Mar. 26	Enumeration of arms, ammunition, and implements of war	1623
2777	Mar. 30	I Am An American Day, 1948	1787
2778	Apr. 16	Child Health Day, 1948	2087
2779	Apr. 16	National Farm Safety Week, 1948	2087
2780	Apr. 20	Mother's Day, 1948	2155
2781	Apr. 22	National Maritime Day, 1948	2211
2782	Apr. 22	Supplementing proclamations of December 16, 1947, and January 1, 1948, carrying out general agreement on tariffs and trade and exclusive trade agreement with Cuba, respectively	2211
2783	Apr. 24	World Trade Week, 1948	2247
2784	May 4	Supplementing proclamations of December 16, 1947, and January 1, 1948, carrying out general agreement on tariffs and trade and exclusive trade agreement with Cuba, respectively	2439
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2791	June 12	Supplementing proclamations of December 16, 1947, carrying out general agreement on tariffs and trade	3272
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2796	July 15	Convening the Congress	4057
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2798	July 15	Supplementing proclamations of December 16, 1947, and January 1, 1948, carrying out general agreement on tariffs and trade and exclusive trade agreement with Cuba, respectively	4057
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2804	Aug. 5	Fire Prevention Week, 1948	4531
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2805	Aug. 21	Extension of time for renewing trade-mark registrations: Czechoslovakia	4891
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2808	Sept. 7	Postponing the effective date of Proclamation No. 2775 of March 26, 1948, prescribing changes in Panama Canal toll rates	5229
2809	Sept. 7	Supplementing Proclamation No. 2790 of June 11, 1948, proclaiming the protocol of rectifications to the general agreement on tariffs and trade	5249
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9918	Dec. 31	Alabama, Tennessee and Northern Railroad Co. and other carriers, and certain of their employees; creation of an emergency board to investigate disputes	27
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9919	Jan. 3	Joint resolution approved Dec. 30, 1947; delegating authority and establishing procedures	59
9920	Jan. 8	Indian lands; extension of trust periods expiring during the calendar year 1948	143
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9930	Feb. 4	1949 Edition of the Code of Federal Regulations; authorizing and directing the publication	519
9931	Feb. 19	National Security Resources Board; amendment of Executive Order 9905 designating the membership	763
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9938	Mar. 22	Revoking Executive Order No. 9544 of Apr. 25, 1945, authorizing the Secretary of War to assume control of a certain airport	1555
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9940	Mar. 25	Railway Express Agency, Inc., and certain of its employees; creation of an emergency board to investigate a dispute	1625
9941	Mar. 26	Foreign Service retirement and disability system; authorizing the Secretary of State to prescribe rules and regulations relating thereto	1625
9942	Apr. 1	Rubber Act of 1948; provision for performance of certain functions	1823
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9944	Apr. 9	Foreign Assistance Act of 1948; authorizing the Department of State to administer certain functions	1975
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9964	June 3	Maritime industry of the United States; creation of a board of inquiry to report on certain labor disputes	3009
9965	June 3	National Airlines, Inc., and certain of its employees; creation of an emergency board to investigate certain disputes	3009
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9969	June 19	Alaska Railroad, Department of the Interior; suspension of eight-hour law as to work	3333, 3449
9970	June 19	Bituminous coal industry of the United States; creation of a board of inquiry to report on a labor dispute	3333
9971	June 23	Transportation systems operated by the Secretary of the Army and certain workers; creation of an emergency board to investigate disputes	3481

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9975	July 7	Claimants and beneficiaries of the Veterans Administration and their attendants; regulations governing the allowance of travel expenses	3805
9976	July 12	Amendment of Executive Order No. 9871 of July 8, 1947, prescribing regulations governing the granting of allowances for quarters and subsistence to enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, and per diem allowances to members of such services and Coast and Geodetic Survey and Public Health Service on duty outside of the continental United States or in Alaska	3965
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9980	July 26	Fair employment practices within the Federal establishment; regulations governing	4311
9981	July 26	Establishing the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services	4313
9982	July 29	Extending the provisions of Executive Order No. 9870 of July 8, 1947, prescribing regulations pertaining to the granting of and accounting for certain Foreign Service allowances and allotments	4375
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Appendix B

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9994	Sept. 1	Amendment of Executive Order No. 9952 of April 22, 1948, providing for the termination of reemployment rights of Federal civilian employees who transferred to public or private agencies for national-defense or war work	5137
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Oct. 18	Military order: Revocation of military order of July 5, 1939	6118

Appendix C—Presidential Reports to the Congress

Subject	*Published*	*Sent to the Congress*	*Date of White House release*
Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System	H. Doc. 297	(S)Jan. 9 (H)Jan. 12	Jan. 9 . . . .
Economic Report	H. Doc. 498	Jan. 14	Jan. 14
Commission on the Erection of Memorials and Entombment of Bodies in the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater.	H. Doc. 500	(S)Jan. 16 (H) Jan. 19	. . . .
National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems:			
Period April 1—Sept. 30, 1947	H. Doc. 501	(H) Jan. 20 (S) Jan. 21	Jan. 20 . . . .
Period Oct. 1, 1947—March 31, 1948	H. Doc. 737	Aug. 4	Aug. 4
Air Coordinating Committee	H. Doc. 524	Feb. 9	Feb. 9
Military Assistance to Greece and Turkey			
Second report	H. Doc. 534	(H) Feb. 16 (S) Feb. 17	Feb. 16 . . . .
Third report	H. Doc. 724	June 18	June 18
Fourth report	H. Doc. 777	Oct. 5[a]	Oct. 5
Fifth report	H. Doc. 778	Dec. 6[a]	Dec. 6
National Capital Housing Authority	. . . . .	(H) Feb. 16 (S) Feb. 17	Feb. 16 . . . .
Panama Railroad Company	. . . . .	Feb. 17	Feb. 17
United States Participation in United Nations	H. Doc. 548	(S) Feb. 20 (H) Feb. 23	Feb. 20 . . . .
Civil Service Commission	H. Doc. 455	Mar. 3	Mar. 3
Department of State, Operations of	H. Doc. 562	Mar. 8	. . . .
Railroad Retirement Board	. . . . .	Mar. 12	Mar. 12
Lend-Lease Fiscal Operations			
25th report	H. Doc. 568	Mar. 16	Mar. 16
26th report	H. Doc. 786	Sept. 15[b]	Sept. 15
Foreign Relief Program			
Second quarterly	H. Doc. 612	(S) Apr. 13 (H) Apr. 14	Apr. 13 . . . .
Third quarterly	H. Doc. 782	Sept. 1[b]	Sept. 1
Fourth quarterly	H. Doc. 783	Nov. 4[a]	Nov. 4
Panama Canal, Governor's Annual Report	H. Doc. 531	Apr. 14	Apr. 14
United States Foreign Aid Program			
First report	H. Doc. 636	May 5	May 5
Second report	H. Doc. 739	June 30[b]	June 30
Third report	H. Doc. 776	Nov. 8[b]	Nov. 8
First Special Report on Operations of International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.	H. Doc. 656	May 17	May 17
Commission of Fine Arts	H. Doc. 727	May 27	May 27

[a] Delivered to the President pro tempore of the Senate and to the Clerk of the House.
[b] Delivered to the Secretary of the Senate and to the Clerk of the House.

Appendix C

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United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration			
12th quarterly	H. Doc. 686	June 2	June 2
13th, 14th, 15th quarterly	H. Doc. 779, 780, 781	Aug. 13 [a]	Aug. 13
Judge of Juvenile Court of District of Columbia	H. Doc. 725	June 18	June 18
Office of Alien Property, Department of Justice	H. Doc. 518	June 18	June 18
Economic Cooperation Administration, first quarterly	H. Doc. 784	Oct. 4	Oct. 4
Supplement to first quarterly	H. Doc. 785	Oct. 21	Oct. 21

[a] Delivered to the Secretary of the Senate and to the Clerk of the House.

Appendix D—Rules Governing This Publication

[Reprinted from the Federal Register, vol. 24, p. 2354, dated March 26, 1959]

TITLE I—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Chapter I—Administrative Committee of the Federal Register

PART 32—PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

PUBLICATION AND FORMAT

Sec.

32.1 Publication required.
32.2 Coverage of prior years.
32.3 Format, indexes, ancillaries.

SCOPE

32.10 Basic criteria.
32.11 Sources.

FREE DISTRIBUTION

32.15 Members of Congress.
32.16 The Supreme Court.
32.17 Executive agences.

PAID DISTRIBUTION

32.20 Agency requisitions.
32.21 Extra copies.
32.22 Sale to public.

AUTHORITY: §§ 32.1 to 32.22 issued under sec. 6, 49 Stat. 501, as amended; 44 U.S.C. 306.

PUBLICATION AND FORMAT

§ 32.1 *Publication required.* There shall be published forthwith at the end of each calendar year, beginning with the year 1957, a special edition of the FEDERAL REGISTER designated "Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States." Each volume shall cover one calendar year and shall be identified further by the name of the President and the year covered.

§ 32.2 *Coverage of prior years.* After conferring with the National Historical Publications Commission with respect to the need therefor, the Administrative Committee may from time to time authorize the publication of similar volumes covering specified calendar years prior to 1957.

§ 32.3 *Format, indexes, ancillaries.* Each annual volume, divided into books whenever appropriate, shall be separately published in the binding and style deemed by the Administrative Committee to be suitable to the dignity of the office of President of the United States. Each volume shall be appropriately indexed and shall contain appropriate ancillary information respecting significant Presidential documents not published in full text.

SCOPE

§ 32.10 *Basic criteria.* The basic text of the volumes shall consist of oral utterances by the President or of writings subscribed by him. All materials selected for inclusion under these criteria must also be in the public domain by virtue of White House press release or otherwise.

§ 32.11 *Sources.* (a) The basic text of the volumes shall be selected from the official text of: (1) Communications to the Congress, (2) public addresses, (3) transcripts of press conferences, (4) public letters, (5) messages to heads of state, (6) statements released on miscellaneous subjects, and (7) formal executive documents promulgated in accordance with law.

(b) Ancillary text, notes, and tables shall be derived from official sources only.

FREE DISTRIBUTION

§ 32.15 *Members of Congress.* Each member of Congress, during his term of office, shall be entitled to one copy of each annual volume published during such term; *Provided,* That authorization for furnishing such copies shall be submitted in writing to the Director and signed by the authorizing Member. [As amended effective Dec. 30, 1960, 25 F.R. 14009]

§ 32.16 *The Supreme Court.* The Supreme Court of the United States shall be entitled to twelve copies of the annual volumes.

§ 32.17 *Executive agencies.* The head of each department and the head of each independent agency in the executive branch of the Government shall be entitled to one copy of each annual volume upon application therefor in writing to the Director.

PAID DISTRIBUTION

§ 32.20 *Agency requisitions.* Each Federal agency shall be entitled to obtain at cost copies of the annual volumes for official use upon the timely submission to the Government Printing Office of a printing and binding requisition (Standard Form No. 1).

§ 32.21 *Extra copies.* All requests for extra copies of the annual volumes shall be addressed to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Extra copies shall be paid for by the agency or official requesting them.

§ 32.22 *Sale to public.* The annual volumes shall be placed on sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents at prices determined by him under the general direction of the Administrative Committee.

* * * * *

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